

LEGENDS OF THE JEWS

VOLUME I

**BIBLE TIMES AND CHARACTERS
FROM THE CREATION TO JACOB**

LOUIS GINZBERG

THE LEGENDS OF THE JEWS

BY

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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN MANUSCRIPT BY

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VOLUME I

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FROM THE CREATION TO JACOB

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To
My Brother Asher

{vii}

PREFACE

*Was sich nie und nirgends hat
begeben, das allein veraltet nie.*

The term Rabbinic was applied to the Jewish Literature of post-Biblical times by those who conceived the Judaism of the later epoch to be something different from the Judaism of the Bible, something actually opposed to it. Such observers held that the Jewish nation ceased to exist with the moment when its political independence was destroyed. For them the Judaism of the later epoch has been a Judaism of the Synagogue, the spokesmen of which have been the scholars, the Rabbis. And what this phase of Judaism brought forth has been considered by them to be the product of the schools rather than the product of practical, pulsating life. Poetic phantasmagoria, frequently the vaporings of morbid visionaries, is the material out of which these scholars construct the theologic system of the Rabbis, and fairy tales, the spontaneous creations of the people, which take the form of sacred legend in Jewish literature, are denominated the Scriptural exegesis of the Rabbis, and condemned incontinently as *nugæ rabbinorum*.

As the name of a man clings to him, so men cling to names. For the primitive savage the name is part of the essence of a

person or thing, and even in the more advanced stages of culture, judgments are not always formed in agreement with {viii} facts as they are, but rather according to the names by which they are called. The current estimate of Rabbinic Literature is a case in point. With the label Rabbinic later ages inherited from former ages a certain distorted view of the literature so designated. To this day, and even among scholars that approach its investigation with unprejudiced minds, the opinion prevails that it is purely a learned product. And yet the truth is that the most prominent feature of Rabbinic Literature is its popular character.

The school and the home are not mutually opposed to each other in the conception of the Jews. They study in their homes, and they live in their schools. Likewise there is no distinct class of scholars among them, a class that withdraws itself from participation in the affairs of practical life. Even in the domain of the Halakah, the Rabbis were not so much occupied with theoretic principles of law as with the concrete phenomena of daily existence. These they sought to grasp and shape. And what is true of the Halakah is true with greater emphasis of the Haggadah, which is popular in the double sense of appealing to the people and being produced in the main by the people. To speak of the Haggadah of the Tannaim and Amoraim is as far from fact as to speak of the legends of Shakespeare and Scott. The ancient authors and their modern brethren of the guild alike elaborate legendary material which they found at hand.

It has been held by some that the Haggadah contains no popular legends, that it is wholly a factitious, academic product. A cursory glance at the pseudepigraphic literature of the Jews, which is older than the Haggadah literature by several centuries, shows

how untenable this {ix} view is. That the one literature should have drawn from the other is precluded by historical facts. At a very early time the Synagogue disavowed the pseudepigraphic literature, which was the favorite reading matter of the sectaries and the Christians. Nevertheless the inner relation between them is of the closest kind. The only essential difference is that the Midrashic form prevails in the Haggadah, and the parenetic or apocalyptic form in the pseudepigrapha. The common element must therefore depart from the Midrash on the one hand and from parenesis on the other.

Folklore, fairy tales, legends, and all forms of story telling akin to these are comprehended, in the terminology of the post-Biblical literature of the Jews, under the inclusive description Haggadah, a name that can be explained by a circumlocution, but cannot be translated. Whatever it is applied to is thereby characterized first as being derived from the Holy Scriptures, and then as being of the nature of a story. And, in point of fact, this dualism sums up the distinguishing features of Jewish Legend. More than eighteen centuries ago the Jewish historian Josephus observed that “though we be deprived of our wealth, of our cities, or of the other advantages we have, our law continues immortal.” The word he meant to use was not law, but Torah, only he could not find an equivalent for it in Greek. A singer of the Synagogue a thousand years after Josephus, who expressed his sentiments in Hebrew, uttered the same thought: “The Holy City and all her daughter cities are violated, they lie in ruins, despoiled of their ornaments, their splendor darkened from sight. Naught is left to us save one eternal treasure alone—the Holy Torah.” The sadder the life of {x} the Jewish people, the more it felt the need of taking refuge in its past. The Scripture, or, to use the Jewish term, the Torah, was the

only remnant of its former national independence, and the Torah was the magic means of making a sordid actuality recede before a glorious memory. To the Scripture was assigned the task of supplying nourishment to the mind as well as the soul, to the intellect as well as the imagination, and the result is the Halakah and the Haggadah.

The fancy of the people did not die out in the post-Biblical time, but the bent of its activity was determined by the past. Men craved entertainment in later times as well as in the earlier, only instead of resorting for its subject-matter to what happened under their eyes, they drew from the fountain-head of the past. The events in the ancient history of Israel, which was not only studied, but lived over again daily, stimulated the desire to criticize it. The religious reflections upon nature laid down in the myths of the people, the fairy tales, which have the sole object of pleasing, and the legends, which are the people's verdict upon history—all these were welded into one product. The fancy of the Jewish people was engaged by the past reflected in the Bible, and all its creations wear a Biblical hue for this reason. This explains the peculiar form of the Haggadah.

But what is spontaneously brought forth by the people is often preserved only in the form impressed upon it by the feeling and the thought of the poet, or by the speculations of the learned. Also Jewish legends have rarely been transmitted in their original shape. They have been perpetuated in the form of Midrash, that is, Scriptural exegesis. The teachers of the Haggadah, called *Rabbanan d'Aggadata* in {^{xi}} the Talmud, were no folklorists, from whom a faithful reproduction of legendary material may be expected. Primarily they were homilists, who used legends for

didactic purposes, and their main object was to establish a close connection between the Scripture and the creations of the popular fancy, to give the latter a firm basis and secure a long term of life for them.

One of the most important tasks of the modern investigation of the Haggadah is to make a clean separation between the original elements and the later learned additions. Hardly a beginning has been made in this direction. But as long as the task of distinguishing them has not been accomplished, it is impossible to write out the Biblical legends of the Jews without including the supplemental work of scholars in the products of the popular fancy.

In the present work, "The Legends of the Jews," I have made the first attempt to gather from the original sources all Jewish legends, in so far as they refer to Biblical personages and events, and reproduce them with the greatest attainable completeness and accuracy. I use the expression Jewish, rather than Rabbinic, because the sources from which I have levied contributions are not limited to the Rabbinic literature. As I expect to take occasion elsewhere to enter into a description of the sources in detail, the following data must suffice for the present.

The works of the Talmudic Midrashic literature are of the first importance. Covering the period from the second to the fourteenth century, they contain the major part of the Jewish legendary material. Akin to this in content if not always in form is that derived from the Targumim, of which {xii} the oldest versions were produced not earlier than the fourth century, and the most recent not later than the tenth. The Midrashic literature has been preserved only in fragmentary form. Many Haggadot not found in

our existing collections are quoted by the authors of the Middle Ages. Accordingly, a not inconsiderable number of the legends here printed are taken from medieval Bible commentators and homilists. I was fortunate in being able to avail myself also of fragments of Midrashim of which only manuscript copies are extant. The works of the older Kabbalah are likewise treasuries of quotations from lost Midrashim, and it was among the Kabbalists, and later among the Hasidim, that new legends arose. The literatures produced in these two circles are therefore of great importance for the present purpose.

Furthermore, Jewish legends can be culled not from the writings of the Synagogue alone; they appear also in those of the Church. Certain Jewish works repudiated by the Synagogue were accepted and mothered by the Church. This is the literature usually denominated apocryphal-pseudepigraphic. From the point of view of legends, the apocryphal books are of subordinate importance, while the pseudepigrapha are of fundamental value. Even quantitatively the latter are an imposing mass. Besides the Greek writings of the Hellenist Jews, they contain Latin, Syrian, Ethiopic, Aramean, Arabic, Persian, and Old Slavic products translated directly or indirectly from Jewish works of Palestinian or Hellenistic origin. The use of these pseudepigrapha requires great caution. Nearly all of them are embellished with Christian interpolations, and in some cases the inserted portions have choked the original form so {xiii} completely that it is impossible to determine at first sight whether a Jewish or a Christian legend is under examination. I believe, however, that the pseudepigraphic material made use of by me is Jewish beyond the cavil of a doubt, and therefore it could not have been left out of account in a work

like the present.

However, in the appreciation of Jewish Legends, it is the Rabbinic writers that should form the point of departure, and not the pseudepigrapha. The former represent the main stream of Jewish thought and feeling, the latter only an undercurrent. If the Synagogue cast out the pseudepigrapha, and the Church adopted them with a great show of favor, these respective attitudes were not determined arbitrarily or by chance. The pseudepigrapha originated in circles that harbored the germs from which Christianity developed later on. The Church could thus appropriate them as her own with just reason.

In the use of some of the apocryphal and pseudepigraphic writings, I found it expedient to quote the English translations of them made by others, in so far as they could be brought into accord with the general style of the book, for which purpose I permitted myself the liberty of slight verbal changes. In particulars, I was guided, naturally, by my own conception of the subject, which the Notes justify in detail.

Besides the pseudepigrapha there are other Jewish sources in Christian garb. In the rich literature of the Church Fathers many a Jewish legend lies embalmed which one would seek in vain in Jewish books. It was therefore my special concern to use the writings of the Fathers to the utmost.

{xiv} The luxuriant abundance of the material to be presented made it impossible to give a verbal rendition of each legend. This would have required more than three times the space at my disposal. I can therefore claim completeness for my work only as to content. In form it had to suffer curtailment. When several conflicting versions of the same legend existed, I gave only one in

the text, reserving the other one, or the several others, for the Notes, or, when practicable, they were fused into one typical legend, the component parts of which are analyzed in the Notes. In other instances I resorted to the expedient of citing one version in one place and the others in other appropriate places, in furtherance of my aim, to give a smooth presentation of the matter, with as few interruptions to the course of the narrative as possible. For this reason I avoided such transitional phrases as "Some say," "It has been maintained," etc. That my method sometimes separates things that belong together cannot be considered a grave disadvantage, as the Index at the end of the work will present a logical rearrangement of the material for the benefit of the interested student. I also did not hesitate to treat of the same personage in different chapters, as, for instance, many of the legends bearing upon Jacob, those connected with the latter years of the Patriarch, do not appear in the chapter bearing his name, but will be found in the sections devoted to Joseph, for the reason that once the son steps upon the scene, he becomes the central figure, to which the life and deeds of the father are subordinated. Again, in consideration of lack of space the Biblical narratives underlying the legends had to be omitted—surely not a serious omission in a subject with which widespread acquaintance may be presupposed as a matter of course.

{xv} As a third consequence of the amplitude of the material, it was thought advisable to divide it into several volumes. The references, the explanations of the sources used, and the interpretations given, and, especially, numerous emendations of the text of the Midrashim and the pseudepigrapha, which determined my conception of the passages so emended, will be found in the last volume, the fourth, which will contain also an

Introduction to the History of Jewish Legends, a number of
Excursuses, and the Index.

As the first three volumes are in the hands of the printer
almost in their entirety, I venture to express the hope that the
whole work will appear within measurable time, the parts
following each other at short intervals.

LOUIS GINZBERG.

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I

THE CREATION OF THE WORLD

THE FIRST THINGS CREATED

THE ALPHABET

THE FIRST DAY

THE SECOND DAY

THE THIRD DAY

THE FOURTH DAY

THE FIFTH DAY

THE SIXTH DAY

ALL THINGS PRAISE THE LORD

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THE FIRST THINGS CREATED

In the beginning, two thousand years before the heaven and the earth, seven things were created: the Torah written with black fire on white fire, and lying in the lap of God; the Divine Throne, erected in the heaven which later was over the heads of the Hayyot; Paradise on the right side of God, Hell on the left side; the Celestial Sanctuary directly in front of God, having a jewel on its altar graven with the Name of the Messiah, and a Voice that cries aloud, "Return, ye children of men."¹

When God resolved upon the creation of the world, He took counsel with the Torah.² Her advice was this: "O Lord, a king without an army and without courtiers and attendants hardly deserves the name of king, for none is nigh to express the homage due to him." The answer pleased God exceedingly. Thus did He teach all earthly kings, by His Divine example, to undertake naught without first consulting advisers.³

¹ Tehillim 90, 301. For further details relating to the pre-existent things, see Excursus I.

² The Torah is conceived as having emanated from God's wisdom. Comp. Excursus I.

³ PRE 3. As to God's taking counsel with the angels and the Torah, comp. also vol. I, pp. 51 and 55. Similarly both Talmudim and the Midrashim frequently speak of God's court of justice, consisting of angels as members. Comp. Yerushalmi Berakot 9, 14b; Sanhedrin 1, 18a,

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The advice of the Torah was given with some reservations. She was skeptical about the value of an earthly world, on account of the sinfulness of men, who would be sure to disregard her precepts. But God dispelled her doubts. He told her, that repentance had been created long before, and sinners would have the opportunity of mending {4} their ways. Besides, the Temple service would be invested with atoning power, and Paradise and hell were intended to do duty as reward and punishment. Finally, the Messiah was appointed to bring salvation, which would put an end to all sinfulness.⁴

Nor is this world inhabited by man the first of things earthly created by God. He made several worlds before ours, but He destroyed them all, because He was pleased with none until He created ours.⁵ But even this last world would have had no

and Babli 38b; WR 24.2; BaR 3.4; BR 51.2; ShR 6.1 and 12.4; Shir 1.9; PR 42, 175b; Yerushalmi Rosh ha-Shanah 2, 58b; ShR 30.18. Tertullian, *Adversus Praxean*, 16, clearly points to the fact that the legend that the angels were consulted by God with regard to the creation is due to an anti-Christian tendency. Its purpose is to exclude the possibility that the Trinity is implied wherever the Bible employs the plural in connection with the deity. Comp. notes 10 and 12 on vol. I, pp. 51-53.

⁴ Razi'el 20b and Sode Raza in Yalkut Reubeni on Gen. 1. 3, excerpted from an unknown but late midrashic source, since it is a further development of the Haggadot cited in notes 1 and 3 from Tehillim and PRE; comp. Luria on PRE 3, note 25, and vol. I, pp. 51-52.

⁵ BR 3. 7 and 9. 2; Koheleth 3. 11; Tehillim 34, 245. This is a faint reflection of the view that God formed the world out of eternal chaos, since the legend could not question the doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo*.

permanence, if God had executed His original plan of ruling it according to the principle of strict justice. It was only when He saw that justice by itself would undermine the world that He associated mercy with justice, and made them to rule jointly.⁶

Comp. Excursus I. The legend about the nine hundred and seventy-four generations which existed prior to the creation of the world (or cautiously expressed, the generations that God had intended to create), originally presupposed a pre-existent chaos; comp. BR. 28. 4; Koheleth 1. 15 and 4. 3; Shir 4. 4; Tehillim 90, 392, and 105, 459; Hagigah 13b; ARN 31, 91; Tan. Lek 11 and Yitro 9; ER 2, 9; 6, 33; 13, 68; 16, 130; EZ 10, 189. Subsequently the legend concerning the nine hundred and seventy-four generations was brought into relation with the Haggadah that the Torah was created one thousand years prior to the creation of the world. Comp. Excursus I. See also Shabbat 88b and Targum Job 22, 16, according to the manuscript reading recorded in Levy's *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch* I, 186.

⁶ BR 12. 15 and 21.7; Midrash Shir 39b; PR 40, 167a (instead of ער כבד הוא מתועגע read כבד הוא מתועגע "he would act as a spoiled child"); Yelammedenu quoted by Sikli (comp. Poznanski in *Hazofeh*, III, 16-17, and in *Maybaum-Festschrift*, as well as Ginzberg's remarks in *Hazofeh* IV, 31; Ozar Midrashim 64); Yerushalmi Targumim on Gen. 1.2; a quotation from an unknown Midrash by R. Bahya in *Kad ha-Kemah*, *Rosh ha-Shanah* 68a, and by R. Aaron in *Orchot Hayyim* I, 99c. The goodness of God as underlying the principle of creation is very frequently mentioned by Philo; comp. *De Mut. Nom.*, 5; *De M. Opif.*, 5 (further references to Philo are cited by Siegfried, *Philo*, 205-206). Similarly Wisdom 11. 24. The daily morning prayer (*Yotzer*) reads: "And in His goodness He renews the creation every day continually." God is often described as "the very good" (Yerushalmi Ta'anit 2, 65b; PK 25, 161a), and hence the maxim: "Only God is good" (Matthew 19.17; Alphabetot S3; the latter source was very likely used by R. Bahya, Gen. 1. 31), is only a paraphrase

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Thus, from the beginning of all things prevailed Divine goodness, without which nothing could have continued to exist. If not for it, the myriads of evil spirits had soon put an end to the generations of men. But the goodness of God has ordained, that in every Nisan, at the time of the spring equinox, the seraphim shall approach the world of spirits, and intimidate them so that they fear to do harm to men. Again, if God in His goodness had not given protection to the weak, the tame animals would have been extirpated long ago by the wild animals. In Tammuz, at the time of the summer solstice, when the strength of behemot is at its height, he roars so loud that all the animals hear it, and for a whole year they are affrighted and timid, and their acts become less ferocious than their nature is. Again, in Tishri, at the time of the autumnal equinox, the great bird ziz⁷ flaps his wings and utters his cry, so that the birds of prey, the eagles {5} and the vultures, blench, and they fear to swoop down upon the others and annihilate them in their greed. And, again, were it not for the goodness of God, the vast number of big fish had quickly put an

of Ps. 149.9, as pointed out in the Alphabetot. Philo is accordingly dependent upon Jewish tradition, but the Jewish sources are independent of him, although it is rather striking that the rendering of אלהים by “God’s goodness” in the Targumim, *loc. cit.*, coincides with that of Philo (*Quis Haeres Sit*, 6), while the Rabbis (see e.g. Sifre D., 27) maintain that the Tetragrammaton יהוה designates God’s attribute of goodness but His justice is expressed by אלהים. Comp, note 46 on vol. I, p. 164, as well as note 9.

⁷ As to Behemoth and Ziz, comp. vol. I, pp. 28, 29, 30.

end to the little ones. But at the time of the winter solstice, in the month of Tebet, the sea grows restless, for then leviathan spouts up water, and the big fish become uneasy. They restrain their appetite, and the little ones escape their rapacity.

Finally, the goodness of God manifests itself in the preservation of His people Israel. It could not have survived the enmity of the Gentiles, if God had not appointed protectors for it, the archangels Michael and Gabriel.⁸ Whenever Israel disobeys God, and is accused of misdemeanors by the angels of the other nations, he is defended by his designated guardians, with such good result that the other angels conceive fear of them. Once the angels of the other nations are terrified, the nations themselves venture not to carry out their wicked designs against Israel.

⁸. Comp. Index, s.v. "Israel, Guardian Angels of". Originally these two angels belonged to two different traditions: one considered Michael the guardian angel of Israel, while according to the other, contrary to Daniel 10.21, Gabriel occupied this position. The rivalry of these two angels is met with in Jewish legends throughout the centuries (comp. Index, s.v.) and the harmonizing tendency of our legend argues for its comparatively late date. Instead of Michael and Gabriel, in Hekalot 6, 179-180, the Serafim (two of them; comp. Sode Raza in Yalkut Reubeni, Gen. 1.26, 10a, which reads: There are two angels with whom God takes counsel, and these are the same with whom God took counsel at the time of the creation of Adam) are said to burn the books containing the accusations brought by Satan and the guardian angels of the Gentiles against Israel (in accordance with Yoma 77a, read דוביאל instead of דמואל and ברזי instead of בראיה). Comp, also Berakot 17a (בפמליה) and EZ 5, 182, as well as *Rimze Haftarot*, I *Sheb'uat*, concerning the accusations of the angels against Israel.

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That the goodness of God may rule on earth as in heaven, the Angels of Destruction are assigned a place at the far end of the heavens, from which they may never stir, while the Angels of Mercy encircle the Throne of God, at His behest.⁹

⁹ Konen 37-38; Midrash Behokmah 63-66; Pesikta Hadta 48-49. The distance of the angels of destruction, as well as all other evils, from God is alluded to in very old sources; comp. Yerushalmi Ta'anit 2, 65b; Tan. B. I, 95, and III, 39-40; Tan. Tazria' 9; Tehillim 5, 54, and 87, 374; PK 24, 161b; Gittin 88a; Hagigah 12a; BR 3. 6 and 51. 31; MHG I, 22-25; see also note 54; note 176 on vol. II, p. 70, and note 766 on vol. III, p. 374. In all these and similar passages (Wa-Yekullu 17b-18a and Grünhut, *ad loc.*) the underlying idea is that God, the original source of good, would not come in close contact with evil. This view is related to, but not identical with, the doctrine of Philo that nothing but good emanates from God. To give a philosophic turn to a popular conception is one of Philo's chief merits. A different opinion is expressed by Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien*, I, 70. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 4, 66, is evidently based upon Philo. The fallen angels are found according to 2 Enoch 18, in the second heaven, *i.e.*, far away from the throne of God. Attention, however, is to be drawn to the fact that in rabbinic sources the angels of destruction are not identified with the fallen angels, as in the Books of Enoch, and elsewhere in pseudepigraphic literature, but are the angels whose task it is to inflict punishment upon the wicked. The statement made in PR 22, 114a, that the angels of destruction, unlike all the others (comp. Friedmann, *ad loc.*), have "joints", wishes to convey the idea that they do not stand before God's throne, and do not fulfil their duties speedily like the other angels, but move about slowly, from one place to another, like human beings who move by means of "joints".

THE ALPHABET

When God was about to create the world by His word, the twenty-two letters of the alphabet¹⁰ descended from the terrible

¹⁰. The mystic passages in the earliest rabbinic sources already discuss the idea that God created the world by the means of “letters” (comp., e.g., Yerushalmi Hagigah 2, 77c; Menahot 29b; Berakot 55a; BR 1. 9; Midrash Shir 39b; PR 21, 108b, and 33, 153a; ER 31, 164; Shir 5. 11; see also the passages referred to by Theodor on BR 9, line 9), and in gaonic literature this neo-Pythagorean-gnostic theory plays an important part, especially in the Sefer Yezirah (see Ginzberg’s article on the Sefer Yezirah in the Jewish Encyclopedia, and the literature cited there, as well as Joel, *Blicke*, I; 121), and the literature dependent on this book, as Midrash ‘Aseret ha-Dibrot 62, Konen 23-24, and many others. Along with these mystic speculations (Pesikta Hadta 36 asserts that God created the universe by means of the Sefer Yezirah; comp. also Seder Rabba di-Bereshit 1-5), the forms, names, and order of the Hebrew letters are a favorite theme of the “pedagogic Haggadot”, whose object it is to render the elementary instruction to the young interesting and attractive. Such Haggadot are, e.g., Shabbat 104a; Yerushalmi Megillah 1, 71d; BR 8. 11 (see the numerous parallel passages cited by Theodor), as well as the non-mystic elements of the two versions of the Alphabet of R. Akiba. Darmesteter, *R.E.J.*, IV, 259, *seq.*, and Müller, *Sitzungsberichte Wiener Akademie, Phil.-historische Klasse*, CLXVIII, treatise 2, furnish a rich collection of parallels to these Haggadot from patristic as well as from later Christian literature. To these “pedagogic Haggadot” belong also the Tagin and Midrash R. Akiba, whereas Midrash ha-Shiloah (in Onkeneira’s *Ayyumah Kannidgalot*, 18) and Tikkune Zohar deal exclusively with the first word of the Bible, concerning which a great deal may be found in other parts of rabbinic literature; comp. BR 1. 7; MGH I, 10-11; Alphabet of R. Akiba 19; Seder Rabba di-Bereshit 3-4; Midrash Aggada on Gen. 1.1; the commentaries *Hadar*, *Da’at*, *Pa’aneah*, and *Toledot Yizhak* on Gen.,

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and august crown of God whereon they were engraved with a pen of flaming fire. They stood round about God, and one after the other spake and entreated, "Create {6} the world through me!" The first to step forward was the letter Taw. It said: "O Lord of the world! May it be Thy will to create Thy world through me, seeing that it is through me that Thou wilt give the Torah to Israel by the hand of Moses, as it is written, 'Moses commanded us the Torah.'" The Holy One, blessed be He, made reply, and said, "No!" Taw asked, "Why not?" and God answered: "Because in days to come I shall place thee as a sign of death upon the foreheads of men." As soon as Taw heard these words issue from the mouth of the Holy One, blessed be He, it retired from His presence disappointed.

The Shin then stepped forward, and pleaded: "O Lord of the world, create Thy world through me: seeing that Thine own name Shaddai begins with me." Unfortunately, it is also the first letter of Shaw, lie, and of Sheker, falsehood, and that incapacitated it. Resh had no better luck. It was pointed out that it was the initial letter of Ra', wicked, and Rasha', evil, and after that the distinction it enjoys of being the first letter in the Name of God, Rahum, the Merciful, counted for naught. The Kof was rejected, because Kelalah, curse, outweighs the advantage of being the first in Kadosh, the Holy One. In vain did Zadde call attention to Zaddik, the Righteous One; there was Zarot, the misfortunes of Israel, to

loc. cit. For interesting parallels in Christian literature relating to the forms of the Hebrew alphabet, comp, especially ps.-*Matthew* 31; Gospel of Thomas 6 (in both versions).

testify against it. Pe had Podeh, redeemer, to its credit, but Pesha‘, transgression, reflected dishonor upon it. ‘Ain was declared unfit, because, though it begins ‘Anawah, humility, it performs the same service for ‘Erwah, immorality. Samek said: “O Lord, may it be Thy will to begin the creation with me, for Thou art called Samek, after me, the Upholder of all that fall.” But God {7} said: “Thou art needed in the place in which thou art;”¹¹ thou must continue to uphold all that fall.” Nun introduces Ner, “the lamp of the Lord,” which is “the spirit of men,” but it also introduces Ner, “the lamp of the wicked,” which will be put out by God. Mem starts Melek, king, one of the titles of God. As it is the first letter of Mehumah, confusion, as well, it had no chance of accomplishing its desire. The claim of Lamed bore its refutation within itself. It advanced the argument that it was the first letter of Luhot, the celestial tables for the Ten Commandments; it forgot that the tables were shattered in pieces by Moses. Kaf was sure of victory Kisseh, the throne of God, Kabod, His honor, and Keter, His crown, all begin with it. God had to remind it that He would smite together His hands, Kaf, in despair over the misfortunes of Israel. Yod at first sight seemed the appropriate letter for the beginning of creation, on account of its association with Yah, God, if only Yezer ha-Ra‘, the evil inclination, had not happened to begin with it, too. Tet is identified with Tob, the good. However, the truly good is not in this world; it belongs to the world to come. Het is the first letter of Ḥanun, the Gracious One; but this advantage is offset by its place in the word for sin, Ḥaṭṭat. Zain suggests Zakor, remembrance,

^{11.} An allusion to Ps. 145.15; comp, also Berakot 4b.

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but it is itself the word for weapon, the doer of mischief. Waw and He compose the Ineffable Name of God; they are therefore too exalted to be pressed into the service of the mundane world. If Dalet had stood only for Dabar, the Divine Word, it would have been used, but it stands also for Din, justice, and under the rule of law without love the world would have fallen to ruin. Finally, in spite of reminding one of Gadol, great, {8} Gimel would not do, because Gemul, retribution, starts with it.

After the claims of all these letters had been disposed of, Bet stepped before the Holy One, blessed be He, and pleaded before Him: "O Lord of the world! May it be Thy will to create Thy world through me, seeing that all the dwellers in the world give praise daily unto Thee through me, as it is said, 'Blessed be the Lord forever. Amen, and Amen.'" The Holy One, blessed be He, at once granted the petition of Bet. He said, "Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord." And He created His world through Bet, as it is said, "Bereshit God created the heaven and the earth."

The only letter that had refrained from urging its claims was the modest Alef, and God rewarded it later for its humility by giving it the first place in the Decalogue.¹²

^{12.} There are different versions relating to the controversy of the letters about precedence—originally a "pedagogic Haggadah", it was later combined with the mystic theory of the letters. The text given is essentially based on 2 Alphabet of R. Akiba 50-55, with the omission of many biblical verses, which are quoted by God and by the letters. Other versions are found in MHG I, 12-13; 'Aseret ha-Dibrot 62; Midrash R.

THE FIRST DAY

On the first day of creation God produced ten things:¹³ the heavens and the earth, Tohu and Bohu, light and darkness, wind and water, the duration of the day¹⁴ and the duration of the night.¹⁵

Akiba 23-24; Zohar I, 2b-3a and 205b.

¹³ This number, as Lekah, Gen. 1.1, correctly remarks, corresponds to God's "ten words". Comp. vol. I, p. 49 (beginning).

¹⁴ I.e., "time", which is here mentioned as having been created simultaneously with the world. This is in agreement with Philo, who in *De M. Opif.*, 7, rejects the view which assumes that "time" is older than the world; BR 3.7 and Koheleth 3.11 hold this very opinion rejected by Philo.

¹⁵ Hagigah 12a; PRE 3. The former passage mentions God's ten attributes which were made use of at the creation of the world. So also in ARN, second version 43, 119, whereas the first version knows only of seven such attributes. This latter view corresponds to Jub. 2.2; Philo, *De M. Opif.*, 7; Tadshe 6, which state that only seven categories of creation took place on the first day. Other sources ascribe three kinds of creation to each day; comp. vol. I, pp. 82-83. Quite instructive is the fact that the Talmud does not conceive רוח אלהים (Gen. 1.2) as "God's spirit", but as "God's wind", which interpretation is certainly due to an anti-Christian tendency, since the Christians identified God's spirit with the Holy Ghost; comp. Origen, *Princip.*, I, 33, and Jerome, *ad loc.* The Jewish interpretation was later accepted by some of the Church Fathers, as e.g., by Ephraim, I, 8 B, F; Basilius, *Hexaemeron*, 3, and Theodoretus, Gen., *loc. cit.*; comp. also Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 14-15. The prevalent opinion of the Palestinian Midrashim is that by "God's spirit" the spirit (=soul) of Adam is meant; according to others it implies the

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Though the heavens and the earth consist of entirely different elements,¹⁶ they were yet created as a unit, “like the pot and its cover.”¹⁷ The heavens were fashioned from the light of God’s

spirit of the Messiah; BR 8.1. The souls of all the pious, however, were likewise created at the same time as Adam, or, as others assert, the primordial light which came into being on the first day is the material out of which the souls have been formed; comp. Excursus I, where details are also given concerning the view of the Rabbis about the doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo*, on which they insist to the extent of counting *Tohu* (“void”) and *Bohu* (“emptiness”) among the things created. As to God’s spirit in the form of a dove (Matthew 3. 16), comp. Tosefta Hagigah 2. 5; Yerushalmi 2, 77a; Babli 15a; BR 2. 4.

¹⁶. The heavens, like all the beings dwelling therein, consist of a combination of fire (not of an earthly or physical nature) and water, whereas the earth was formed of the snow found under the heavenly throne; Konen 24; BR 4. 7 (שמים “heaven” = אש ומים “fire and water”); Hagigah 12a; BaR 12.4. Comp, further Lekah, Gen. 1. ארץ “earth” is derived from רץ “the running one”, i.e., the one around which everything moves), and note 18.

¹⁷. BR 1. 15; Yerushalmi Hagigah 2, 77c; Babli 12a; Tamid 32a (the question is here discussed whether light or darkness was created first; to Philo, too, darkness is something positive, not merely the absence of light; comp. *De M. Opif.*, 7, where darkness is identified with ἀήρ air); WR 36. 1; Tan. B. I. 10 and 15; PRE 18; Shemuel 5, 55-56; Mishle 60; Tosefta Keritot (end); Mekilta (beginning). In most of the passages just quoted mention is made of two more views in addition to the one given in the text. According to one, the heaven preceded the earth (so Philo), while according to the second, the earth preceded the heaven. Joel, *Blicke*, I, 112, remarks that in these speculations we have an echo of the Greek theories appertaining to cosmogony. *Recognitiones*, I, 27, agrees

garment, and the earth from the snow under the Divine Throne.¹⁸ Tohu is a green band which encompasses the whole world, and dispenses darkness, and Bohu consists of stones in the abyss, the

with the later Rabbis that heaven and earth were created simultaneously. Comp. Konen 24, where the old view is still retained. Although created simultaneously, nevertheless the heavens were created by God's right hand, and the earth by His left; PRE 18; Zohar II, 18b, 65b; comp. Luria, PRE, *ad loc.* At the very beginning God created the world to come, which He, however, hid, so that not even the angels could see it, then He fashioned this world; Alphabetot 97: comp. Isa. 64.4.

¹⁸. PRE 3. But in the older sources (BR 3.4; PK 21, 145b; WR 31.7; ShR 15.22 and 50.1; Tan. B. 1.6, and II, 123; Tan. Wa-Yakhel 6; Tehillim 27, 221, and 104, 440) it is the light emanating from God's splendor, that was the beginning of all creation. The view that snow was the primeval component of the earth is mentioned only in PRE and in the sources dependent on it (comp. Luria, *ad loc.*), whereas ShR 13.1 maintains that the world was created of the earth found under God's throne; comp, however, B R1.6 and parallel passages, where it is proved by Job 37. 7 that the earth was created of snow. Zohar III, 34b, however, is directly dependent on ShR, *loc. cit.* As to the account of the creation in Konen 24-25, comp. Excursus I. It may also be remarked that the statement in ShR 15.22, according to which the light emanated from fire (of a heavenly kind) occurs very likely already in 4 Ezra 6.40, where *lumen aliquid luminis* is based on the faulty reading אור מאור instead of אור מאש. It is however possible that 4 Ezra wishes to say the same as many of the Midrashim just quoted, according to which the primordial light was made of God's splendor, in Hebrew "light from light." Philo expresses this view in words similar to those of the Haggadah; comp. Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien*, 71; Weinstein, *Genesis der Agada*, 41. See also the following note.

producers of the waters. The light created at the very beginning is not the same as the light emitted by the sun, the moon, and the stars, which {9} appeared only on the fourth day. The light of the first day was of a sort that would have enabled man to see the world at a glance from one end to the other. Anticipating the wickedness of the sinful generations of the deluge and the Tower of Babel, who were unworthy to enjoy the blessing of such light, God concealed it, but in the world to come it will appear to the pious in all its pristine glory.¹⁹

Several heavens were created,²⁰ seven in fact,²¹ each to serve a

¹⁹. BR 3. 6, II. 2, 12. 6, and 42. 3; Hagigah 12a (only this passage and BHM VI, 59, give a detailed but rather obscure description of *Tohu* and *Bohu*, comp. Joel, *Blicke*, I, 142); PR 5, 20a, and 46, 187a; EZ 21, 94; Tehillim, 97, 422. Comp. further ER 3, 14 and 16-17; EZ 12, 193; Nispahim 56; PRE 3 (here, in accordance with ARN, second version, 37, 95, should be read אורות צדיקים instead of ארחות צדיקים); comp, also vol. I, pp. 86, 262, 388; vol. IV, p. 234, with regard to the future light of the pious. On this light which is, however, not identified with the primordial light (but comp. 4 Ezra 6. 40, which reads; *lumen, ...de thesauris tuis*, which literally corresponds to the rabbinic אור הגנוז, since גנוז = "preserved in the treasury"; see also the preceding note), comp, the Apocalypse of Baruch 51. 3; Enoch 38. 4 (numerous parallel passages are cited by Charles, *ad loc.*); 2 Enoch 66. 3 and 9. Concerning Philo's view on the primordial light, comp. *De M. Opif.*, 8 and 18; Sachs, *Beiträge*, II, 34; Weinstein, *Genesis der Agada*, 38. For the further development of this light doctrine among the medieval philosophers and mystics, comp. Al-Barceloni, 18-22; Zohar I, 31b, 34a, 45b, and II, 158b.

²⁰. The Hebrew word for heaven שמים (for its etymology see note 16;

purpose of its own. The first, the one visible to man, has no function except that of covering up the light during the night time; therefore it disappears every morning. The planets are fastened to the second of the heavens; in the third the manna is made for the pious in the hereafter; the fourth contains the celestial Jerusalem together with the Temple, in which Michael ministers as high priest, and offers the souls of the pious as

BR 4.7 and parallel passages cited by Theodor) looks like a plural though it is really a singular (see Barth, *Z.D.M.G.*, 42; 346), hence the conception that there are several heavens is already met with in the Bible. But the exact fixing of their number belongs to a more recent date. Comp. the following two notes.

^{21.} The significance of the number seven in Jewish legend may be seen by referring to the Index s.v. Seven. PK 23, 154b-155a; Tehillim 9, 87 (comp. the parallel passages cited by Buber); PRE 18 and Tadshe 6, 19-20, maintain that from the history of mankind and that of Israel, as well as from nature, one may prove that this number plays an important part. Similar discussions on the importance of "seven" are found in Philo, *De M. Opif.*, 30-34 (in a very elaborate form), and in 4 Maccabees 14.17. Yezirah 4, which is the source for Zohar I, 15b and 38a, as well as for MHG I, 11, points out that everything physical is determined by seven limitations: above and below, right and left, before and behind, and its own individual form. Similarly Philo, *All. Leg.*, 1. 2. Zohar I, 38a, derives the conception of seven heavens, seven hells, and other "sevens" from this fundamental idea, and this view of Zohar deserves serious attention. On the seven heavens comp. further the following note. The dependence of Tadshe, *loc. cit.*, on Philo is not to be assumed (against Epstein, *R.E.J.*, XXI, 87, *seq.*), in view of the fact that the conception of the seven stages of man's age, though of Greek origin, occurs not only in Philo and Tadshe, but also in Koheleth 1.2.

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sacrifices. In the fifth heaven, the angel hosts reside, and sing the praise of God, though only during the night, for by day it is the task of Israel on earth to give glory to God on high. The sixth heaven is an uncanny spot; there originate most of the trials and visitations ordained for the earth and its inhabitants. Snow lies heaped up there and hail; there are lofts full of noxious dew, magazines stocked with storms, and cellars holding reserves of smoke. Doors of fire separate these celestial chambers, which are under the supervision of the archangel Metatron. Their pernicious contents defiled the heavens until David's time. The pious king prayed God to purge His exalted dwelling of whatever was pregnant with evil; it was not becoming that such things should exist near the Merciful One. Only then they were removed to the earth. {10}

The seventh heaven, on the other hand, contains naught but what is good and beautiful: right, justice, and mercy, the storehouses of life, peace, and blessing, the souls of the pious, the souls and spirits of unborn generations, the dew with which God will revive the dead on the resurrection day, and, above all, the Divine Throne, surrounded by the seraphim, the ofanim, the holy Ḥayyot, and the ministering angels.²²

²². Hagigah 12b. For the correct reading of this classic passage concerning the seven heavens, comp., besides *Variae Lectiones, ad loc.*, MHG I, 14-15. The seven heavens are further mentioned in BR 19. 7; PK 1, 1b, and 24, 154b-155a (the names of the heavens are different here from those in the Talmud); PR 5, 17b-18b, and 15, 68b; Shir 5. 1; Tan. B. III, 37-38; Tan. Pekude 6 and Naso 15; BaR 12. 6 and 13. 2; WR 29. 11;

Corresponding to the seven heavens, God created seven earths,

Tehillim 9, 88, and 109, 471; Seder Rabba di-Bereshit 5-6 (read מעירות instead of מעירות). The last-named source, 21-26, also gives a detailed description of the heavens (this is the only rabbinic passage which speaks of a heavenly ladder leading from one heaven to another; comp. note 49 on Vol. I, p. 70). See also 'Aseret ha-Dibrot 63-65 and the older version of this Midrash on the first commandment; ARN 37, 110; Midrash Shir 2b; Alphabetot 86-87; PRE 18; DR 2. 32; comp. also PK 1, 7b; PR 20,98b; Zohar 1,85b; II, 164b-165a, 172a; III, 9a-10a. That the idea concerning the seven heavens originated in the tannaitic period cannot be definitely proved. It is found in a statement by R. Meir (ARN, *loc. cit.*), but the authenticity of this source is not above suspicion. From DR 2. 32; Tehillim 109, 471 (read רב for רבנן), and 148, 538, it may be seen that even much later the prevailing view was that there were only three (according to some, two) heavens. This view is in agreement with the opinion of 12 Testaments, Levi 3, and 2 Cor. 15.6. 2 Enoch 3-31, whose cosmogony, however, is rather syncretistic, and the following pseudepigraphic works (which contain Christian revisions), 3 Baruch; Ascension of Isaiah 8. 13; Testament of Abraham 19 (longer recension), as well as some versions of the 12 Testaments (containing Christian revisions), *loc. cit.*, are the oldest passages referring to the seven heavens. The view of "ten heavens" (corresponding to the ten groups of angels; it may also be a learned combination of the views concerning the three and seven heavens, respectively) is found in some of the texts of 2 Enoch 22 and Zohar II, 164b-165a and 172a. The later popular view among Jews, Christians, and gnostics was that there were seven heavens. The learned classes, however, were not inclined to accept this view; they were of the opinion that two, or at most, three heavens, were sufficient. As to the rabbinic sources, comp. Hagigah, DR, Tehillim, *loc. cit.* As to the Church Fathers, see Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 10-14, as well as Siegfried, *Philo.*, index, s.v. "Himmel". In the description of the

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each separated from the next by five layers. Over the lowest earth,

individual heavens, each of the sources follows its own way. As to the pseudepigraphic works, comp. 2 Enoch; 3 Baruch; Ascension of Isaiah; 12 Testaments, Levi. As to the rabbinic literature, see Hagigah; Seder Rabba di-Bereshit 21-26; Sode Raza in Yalkut Reubeni on Gen. 1.1, 3c-4a; Raziel 12a-13d, 19a-19c, and 27c-27d; Zohar II, 254a-263a, whose fantastic description of the seven "Hekalot" (the heavenly halls) is nothing more than an account of the seven heavens. Just as the gnostics speak of three hundred and sixty-five heavens (Tertullian, *Haer.*, 1), even so do the Jewish mystics assert that besides the seven heavens there is still another great number of heavens; comp. BHM I, 132; Alphabetot 89; Sode Raza, *loc. cit.* With regard to the description of the heavens in the text according to Hagigah, the following is to be noticed. The manna is placed in the third heaven; comp. vol. III, p. 44, and Apocalypse of Baruch 29. 8. As to the fourth heaven in which the heavenly temple is situated, comp. Zeba-him 62a; Menahot 110a; *Kebod Huppah*, 11. For the literature appertaining to this subject, see Excursus I. PR 20, 98b, seems to locate the heavenly temple in the seventh heaven. As to the removal of the instruments of punishment from the sixth heaven, comp. Tan. B. I, 99; BR 51. 3; Tehillim 5. 54. With regard to this subject, *i.e.*, on the idea that no evil is to be found in God's proximity, see note 9. Comp, further Enoch 60. 17, and vol. IV, p. 102. As to the dew for the purpose of quickening the dead, comp. vol. III, p. 95; vol. IV, p. 333, 336, 360. See also the Apocalypse of Baruch 29. 7 and 73. 2; 2 Enoch 22. 9; as well as the "dew of light" of the gnostics in Preuschen, *Adamschriften*, 63. The old rabbinic sources where this is mentioned are the following: Yerushalmi Berakot 5, 9b; Ta'anit 1, 63d. This dew particularly plays a very important part in mystic literature; comp. PRE 34 (end) and the sources cited by Luria. As to the seventh heaven 'Arabot, comp. BHM I, 132, which is the source for *Tola'at Ya'akob* (at the end of Asher Yazar).

the seventh, called Erez, lie in succession the abyss, the Tohu, the Bohu, a sea, and waters.²³ Then the sixth²⁴ earth is reached, the Adamah, the scene of the magnificence of God. In the same way the Adamah is separated from the fifth earth, the Arka, which contains Gehenna, and Sha'are Mawet, and Sha'are Zalmawet, and Be'er Shaḥat, and Tiṭ ha-Yawen, and Abaddon, and Sheol,²⁵ and there the souls of the wicked are guarded by the Angels of Destruction. In the same way Arka is followed by Harabah, the dry, the place of brooks and streams in spite of its name, as the next, called Yabbashah, the mainland, contains the rivers and the springs. Tebel, the second earth, is the first mainland inhabited by living creatures, three hundred and sixty-five species,²⁶ all essentially different from those of our own earth. Some have human heads set on the body of a lion, or a serpent, or an ox; others have human bodies topped by the head of one of these animals. Besides, Tebel is inhabited by human beings with two heads and four hands and feet, in fact with all their organs doubled excepting only the trunk.²⁷ It happens sometimes that the

^{23.} The sea and the water in Jewish legend, like Apsu and Tiamat in Babylonian mythology, are two different elements: the one is sweet water and the other salt water. To point out the exact nature of this difference, Konen 24 uses the phrase מים מתוקים ("sweet water"), in contrast to ים "sea" = salt water.

^{24.} That is, counted from above downward.

^{25.} Seven names for hell are already given in 'Erubin 19a, which in Tehillim 11, 100 (with some variants) appear as seven compartments of hell; comp. notes 55-57.

^{26.} Corresponding to the number of days of the solar year.

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parts of these double persons quarrel with each other, especially while eating and drinking {11}, when each claims the best and largest portions for himself. This species of mankind is distinguished for great piety, another difference between it and the inhabitants of our earth.

Our own earth is called *Heled*, and, like the others, it is separated from the *Tebel* by an abyss, the *Tohu*, the *Bohu*, a sea, and waters.

Thus one earth rises above the other, from the first to the seventh, and over the seventh earth the heavens are vaulted, from the first to the seventh, the last of them attached to the arm of God. The seven heavens form a unity, the seven kinds of earth form a unity, and the heavens and the earth together also form a unity.²⁸

^{27.} Concerning these monsters, comp. note 34 on vol. I, p. 114.

^{28.} MHG I, 16-17. For a full account of the seven earths, see Konen 35-37; Seder Rabba di-Bereshit 5-28 (different versions); Razi'el (בראשית), 27a-27b. Older sources speak of seven or ten names of the earth (comp. note 22 with reference to the seven or ten heavens), as well of the seven earths. It is, however, doubtful whether this does not really mean seven parts (zones); comp. PK 24, 155a; WR 19. 11; Shir 6. 4 (here, however, only six heavens are mentioned, the highest of which, where God dwells, not being included, and six earths; comp. PK 1, 7b, and ShR 15. 26); ARN 38, 110; second version 43, 119; Mishle 8, 59, and 9, 61; Tehillim 92, 402; PRK 8; see further Sode Raza in Yalkut Reubeni on Gen. 1.1, 2d-3a. Another sevenfold division of the earth is to be found in the following statement of Hagigah 12b and, with essential variants, in

When God made our present heavens and our present earth, “the new heavens and the new earth”²⁹ were also brought forth, yea, and the hundred and ninety-six thousand worlds which God created unto His Own glory.³⁰

Yerushalmi 2, 77a; Leket 8b; Tehillim 104, 442; Seder Rabba di-Bereshit 11. According to this statement, the earth rests on pillars, which rest on water, which rests on mountains, which rest on the winds, which rest on storms, which rest on God’s arm. The number of the pillars upon which the earth rests is variously given: seven, twelve, and even one, whose name is “Zaddik” (righteous). These seven pillars of the earth are personified in the Clementine writings as the seven saints Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Moses. The view that there is a connection between the seven pillars of the earth spoken of by the Rabbis and the seven saints of the Clementine writings, first suggested by Ginzberg in the Jewish Encyclopedia, IV, 114, is now proved to be correct by Alphabetot 103, where the seven pillars are actually identified with the seven pious men: the three patriarchs and Moses, Aaron, David, and Solomon.

²⁹. BR 1. 13; Tan. B. 1, 6. Comp. also Alphabetot 97.

³⁰. Seder Rabba di-Bereshit 4-5; Alphabetot 89. A passage found at the end of the Mishnah which, however, does not belong to it, but is a later insertion (comp. Sanhedrin 100a; Tehillim 31, 239, and Schwarz, *Die Controversen*, 2) reads as follows: In the time to come God will bestow three hundred and ten worlds on every righteous person. Comp. further Petirat Mosheh 121 (where רבוא is to be struck out), and *Ketoret ha-Sammim* 4b, where a passage from ARN is cited concerning the three hundred and ten worlds. This passage does not occur in our texts of this Midrash, but it resembles the statement of BHM I, 132 (this is the source of R. Bahya, Gen. 1.1) with reference to the three hundred and ninety heavens. On these heavens see Derek Erez R. 2 (end) and Targum

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It takes five hundred years to walk from the earth to the heavens, and from one end of a heaven to the other, and also from one heaven to the next,³¹ and it takes the same length of time to travel from the east to the west, or from the south to the north.³² Of all this vast world only one-third is inhabited, the other two-thirds being equally divided between water and waste desert land.

Beyond the inhabited parts to the east is Paradise³³ with its

Yerushalmi Exod. 28.30. Instead of three hundred and ten, Alphabetot of R. Akiba has three hundred and forty. In the same source, 29, the view regarding the distance between the angels and the Shekinah is very likely connected with the statement made in 'Abodah Zarah 3b and Seder Rabba 4 concerning the eighteen thousands worlds. Comp. likewise note 97.

^{31.} BR 6. 6 and numerous parallel passages cited by Theodor. Comp. likewise Ascension of Isaiah 7. 18; vol. II, p. 307; vol. III, p. 111; vol. IV, p. 334. See also the sources cited in the following note.

^{32.} Ta'anit 10a; Pesahim 94a; Yerushalmi Berakot 1, 2c. Comp. the material collected by Hirschensohn, *Sheba' Hokmot*, 1-13, on the views of the ancient rabbinic sources concerning the extension of the earth and other physical-meteorological observations found in these writings. On the thickness of the heavens comp. BR 6. 6, and the Greek Baruch 3.

^{33.} Konen 27. Yalkut Reubeni on Lev. 2. 13 quotes the following from an unknown Midrash: The world is divided into three parts: inhabited land, desert, and sea; the temple is situated in the inhabited land, the Torah was given in the desert, and salt from the sea is offered with every sacrifice. God's power extends over all these three parts of the earth; He led Israel through the Red Sea, they wandered through the wilderness, and reached the inhabited land, Palestine; R. Bahya on Num. 10. 35. According to 4 Ezra 42, a seventh part of the earth is water; but this

seven divisions, each assigned to the pious of a certain degree. The ocean is situated to the west, and it is dotted with islands upon islands, inhabited by many different peoples. Beyond it, in turn, are the boundless steppes full of serpents and scorpions, and destitute of every sort of vegetation {12}, whether herbs or trees. To the north are the supplies of hell-fire, of snow, hail, smoke, ice, darkness, and windstorms, and in that vicinity sojourn all sorts of devils, demons, and malign spirits. Their dwelling-place is a great stretch of land, it would take five hundred years to traverse it. Beyond lies hell. To the south is the chamber containing reserves of fire, the cave of smoke, and the forge of blasts and hurricanes.³⁴ Thus it comes that the wind blowing from the south brings heat and sultriness to the earth. Were it not for the angel Ben Neẓ, the

bears no relation to *Recognitiones* 9, 26. This passage contains only the view that the world is divided into seven zones. Comp. the rabbinic parallel passages cited in note 28. The division into twelve zones, which is frequently found in non-Jewish sources (comp. Broll, *Sphaera*, 296, and Jeremias, *ATAO* 2, 50-51), is not unknown to rabbinic literature, where it is stated that according to Deut. 32. 8 the earth consists of twelve parts corresponding to the twelve sons of Jacob. Comp. Seder Rabba di-Bereshit 4; Alphabet R. Akiba 24; Lekah, Gen. 1. 14 (end, where it is said that the various zones correspond to the signs of the Zodiac). See further note 73 on vol. I, p. 173.—The view that paradise is situated in the east is based on Gen. 2. 8. But **מקדם** in this verse was taken by very old authorities in the sense of “pre-existing” (comp. Excursus I). Thus many Rabbis assert that paradise was situated in the west, or to be more accurate, in the north-west. Comp. Tosafot Berakot 55b, caption **מטרא**; Enoch 32; vol. III, p. 161.

³⁴ Konen 28-31; Baba Batra 25a; vol. III, pp. 160, 232.

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Winged, who keeps the south wind back with his pinions, the world would be consumed.³⁵ Besides, the fury of its blast is tempered by the north wind, which always appears as moderator, whatever other wind may be blowing.³⁶

In the east, the west, and the south, heaven and earth touch each other, but the north God left unfinished, that any man who announced himself as a god might be set the task of supplying the deficiency, and stand convicted as a pretender.³⁷

The construction of the earth was begun at the centre, with the foundation stone of the Temple, the Eben Shetiyah,³⁸ for the Holy Land is at the central point of the surface of the earth, Jerusalem is at the central point of Palestine, and the Temple is situated at the centre of the Holy City. In the sanctuary itself the Hekal is the centre, and the holy Ark occupies the centre of the Hekal, built on the foundation stone, which thus is at the centre of the earth.³⁹

³⁵ Gittin 31b. On the winds comp. Hirschensohn, *Sheba' Hokmot*, 8-11; Derenberg, *Monatsschrift*, XXX, p. 173-174. Comp. vol. III, p. 282.

³⁶ Gittin 31b; Konen 31. An interesting parallel to 2 Enoch 40.11, concerning the stilling of the wind in order that the world should not be destroyed, is found in BR 24.4 (compare the parallel passages cited by Theodor).

³⁷ PRE 3; Tehillim 2, 16. Comp. likewise Baba Batra 25b.

³⁸ This is the usual transliteration, whereas *Shetiyyah* is the only permissible form, if it is to be derived from שתי.

³⁹ Tan. B. III, 78; Tan. Kedoshim 10. We are here confronted with a legend which is composed of various elements. Palestine, God's favorite land, was created before all other parts of the world; Sifre D., 37; Mekilta

Thence issued the first ray of light, piercing to the Holy Land, and

RS, 168; Ta' anit 10a; Sibyl. 5. 300. Comp. likewise Excursus I. Instead of Palestine in general, Jerusalem (Yoma 54b; Tehillim 50, 279; Targum Ps. 50. 2), or the site of the temple (comp. the following note) is designated as the beginning of creation. The widespread popular notion that the earth came into being as a result of a stone which God had thrown into the water (comp. Dahnhardt, *Natursagen*, I, 4, and see further the remarks on water as the primeval first element in Excursus I) was subsequently brought into relation with the view that creation began with the site of the temple; hence the legend that creation began with the stone found in the holy of holies; see Tosefta Yoma 4. 6; comp. also Babli 54b ('צחק נפחא ר'), in view of Tosefta 'Erubin 7. 18, against Rabbinovicz, is to be retained); Yerushalmi 5, 42b; Tan., *loc. cit.*, and parallel passages. Independent of, and partly contradictory, to this view is the opinion which maintains that Palestine is situated in the centre of the earth; Jub. 8.12; Enoch 26.1 (according to 90. 20, Gehenna is likewise located in the centre of the earth, because an entrance thereof is found in Jerusalem, the centre of Palestine; see 'Erubin 19a; Preuschen, *Adamschriften*, 27, which is not anti-Jewish); PR 10, 34a, and many of the parallel passages in later Midrashim, cited by Friedmann (Yoma, *loc. cit.*, on the contrary, distinguishes between the centre of the earth and Jerusalem), to which many more may be added; comp. *e.g.* Seder Rabba di-Bereshit 4; Zohar II, 151a; III. 161b and 221b. Jerusalem is already mentioned in Aristeas, 83 as the centre of Palestine, and this agrees with the later Midrashim, Tan., *loc. cit.*, and parallel passages; Seder Rabba di-Bereshit, *loc. cit.* Since it was assumed that the ark was placed in the centre of the holy of holies (Meleket ha-Mishkan 53; not so Maimonides, *Yad ha-Hazakah*, *Bet ha-Behirah* 4.1, and RSBM on Baba Batra 99a) upon the *Eben Shetiyyah*, the legend, desirous of finding creation centres (comp. the elaborate account of such circles in Zohar II, 157, and III, 161b), quite naturally saw in this stone the centre of the earth. In view of the belief that the

from there illuminating the whole earth.⁴⁰ The creation of the

creation of the earth (and of everything; comp. Yoma 85a) began with its centre, the *Eben Shetiyyah* also became the beginning of creation. The oldest source (Yoma 5.2), where this stone is mentioned, leaves no doubt that it is considered to have come down there at the time of the first prophets (i.e., Samuel and David; comp. Sotah 48b and Yerushalmi 9,24b: see, however, Yerushalmi Berakot 5, 8d), and it is therefore impossible to assume that the Mishnah identified it with the stone with which creation began. It is accordingly probable that שתייה is the same as שתייה, and א' שתייה is to be translated "fire-stone", i. e., meteor. We have here, therefore, a tradition based upon 2 Samuel 24. 16, *seq.*, and 1 Chron. 21. 26, according to which a meteor fell down at this place (note that the Mishnah does not read היתה נהוה), where subsequently the holy of holies was situated. *Hadar* on Exod. 19.19 quotes Targum Yerushalmi *ad loc.*, in which אבני אשתייה is employed in the sense of meteors. Later, however, א' שתייה was connected with שתי "loom" (creation as a spinning out of skeins of the warp is a favorite picture; comp. BR 10. 5 and the parallels given by Theodor) and mm "foundation"; comp. Tosefta, Yerushalmi, and Babli Yoma, *loc. cit.*; Yerushalmi Pesahim 4. 30d; PK 28, 171a; Tan. B. III, 78-, Tan. Ahare 3 and Kedoshim 10; WR 20. 4; BaR 21. 4; Shir 3, 9. In all these passages it is stated that the stone was called *Eben Shetiyyah* because the foundation of the world had been laid with it. A later development of the *Eben Shetiyyah* legend transferred to this stone all that which had originally been said concerning the foundation of the temple (comp. vol. IV, p. 96, and note 69appertaining to it). It is therefore asserted that the "Ineffable Name" was engraved on this stone, whose power checks the *Tehom* from overflowing the earth; comp. Targum Yerushalmi Exod. 28. 30; Targum Reel. 3. 11. This legend is further enlarged upon in Jewish Jesus tales. Since the knowledge of this name enabled anyone to accomplish all one desired, a device was

world, however, could not take place until {13} God had banished the ruler of the dark.⁴¹ “Retire,” God said to him, “for I desire to create the world by means of light.” Only after the light had been fashioned, darkness arose, the light ruling in the sky, the darkness on the earth.⁴²

necessary to prevent misuse. At the gate of the temple two brazen dogs were placed (on such magic dogs comp. vol. III, pp. 6-7), so that whenever a person who had acquired the knowledge of the Name would pass, they began to bark. Frightened by this sound, the person would forget the knowledge of the Name. Jesus, however, had written the Name on paper, which he hid under his skin. He forgot the Name while passing the dogs, but later learned it again from the paper which he pulled out from under his skin. By means of the Name he was able to perform all the miracles. Comp. Krauss, *Leben Jesu*, index s.v. “Grundstein.” The view that the Name of the Messiah is engraved upon a stone of the heavenly temple belongs likewise to the *Eben Shetiyyah* legend cycle. For further details concerning this legend, see vol. I, p. 352; Feuchtwanger in *Monatsschrift* LV, 43-47; Jeremias, *Babylonisches in NT*, 79-80, and ATAÖ 2, 49, 155, 372, 374, 585.

⁴⁰. Kōnen 24-25, based on old sources; comp. BR 3. 4-5; PK 21, 14Sb; WR 31. 7; ShR 15. 22 and 50. 1; Tehillim 50, 279 (where it is said that also the destruction of this world as well as the creation of the new world will begin with Zion) and 104, 4-11; ER 5, 21; Tan. B. II, 96.

⁴¹. Originally a mythological conception of creation as a struggle between light and darkness (= chaos). In Jewish sources the prince of darkness is the angel of death (=Satan); comp. ShR 8. 6; Yelammedenu in Ozar Midrashim 64b; Tan. Wa-Yakhel 4. He is, of course, considered to have been created by God.

⁴². PR 20, 95a-96b, and 203a. The allegorical interpretation of the sign of the Zodiac, although found in both versions of the Pesikta, does not

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The power of God displayed itself not only in the creation of the world of things, but equally in the limitations which He imposed upon each. The heavens and the earth stretched themselves out in length and breadth as though they aspired to infinitude, and it required the word of God to call a halt to their encroachments.⁴³

belong to the original legend concerning the struggle between light and darkness, *i.e.*, God and Satan, and is therefore rightly omitted in the manuscript made use of for the text. In this account water and darkness are identical, because water is conceived as the chaotic primeval substance. On the rebellion of the water comp. notes 50-53 and 71-73, as well as Konen 25 (read *ונתרקמה מכבודו* or *ונתרקעה* for *ונתרקנה כבודו*; the formation of solid bodies out of the fluid water will thus be explained), where, quite manifestly, the struggle between light and darkness, as the strife of the former against the water, is described, although just a little before (24) this struggle is given in quite a different form.

⁴³ BR 5. 8 and 46. 3, where the Midrash refers to Aquila's translation of *שדי* by "ikanos"; comp. Theodor on the second passage just referred to and Joel, *Blicke*, I, 147. As to the aspiration of created things to be infinite, see the utterance of R. Simeon b. Lakish in Hagigah 12a (combined with the myth of the rebellion of the waters; see note 42), and Dähnhard, *Natursagen*, I, 2. Comp. also Tan. B. I, 7-8, 80, 197, 202; Tan. Hayye Sarah 3. In the first passage of Tan. it is said that the heavens which were created out of the heap of snow (comp. note 18), in accordance with God's blessing, "became fruitful and multiplied".

THE SECOND DAY

On the second day God brought forth four creations, the firmament, hell, fire, and the angels.⁴⁴

The firmament is not the same as the heavens of the first day. It is the crystal stretched forth over the heads of the Ḥayyot, from which the heavens derive their light, as the earth derives its light from the sun. This firmament saves the earth from being engulfed by the waters of the heavens; it forms the partition between the waters above and the waters below.⁴⁵ It was made to crystallize into the solid it is by the heavenly fire, which broke its bounds, and condensed the surface of the firmament. Thus fire made a division between the celestial and the terrestrial at the time of creation, as it did at the revelation on Mount Sinai.⁴⁶ The firmament is not more than three fingers thick,⁴⁷ nevertheless it divides two such heavy bodies as the waters below, which are the foundations for the nether world, and the waters above, which are the foundations for the seven heavens, the Divine Throne, and the

⁴⁴ PRE 4; Konen 25. comp. note 98 on vol. I, p. 83, and Jub.2. 4, according to which the firmament only was created on the second day. See also Philo, *De M. Opif.* 10.

⁴⁵ PRE 4; Theophil, 2. 13. Comp. vol. III, p. 162.

⁴⁶ BR 4. 2-7, which contains a number of remarks concerning the relation of the firmament created on the second day to the heavens created on the first day. See further Mekilta RS, 100, and Jerome on Is. 64. 1.

⁴⁷ Tosefta Hagigah 2. 6; Yerushalmi 2, 77a; Babli 15a; BR 2. 4 and 4. 3-5. Comp. the following note.

abode of the angels.⁴⁸ {14}

The separation of the waters into upper and lower waters was the only act of the sort done by God in connection with the work of creation.⁴⁹ All other acts were unifying. It therefore caused some difficulties. When God commanded, "Let the waters be gathered together, unto one place, and let the dry land appear," certain parts refused to obey. They embraced each other all the more closely. In His wrath at the waters, God determined to let the whole of creation resolve itself into chaos again. He summoned the Angel of the Face, and ordered him to destroy the world. The angel opened his eyes wide, and scorching fires and thick clouds rolled forth from them, while he cried out, "He who divides the Red Sea in sunder!" — and the rebellious waters stood. The all, however, was still in danger of destruction. Then began the singer of God's praises: "O Lord of the world, in days to come

⁴⁸. Seder Rabba di-Bereshit (the text must be emended to read (והמים שלקח למעלה כונן עליהם ו מעונות... שנתן למטה). The waters above (comp. Greek Baruch 2) are found, however, according to another view at a "distance of five hundred years" from the firmament, where they are suspended at God's command. The waters above are assumed in Seder Rabba di-Bereshit to be of an illuminating nature, while the waters below are of the opposite character. Accordingly, in 2 Enoch 27, light and darkness are identified with the waters above and the waters below, respectively. See also Konen 24 and note 42.

⁴⁹. BR 4. 6. This is to serve as an explanation why the Bible does not use the phrase "and it was good" in connection with the creations of the second day; comp. note 54 where this subject is treated at full length.

Thy creatures will sing praises without end to Thee, they will bless Thee boundlessly, and they will glorify Thee without measure. Thou wilt set Abraham apart from all mankind as Thine own; one of his sons Thou wilt call 'My first-born'; and his descendants will take the yoke of Thy kingdom upon themselves. In holiness and purity Thou wilt bestow Thy Torah upon them, with the words, 'I am the Lord your God,' whereunto they will make answer, 'All that God hath spoken we will do.' And now I beseech Thee, have pity upon Thy world, destroy it not, for if Thou destroyest it, who will fulfil Thy will?" God was pacified; He withdrew the command ordaining the destruction of the world, but the waters He put under the mountains, to remain there forever.⁵⁰

The objection of the lower waters to division and separation⁵¹ {15} was not their only reason for rebelling. The waters had been the first to give praise to God, and when their separation into

⁵⁰. *Hadar* on Gen. i. 9 and thence in BHM V, 150-156; the text needs to be emended. The sentence from ונתן בראשית ונתן certainly does not belong here, and instead of ונתן וכלאן וכוי read באצבעא וקרען בפלגות. Comp. Konen 25 and Sanhedrin 38b. Read also ופלט אש and after וקב"ה insert נטה עליהם הקב"ה. On the formula of incantation used by the angel of the countenance" (שר הפנים) comp. Origen, *Contra. Celsum*, 4. 34. Quite a considerable number of versions of the legend of the rebellion of the waters (comp. note 42) are extant. The waters above, which are masculine, aspired to a union with the waters below, which are feminine, and had not God separated them by means of the firmament (read ונתן הרקיע... והמים), their union might have destroyed the world. Seder Rabba di-Bereshit 6. As to other versions comp. the notes 52, 53, and 72.

⁵¹. Comp. notes 49 and 54.

upper and lower was decreed, the waters above rejoiced, saying, "Blessed are we who are privileged to abide near our Creator and near His Holy Throne." Jubilating thus, they flew upward, and uttered song and praise to the Creator of the world. Sadness fell upon the waters below. They lamented: "Woe unto us, we have not been found worthy to dwell in the presence of God, and praise Him together with our companions." Therefore they attempted to rise upward, until God repulsed them, and pressed them under the earth.⁵² Yet they were not left unrewarded for their loyalty. Whenever the waters above desire to give praise to God, they must first seek permission from the waters below.⁵³

⁵². Seder Rabba di-Bereshit 9 (the source for this paragraph is not identical with that of 6); Raziel 11b, 18a-18b, and 27d; Konen 25. God "tore" the mass of waters into two halves, the waters above and the waters below, and informed them that they would be divided again for Israel's sake (as to these conditions, comp. also vol. I, pp. 50-51); 'Aseret ha-Dibrot 63; MHG I, 26; ShR 15. 22; *Hadar* on Gen. 1. 4: as compensation to the waters below, God commanded the water libation in the temple and the use of salt with all sacrifices. A similar source was used by Rashi; R. Bahya; R. Shem Tob b. Shem Tob; R. Isaac Caro, and Bertinora on Lev. 2. 13; comp. Berliner, *Raschi*, 426. Comp. also ER 31, 161, concerning the weeping of the primeval elements of creation, which wished to remain all the time in God's proximity. See further the following note, as well as note 72.

⁵³. 'Aseret ha-Dibrot 63; MHG I, 26; Raziel 27d. The song of praise to 606 by the waters originally belonged to another cycle of legends which state that the waters—the primeval element—praised God before any other thing had been created, and that they willingly submitted to His

The second day of creation was an untoward day in more than the one respect that it introduced a breach where before there had been nothing but unity; for it was the day that saw also the creation of hell. Therefore God could not say of this day as of the others, that He “saw that it was good.” A division may be necessary, but it cannot be called good, and hell surely does not deserve the attribute of good.⁵⁴ Hell⁵⁵ has seven divisions,⁵⁶ one

command to withdraw in order to render creation possible. Comp. BR 5. 2-4; ShR 17. 1 and 15. 22 (the second passage, however, contains a mixture of myths, referring also to the rebellion of the waters at the same time); Tehillim 93, 415-416 (in *Ma’asiyyot*, Gaster’s edition, 8, it is Alexander the Great, not Hadrian, as in Tehillim, who hears the hymn of the waters); PR 192b; Alphabetot 82 (the hymn of the water induced God to create the world); Midrash quoted in *Hadar* on Gen. 7. 5 and Exod. 15. 8 (the waters praised God when Israel crossed the Red Sea); Yerushalmi ‘Abodah Zarah 3, 42a; PRE 5; Ta’anit 25b. Comp. notes 71-72; Tertullian, *De Baptismo*, 3.

⁵⁴. BR 4. 16, where two other reasons are given why the Bible does not have the sentence “And He saw that it was good” with reference to the second day of creation: 1) because the things created on the second day were not completed on that day and were finished on the third; hence this sentence is repeated twice on the third day; 2) because God had foreseen that Moses would incur death on account of the “water”; comp. vol. III, 307, *seq.* Two of the midrashic explanations are also cited by the Church Fathers; comp. Jerome on Gen. 1. 8; Ephraim I, 15 B-C; Albertus Magnus XIX, 1. 731; Origen, *Ad Africanum*, 4. See Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 176, and Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.* 15-16. Midrash ha-Ne’elam on Gen. 1. 9 reads: Only unity is good. This agrees almost verbatim with Philo, *De Allegor.*, 2. 1. That hell was created on the second day is also found in various other passages of rabbinic literature;

beneath the other. They are called Sheol, Abaddon, Beër Shaḥat, Tīṭ ha-Yawen, Sha'are Mawet, Sha'are Zalmawet: and Gehenna. It

comp. BR 11. 9 and 31. 9; Pesahim 54a; PRE 3; ShR 15. 22; Tan. B. I, 12; Tan. Hayye Sarah 3; Tosefta Berakot 5 (6). 7. Comp. Excursus I.

⁵⁵ In rabbinic sources the word ordinarily used for "hell" is *Gehinnom*, although this is at the same time the name of one of the parts of hell; comp. the passages quoted in note 25. The Rabbis, of course, knew that Gehinnom originally was the name of the valley near Jerusalem (Jer. 7. 32), where Moloch had been worshipped in ancient times, and they therefore explained the meaning of this word, as well as its synonym Tofet, from its connection with the worship of Moloch. Comp. the vivid description of the worship of Moloch in Ge ben Hinnom in Tan. B. V, 15; Ekah 1, 71-72; Yelammedenu in 'Aruk, s.v. גיא and קנקל. See Krauss in ZDMG, LXVI, 273-274. The relation between Gehenna and Jerusalem is, however, of a closer nature, for one of the three gates of hell (the one is found in the inhabited land, the other in the wilderness, and the third at the bottom of the sea) is located in Jerusalem; 'Erubin 19a (where the exact place of this gate is given); PK 29, 186b (bottom); comp. note 39. Tamid 32b cites two opinions: according to one, hell is found above the firmament (but not in heaven), while the other maintains that it is "beyond the mountains of darkness". There is a widespread view that hell and paradise are situated side by side, so that it is possible to look from one place into the other; PK 30, 191b; Koheleth 7. 14; Midrash Tannaim 224. On the enormous size of hell comp. Pesahim 94a; Ta'anit 10a; Shir 6. 9 (the size of the entire world bears the same relation to hell as a lid to its pot); PR 41, 173b (hell expands according to its needs); PRK, Grünhut's edition, 71. As to the intensity of the fire of hell, comp. Berakot 57b and Shabbat 39a (bottom), which state that the heat of the hot springs of Tiberias is due to the fact that its waters pass the gates of Gehenna. Comp. also Yerushalmi Berakot 6, 10d (end) where ב' דקלים

requires three hundred years to traverse the height, or the width, or the depth of each division, and it would take six thousand three hundred⁵⁷ years to go over a tract of land equal in extent to the seven divisions.⁵⁸

Each of the seven divisions in turn has seven subdivisions, {16} and in each compartment there are seven rivers of fire and seven of hail. The width of each is one thousand ells, its depth one thousand, and its length three hundred, "and they flow one from

have reference to the statement in 'Erubin 19a.

^{56.} Sotah 10b (מדורי "habitations", a play on the word מדורה "fire-place"); for the various descriptions of hell and paradise comp. Index, s.v. "Hell and Paradise". The place where Moloch was worshipped (comp. the preceding note), according to the description in the older Midrashim, consisted of seven compartments (Ge ben Hinnom is thus modelled after Gehinnom). The allegoric interpretation of the seven compartments as symbolizing the sevenfold punishment is found not only in Ezra 7. 80-81, but also among the later Kabbalists; comp. Zohar II, 150b, and Azulai, *Hesed le-Abraham*, 51d. Rather strange is Mishle 7, 57, which speaks of fourteen compartments of hell (the text is not to be emended, as it is based on the interpretation of שבעתים as "two times seven"), whereas the rabbinic sources (in addition to those mentioned above, comp. also Tehillim 11, 100-103) and the Babylonian myth concerning the descent of Ishtar into hell know only of seven compartments.

^{57.} The names vary in the different versions; comp. 'Erubin 19a; Tehillim 11, 100 and 101; PRK, Grünhut's edition, 77, and vol. I, p. 10.

^{58.} Seder Rabba di-Bereshit 15; Konen 35 (bottom; read ח"ק ע' אלפים (פחות); comp. further Alphabet R. Akibn 28; BHM V, 50; vol. I, p. 10. The numbers given in Konen concerning the dimensions of hell presuppose a "distance of 500 years" as a unit. Comp. vol. I, p. 11.

the other, and are supervised by ninety thousand Angels of Destruction. There are, besides, in every compartment seven thousand caves, in every cave there are seven thousand crevices, and in every crevice seven thousand scorpions. Every scorpion has three hundred rings, and in every ring seven thousand pouches of venom, from which flow seven rivers of deadly poison. If a man handles it, he immediately bursts, every limb is torn from his body, his bowels are cleft asunder, and he falls upon his face.⁵⁹ There are also five different kinds of fire in hell. One devours and absorbs, another devours and does not absorb, while the third absorbs and does not devour, and there is still another fire, which neither devours nor absorbs, and furthermore a fire which devours fire. There are coals big as mountains, and coals big as hills, and coals as large as the Dead Sea, and coals like huge stones, and there are rivers of pitch and sulphur flowing and seething like live coals.⁶⁰

The third creation of the second day was the angel hosts, both the ministering angels and the angels of praise. The reason they had not been called into being on the first day was, lest men

⁵⁹. Seder Rabba di-Bereshit 19-20; BHM V, 49-50. Comp. further vol. II, pp. 311-312, as well as vol. III, p. 37. On serpents which have venom instead of blood, see King, *Creation Tablets*, 16 and 50.

⁶⁰. Masseket Gehinnom 147. On the different kinds of fire comp. vol. II, p. 310; vol. III, p. 244; vol. IV, p. 199. See further Alphabet R. Akiba 81; PRK, 16a; Sefer Yezirah (not in our text) in Mahzor Vitry 319. On the Persian origin of this legend, comp. Darmesteter in *R.E.J.* I, 186, and Kohut, *Angelologie*, 32-33.

believe that the angels assisted God in the creation of the heavens and the earth.⁶¹

The angels that are fashioned from fire have forms of fire,⁶²

^{61.} BR I. 3 and 3. 8 (according to one opinion the angels were created as late as the fifth day, simultaneously with the other winged creatures), as well as II. 9; Tan. B. I. I and II; ShR 15. 22; PRE 4; Tehillim 24, 204; 76, 373-674; 104, 442; Konen 2.5. Reminiscences of the old view, according to which the angels were created on the first day (Jub. 2. 2; 2 Enoch 29. 3; Apocalypse of Baruch 21. 6), have been preserved even in authoritative Midrashim, but particularly in the mystic literature. In the latter an attempt is made to harmonize the conflicting views concerning the day on which the angels were created by assuming that the higher ranks were created on the first day, and the lower ones later; comp. Tan. Wa-Yesheb 4 and Yelammedenu in Ozar Midrashim, I, 64 (where two contrary opinions are found besides one another); ER I, 3, as well as 19, 160, and perhaps also BR 21. 9 (ER, *loc. cit.*, understands BR to say that the Cherubim were created first, taking מַקְדֵּם to mean "in the beginning"); PRE 4; Konen 24 (in the two last-mentioned sources the archangels are differentiated from the other angels; comp. the words מַלְאָכִים שֶׁנִּבְרְאוּ תְחִלָּה ז' and Luria, note 1); Zohar I, 46a (the contrary opinion is given in III, 217); *Ketab Tamim* 59; *Peletat Soferim* 2; Zohar Hadash 11b and 12a (mention is made here of angels who existed prior to the creation of the world; comp. Excursus I); R. Bahya on Gen. 38. 12. The authoritative view maintaining that the angels were created on the second day (as to the reason given for this view, comp. also the statement in Alphabetot 89 and 103 concerning the disappearance of all the angels before the creation of the new world; see further Tertullian, *Adversus Hermogenem* 34) is also found in Tan. Hayye Sarah 3 and in the quotation from this Midrash in Makiri Is. 4:3, 141; Batte Midrashot IV, 33; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. I. 26. Comp. also note 22 on vol. I, p. 59.

but only so long as they remain in heaven. When they descend to earth, to do the bidding of God here below, either they are changed into wind, or they assume the guise of men.⁶³ There are

^{62.} PRE 4; Konen 25 and 24. The fact that the angels were created of fire does not interfere with their incorporeality, for in legend fire, particularly the heavenly fire, is incorporeal (comp. Konen 24); see also Enoch, at the beginning and 20, which reads: "All the fiery hosts of great archangels and incorporeal powers". Although they are incorporeal, they are not eternal, since there are angels who come into being for a moment only and vanish immediately after. Thus there are angels who spring up daily out of the stream Dinur (= "stream of fire"; comp. Dan. 7. 10); they praise God, and then disappear. Out of every word uttered by God angels are created. Comp. Hagigah 13b-14a; BR 78. 1 (Michael and Gabriel are the only angels who do not vanish); Alphabetot 88; Trypho in Justin's *Dialogue*, 128. Trypho's remarks concerning angels are particularly important with respect to the attitude of the Synagogue towards angelology. His remark, 60, that wherever Scripture speaks of the appearance of angels, it wishes to express symbolically God's visible activity, is also found in BR 97. 3; ShR 2. 5 and 32. 9. His other statement, 128, that the angels are borne by God's power, corresponds to the view poetically expressed by the Rabbis that the splendor of the Shekinah sustains the angels. Comp. PK 6, 57a; ShR 32. 4 and 47. 5. A statement like that of Jub. 15. 27 to the effect that certain classes of angels bear the sign of the Abrahamic covenant on them would have struck the Rabbis as blasphemy. Comp. the following note and note 6 on vol. I, p. 50.

^{63.} BR 21. 9; Yelammedenu in Yalkut II, 69 and 935; 511R 25. 2; PRE 4; Tehillim 104, 442 (in the two last-named sources the angels are wind when performing their duties, in God's presence they are fire). Comp. also BR 50. 1. On angels as shades, see BaR 10. 5; perhaps also Baba

ten ranks or degrees among the angels.⁶⁴ {17} The most exalted in

Batra 91a. In WR 31. 5 it is said that the angels are males and not females, *i.e.*, they never assume the form of women; but comp. the parallel passages in Mishle 21, 89, and BR, *loc. cit.* It is, however, to be observed that Lekah, Gen. 3. 24, in citing the last-named passage does not read the word נשים. Men, women, boys, and maidens among angels are mentioned in mystical literature, but this description has hardly anything to do with their forms; it merely expresses the different degrees of their ranks. Comp. Yalkut Hadash, s. v. מלאכים Nos. 63, 93; R. Moses ha-Darshan in *Magazin*, XV, 80; Hasidim 277. Although the rabbinic sources hardly offer any remarks concerning the forms of angels, many a statement is found in the older literature regarding their size and rapidity; comp. Enoch 40. 1; Berakot 4b; Hullin 91b; BR 68. 12 and 51. 1. As to the material out of which the angels were created, comp. the preceding note, as well as PK 1, 3a-3b; ShR 3. 11; BaR 15. 8; DR 5. 12; Yerushalmi Rosh ha-Shanah 2, 58a; 2 ARN 24, 48-49; Tan. Wa-Yiggash 6; Targum Job 25. 2; Pesachim, 1183 (bottom). Along with fire which is the peculiar heavenly element, water and snow (also hail) are mentioned as the material out of which the angels were fashioned. On fire, water, and snow as the primeval elements, comp. Index, s. v. The statement found in many passages of rabbinic literature that Michael was created of fire and Gabriel of snow or water (see Index, s. v. "Michael", "Gabriel ") implies the view that the former belongs to heaven and the latter to the earth. The idea that the residence of the angels is in heaven is unanimously expressed by the Rabbis, as well as by the authors of the pseudepigraphic writings. Philo's view, *De Gigant.*, 2, and *De Somn.*, 22, that the angels inhabit the air is entirely unknown to the Rabbis (BR 26. 5, to which Siegfried, *Philo*, 147, alludes, has nothing to do with the place inhabited by the angels; this passage was misunderstood by Siegfried; for the correct translation thereof, see note 1 on vol. I, 105). Similarly there is nothing in the older sources of rabbinic literature in support of

rank are those surrounding the Divine Throne on all sides, to the

Philo's statement concerning the identity of the angels with the souls (*Noë* 4; *De Gigan.*, and *De Somn.*, *loc. cit.*), which is only found in the Kabbalah; comp., e. g., Zohar I, 7a, and note 444 on vol. II, p. 184.

⁶⁴. Enoch 20. 1; Yerushalmi 'Erubin 1, 19d, and Shemuel 23 (for the two last mentioned passages see Ginzberg, *Unbekannte Sekte*, 243 note 2; concerning the presence of the Shekinah in the assembly of ten, comp. also Sanhedrin 39a; Berakot 6a); *Adamschriften*, 27, speaks of nine hosts of angels. On the names of the ten classes of angels, found only in medieval sources, comp. *Azilut* (beginning); Maimonides, *Yad ha-Hazakah*, *Yesode ha-Torah*, 2. 7; Zohar II, 43a; R. Moses ha-Darshan (from a manuscript in Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, 411); Konen 25; Derek Erez 2. The last two sources know only of five (six?) classes of angels; comp. the following note. The division of angels into seven classes mentioned in Enoch 61. 10 is an older view which makes the number of classes correspond to the number of archangels and to the heavens. On the other hand, there is one view which counts three heavens (comp. note 22), and hence knows only of three archangels (see note 13 on vol. I, p. 54). Accordingly the idea that there are ten classes of angels is based on a combination of two older views. On the number of angels comp. Sifre N., 42; Sifre D., 51; Tehillim 68, 319; ER 6, 32 and 34; 17, 84; 29, 156, and 160; EZ 12, 193; Alphabet R. Akiba 21; Seder Rabba di-Bereshit 28; a midrashic quotation (the source is a somewhat different version of the description of Solomon's throne given in BHM. V, 34.) by R. Bahya on Gen. (beginning). The statement "as great as is the multitude of the angels, so great is the race of man" (*Revelation of John* towards the end) has a parallel in Tehillim, *loc. cit.* All these classes of angels reside at a very great distance from the Shekinah, whereas God is near to those that are broken-hearted (Ps. 34. 19), because He loves them more than the angels; Alphabet R. Akiba 29; Midrash Shir 16b (frequently quoted by

right, to the left, in front, and behind, under the leadership of the archangels Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael.⁶⁵

All the celestial beings praise God with the words, “Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts,” but men take precedence of the angels herein. They may not begin their song of praise until the earthly beings have brought their homage to God.⁶⁶ Especially Israel is

the mystics, as, e.g., *Rokeah*, *Hasidut*, at the end; *Teshubah* 28; *Orehot Hayyim* I, 101a).

⁶⁵ PRE 4; Enoch 9. 1; 40. 2-10 (here the reading is Phanuel instead of Uriel); 71. 9. On these four archangels comp. vol. III, p. 232, and the note 440 appertaining to it. The very old View concerning the seven archangels (Enoch 20. 1-8; 81. S; 90. 21-22; 12 Testaments, Levi 8. 1, and in many other works of the pseudepigraphic literature, as well as rabbinic writings of the post-talmudic period as PRE, *loc. cit.* and particularly in mystic works; comp. Al-Barceloni, 247, which is indeed the oldest rabbinic source on the names of the archangels and their relation to the planets; Raziel 38a, 61a, where various sources are made use of) naturally supposes seven classes of angels. Along with the sevenfold and fourfold divisions of angels, found in pseudepigraphic and rabbinic literatures, we meet with the conception of twelve archangels, which is connected with the signs of the Zodiac; comp. Raziel 52a, 61a (which is based on another source than the two other passages referred to above). As to this view in pseudepigraphic literature, comp. Bousset, *Religion*, 374-376.

⁶⁶ Hullin 91a; 2 ARN 27, 55; 44, 124; Midrash Tannaim 71; Sifre D., 306 (end); BHM VI, 37; Mishle 9. 75; BR 65. 21; Tan. B. III, 74; Tan. Kedoshim 6; Nispahim 56. The last-named passage states that when the angels had complained of the fact that man was preferred to them, God replied: “What, ye wish to precede Israel in chanting songs of praise to Me? They, though ‘born of woman’ and subject to the evil inclination,

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preferred to the angels. When they encircle the Divine Throne in the form of fiery mountains and flaming hills, and attempt to raise their voices in adoration of the Creator, God silences them with the words, “Keep quiet until I have heard the songs, praises, prayers, and sweet melodies of Israel.” Accordingly, the ministering angels and all the other celestial hosts wait until the last tones of Israel’s doxologies rising aloft from earth have died away, and then they proclaim in a loud voice, “Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts.”

When the hour for the glorification of God by the angels draws nigh, the august Divine herald, the angel Sham‘iel, steps to the windows⁶⁷ of the lowest heaven to hearken to the songs, prayers, and praises that ascend from the synagogues and the houses of learning, and when they are finished, he announces the end to the

conquer their evil inclination and daily proclaim Me as the one God and King, and wait for the coming of My Kingdom and the establishment of My house.” —Although man, who is a terrestrial being, is inferior to the angels, he surpasses them by overcoming the evil inclination, which the angels do not possess at all (BR 48. 11). The pious are therefore greater than the angels (Sanhedrin 39a; BR 88. 1; Tehillim 91, 398, and 103, 438). In the world to come the angels will try to find out from Israel the things taught to them by God; Yerushalmi Shabbat 3, 8d, and BR 1. 12. Comp. Schechter, *Aspects*, 49; Singer, *Das Buch d. Jubiläen*: 98, note 6; vol. I, p. 334; vol. III, p. 32.

⁶⁷ The windows of heaven are frequently mentioned in Enoch (comp. Charles’ Index, s.v.) and likewise in rabbinic sources; comp. Yerushalmi Rosh ha-Shanah 2, 58a; ShR 15. 22; PRE 6; Ginsberg, *Unbekannte Sekte*, 78.

angels in all the heavens. The ministering angels, those who come in contact with the sublunary world,⁶⁸ now repair to their chambers to take their purification bath. They dive into a stream of fire and flame seven times, and three hundred and sixty-five times they examine themselves carefully, to make sure that no taint clings to their bodies.⁶⁹ Only then they feel privileged to {18} mount the fiery ladder and join the angels of the seventh heaven, and surround the throne of God with Hashmal and all the holy Hayyot. Adorned with millions of fiery crowns, arrayed in fiery garments, all the angels in unison, in the same words, and with the same melody, intone songs of praise to God.⁷⁰

^{68.} On the defilement of the celestials by coming into contact with terrestrial beings, comp. note 105.

^{69.} This stream of fire is very likely the one which springs out of the perspiration of the Hayyot encircling God's throne, and out of which the daily angels rise to chant songs of praise to God and disappear after their task has been accomplished; BR 78. 1; ShR 15. 6; Hagigah 14a. Comp. note 62.

^{70.} Seder Rabba di-Bereshit 28-30; 3 Hekalot 161-163. In other sources it is not Shamiel who appears as the master of heavenly song (probably the correct reading is Shammiel, since it is derived from שמע "he summoned"), but Michael (comp. vol. I, p. 386), or rather Metatron; comp. *Sefer ha-Heshek*, 26, No. 13, and 8a, No. 61. The mystic literature knows also of a heavenly Hazzan; comp. Hagigah 13b and PR 20, 97a, concerning the function of the angel Sandalfon (on the text of PR see *Ketab Tamim*, 59). See also the account in the mystic literature of the gaonic period (*Pirke Hekalot*, Wertheimer's edition, 31; comp. also Baer, *Siddur*, 120) concerning the angel Israel; comp. Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie*, 477. This angel is described as belonging to the order of the Hayyot;

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comp. note 253 on vol. I, 388. Originally the name Hayyot was used to designate the creatures with animal forms mentioned in Ezekiel 1. 5, *seq.*, as surrounding God's throne. These were considered as a distinguished class of angels (Sifra 1. 1 and Sifre N., 103; in these passages the life of the angels, or at least of this class, is assumed to be eternal; comp. note 62); subsequently, however, the Hayyot denoted a class of angels. Similarly Hashmal (Ezek 1. 4) is taken to be as the name of a class of angels; comp. Hagigah 13a-13b. In this passage of the Talmud (comp. Seder Rabba di-Bereshit 28) the description of God's throne in Is. 6. 1-3 is said to be identical with that of Ezek. 1. 5, *seq.*, and the discrepancies are removed. Thus it is said, for instance, that the six wings of the Seraphim in Is. correspond to the four faces of the Hayyot of Ezek, since two of the wings with which they had formerly praised God were taken away from them after the destruction of the temple. PR 33, 155b-156a, reads somewhat differently. The bull image of the Hayyot (Ezek. 1. 10), was changed by Ezekiel's prayer to that of Cherubim, so that God should not be constantly reminded of Israel's aberration in connection with the golden calf. The feet of the Seraphim (Is. 6. 2) were concealed for the same reason because the calves' feet (Ezek. 1. 7) would have constantly served as a reminder of the golden calf; Hagigah 13b; WR 27. 3. On the liturgical formulas which the angels employ in their doxology, comp. Hullin 91b-92a; Hagigah 14a; ER 31, 163; Hasidim 400; Seder R. Amram 18a. See also the quotations from medieval authors given in Baer's *Siddur*, 120. Comp. also Hagigah 12b; *Mahkim* 119; *Seder Troyes* 26 (Moses caught the formula *Baruk Shem*, etc., from the whispering angels); DR 2. 36. In all these legends the tendency is to trace back the origin of the essential parts of the liturgy, as the *Shema'*, *Bareku*, and *Kedushah*, to the angels; comp. also vol. III, pp. 256-257. Not all angels however are perfect; comp. the sources cited at the beginning

Up to this time the earth was a plain, and wholly covered with water. Scarcely had the words of God, "Let the waters be gathered together," made themselves heard, when mountains appeared all over and hills,⁷¹ and the water collected in the deep-lying basins. But the water was recalcitrant, it resisted the order to occupy the lowly spots, and threatened to overflow the earth, until God forced it back into the sea, and encircled the sea with sand. Now, whenever the water is tempted to transgress its bounds, it beholds the sand, and recoils.⁷²

The waters did but imitate their chief Rahab, the Angel of the Sea, who rebelled at the creation of the world. God had commanded Rahab to take in the water. But he refused, saying, "I have enough." The punishment for his disobedience was death. His

of this note, according to which countless numbers of angels perish in the stream Dinur, whenever they do not chant their hymns at the exact moment. Comp. Zohar III, 64b; Ekah 3, 132-133.

⁷¹. PRE 5 (read, with the two last parallel passages, **מקצת**); Tehillim 93, 415; Aguddat Aggadot 7 ; MHG I, 29. A different version is given in Tehillim 90, 391, which reads: The mountains flew over the waters as birds, whereupon God distributed them in accordance with the nature of the earth. Other legends concerning the origin of the mountains are found in vol. I, pp. 79-80; see note 29 on vol. I, p. 112. **הרים** in BR 3. 8 is based on an erroneous reading (comp. Theodor, *ad loc.*) and **חדים** is the correct reading, for the Midrash attempts to explain why Gen. 1. 3 reads **יום אחד** "one day", and not **יום ראשון** "the first day", a difficulty to which also Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 1, calls attention. See also Hippolytus, *ad loc.*

⁷². PRE 5; Aguddat Aggadot 7. On the rebellion of the waters comp. vol. I, pp. 14-15, as well as the following note.

body rests in the depths of the sea, the water dispelling the foul odor that emanates from it.⁷³

⁷³ Baba Batra 74b; Tan. IV, 97-98; Tan. Hayye Sarah 3 and Hukkat 1; BaR 18. 22; ShR 15. 22; Tehillim I, 17 (עֲרוֹתָיו שֶׁל יָם); Wa-Yosha' 46; Hagigah 12a (הַיָּם הֵיחָא מִרְחִיב וְכוּ'). Comp. also vol. I, pp. 14-16, 27, and 40 (Leviathan, Rahab, and the angel of death are considered identical), as well as vol. III, p. 25, and Yerushalmi Sanhedrin 7, 25d, where the prince of the sea (שֶׁר שֶׁל יָם) is mentioned twice. In the Midrashim cited above two entirely different elements are combined: God's strife with Rahab (which is a reminiscence of an old Babylonian myth), taken from the Babylonian Talmud, *loc. cit.*, and the weeping of the waters on account of the separation of the upper and lower waters (a mythological explanation of rain as tears), which is found in the Palestine sources (BR 5. 4 and the Midrashim cited in note 52). The eagerness of the waters to obey God's command is emphasized in PR 192b-193a and WR (according to a quotation from it found in Makiri on Ps. 33, 210) as a protest against the mythological account of the rebellion of the waters. A legend which is also composed of various elements is the one given in Tan. Hayye Sarah, *loc. cit.*, and ShR, *loc. cit.*, where the ocean and the "sea of death" are considered identical (a Babylonian view, comp. KAT 3, 576, note 2), and at the same time it is said that it will be "cured" in the time to come. The last statement is found in the old sources in connection with the Sea of Sodom (comp. note 184 on vol. I, p. 256), which was known to Pausanias and the Church Fathers as the "Dead Sea". This name is unknown in Jewish sources; hence the above-mentioned Midrash confused the "Dead Sea" of his source—of Christian origin?—with the "Sea of Death" of Babylonian mythology, that is the ocean. In 'Erubin 22b it is supposed that the ocean surrounds the earth (so also Herodotus II, 21 and 23), whereas according to PRE 5, the earth extends over the waters of the abyss as a ship in the midst of the sea. 'Aseret ha-Dibrot 63 speaks of the

The main creation of the third day was the realm of plants, the terrestrial plants as well as the plants of Paradise. First of all the cedars of Lebanon and the other great trees were made. In their pride at having been put first, they shot up high in the air. They considered themselves the favored among plants. Then God spake, "I hate arrogance {¹⁹} and pride, for I alone am exalted, and none beside," and He created the iron on the same day, the

"Great Sea that encompasses the earth". This corresponds to 'Erubin, *loc. cit.*, since the designation of "Great Sea" for the ocean is known in rabbinic literature; comp. the explicit statement concerning this identity made in Konen 32, as well as Seder Rabba di-Bereshit 9 and Luria, note 7 on PRE, *loc. cit.*, and the statement (in Sifre D., 39; Mikwaot 5. 4; BR 5. 8) that there is only one sea; the Bible speaks of "seas", because the sea differs in its peculiarities in different places. The reason why the ocean does not overflow, though all the waters enter into it, is because the salt waters "absorb" the sweet; BR 13. 9; Bekorot 9a; Koheleth 1. 7. A different view is given in Tikkune Zohar (end), which reads: The ocean derives its name (אוקינוס) from אוקי "he spat out", because it "spits out" the water or the aquatic animals that come into it. Comp. Kohut's essay in *Jüdische Wochenschrift* II, No. 5, on the ocean according to Jewish sources.—With regard to the strife of the waters, comp. also 4 Ezra 4. 15-17, where it is said that the waves of the sea took counsel to wage war against the wood of the field that they win more territory; although the wood had been vanquished by fire, the counsel of the waves of the sea did not succeed because the sand kept them within their bounds. This is, however, not a mythological conception, as maintained by many, but a fable; comp. the following note. The reason why the waters of the seas and the abysses did not overflow the earth is due to the fact that God had sealed their boundaries with His name; Prayer of Manasseh 3. For details on this "sealing" comp. vol. III, p. 99, and vol. IV, p. 96.

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substance with which trees are felled down. The trees began to weep, and when God asked the reason of their tears, they said: "We cry because Thou hast created the iron to uproot us therewith. All the while we had thought ourselves the highest of the earth, and now the iron, our destroyer, has been called into existence." God replied: "You yourselves will furnish the axe with a handle. Without your assistance the iron will not be able to do aught against you."⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Konen 25, which essentially follows BR 5. 9. Comp. further Sanhedrin 39b; ER 29, 143; Elleh Ezkerah (beginning). It is a legendary application of an old fable, which is already found in Ahikar; comp. Smend, *Alter und Herkunft des Achikar-Romans*, 77, seq. From Ahikar it was directly or indirectly borrowed by the Greeks; comp. Back, *Monatsschrift* XXV, 132-135, and XXXIII, 267. On the pride of the trees comp. *Tub ha-Arez* 93, which reads: The fruits of the ground thrive even when moistened by the feminine waters (on the sex of the waters comp. vol. I, p. 162), but not the trees, which, on account of their pride, would not thrive unless moistened by masculine waters. According to PRE 5 and Aguddat Aggadot 7, the plants of paradise were created first and were afterwards utilized for the purpose of the cultivation of the earth. For the opposite view comp. BR 15. 1, which reads: God took cedars of Lebanon, which were not larger than the tentacles of a grasshopper, and planted them in paradise. Comp. note 96 on vol. I, p. 82. The shooting up of the trees is only a special application of the view that the first things in creation were produced in their fully developed form (comp. note 21 on vol. I, p. 59). This view is especially emphasized by Philo, *De M. Opif.*, 13, with reference to plants, which God brought forth out of the ground in their complete form, "as if the earth had been pregnant with them for a long time". PRE 5 similarly speaks of the pregnancy of the

The command to bear seed after their kind was given to the trees alone. But the various sorts of grass reasoned, that if God had not desired divisions according to classes, He would not have instructed the trees to bear fruit after their kind with the seed thereof in it, especially as trees are inclined of their own accord to divide themselves into species. The grasses therefore reproduced themselves also after their kinds. This prompted the exclamation of the Prince of the World, "Let the glory of the Lord endure forever; let the Lord rejoice in His works."⁷⁵

earth, where, in connection with the conception of rain as the consort of the earth (comp. note 39 on vol. I, p. 16.2), the legitimate fecundation is differentiated from the illegitimate. When the earth is fructified by rain, it is considered a legitimate fecundation, whereas when it is artificially watered, it is an illegitimate fecundation. As to the statement made in PRE concerning the origin of rain, comp. also BR 13. 9-10 and the parallel passages cited by Theodor, where various views are expressed on this point. The view that the clouds drew their water from the ocean, and the objection raised against it, is also found in the Slavonic version of III Baruch 10. 8.

⁷⁵ Hullin 60a; comp. Back, *Monatsschrift* XXIX, 307, with reference to this talmudic passage. The Palestinian sources, BR 5. and Yerushalmi Kilayim 1, 27b, mention two views: according to one the earth did not follow God's bidding; it only produced edible fruits, but not edible trees, which it was also commanded by God to produce. On account of this disobedience it was cursed by God after Adam's fall. The opposite view maintains that the earth was so eager to obey God's orders that it went one step further and produced all trees bearing fruit; but after Adam's fall the fertility of the earth was diminished, and it produced barren trees as well; comp. vol. I, p. 80 (top). "The prince of the world" mentioned in Hullin, *loc. cit.*, bears no relation to the demiurge of the Gnostics, nor to

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The most important work done on the third day was the creation of Paradise. Two gates of carbuncle form the entrance to Paradise,⁷⁶ and sixty myriads of ministering angels keep watch over them. Each of these angels shines with the lustre of the heavens. When the just man appears before the gates, the clothes in which he was buried are taken off him, and the angels array him in seven garments of clouds of glory, and place upon his head two crowns, one of precious stones and pearls, the other of gold of Parvaim,⁷⁷ and they put eight myrtles in his hand, and they utter

Satan, "the prince of the earth" (John 12. 31, and in many other places; of the New Testament), but it signifies, here as elsewhere in rabbinic literature (comp. Index, s. v.), the angel in charge of the world, or, to be more accurate, the earth. Comp. Joel, *Blicke*, I, 124-128. The identification of this angel with Metatron in the mystic literature of the gaonic period is not found in talmudic sources. In Ascension of Isaiah 2. 4 "the ruler of the world" is Satan as the prince of the world in the New Testament.

⁷⁶. Jub. 2. 7; BR 11. 9, 12. 5, 15. 3, 21. 9; 2 Enoch 21. 1. The prevalent view in the rabbinic sources is that paradise was created before the world; comp. Excursus I. In Konen 25 paradise is differentiated from its plants, presupposing that paradise is pre-existent, while the plants were created on the third day. This is an attempt to harmonize two different views.

⁷⁷. On this gold, comp. Yoma 45a; BaR 11. 3; Tan. B. IV, 33; Tan. Naso 9. In all these passages it is stated that this gold bears fruit. In this and in other accounts of paradise the description of the future Jerusalem and the temple by the prophets is transferred to paradise; for later on paradise was identified with the heavenly Jerusalem. Alphabetot 96-97 contains many points which are analogous to the description given in the text, with this essential difference that the reward of the pious is

praises before {20} him and say to him, “Go thy way, and eat thy bread with joy.” And they lead him to a place full of rivers, surrounded by eight hundred kinds of roses and myrtles. Each one has a canopy according to his merits,⁷⁸ and under it flow four rivers, one of milk, the other of balsam, the third of wine, and the fourth of honey. Every canopy is overgrown by a vine of gold, and thirty pearls hang from it, each of them shining like Venus. Under each canopy there is a table of precious stones and pearls, and sixty angels stand at the head of every just man, saying unto him: “Go and eat with joy of the honey, for thou hast busied thyself with the Torah, and she is sweeter than honey, and drink of the wine preserved in the grape since the six days of creation,⁷⁹ for

postponed for the future world. As to the site of the earthly paradise, comp. vol. I, p. 11. The old rabbinic sources hardly contain anything definite on the earthly paradise; but in the pseudepigraphic literature, particularly in the Books of Enoch (comp. Charles' edition, index, s. v.) and in later haggadic works a good deal is said about it.

^{78.} According to Baba Batra 75a and PR 38, 163a, there are seven “canopies” given to each pious person.

^{79.} These four streams are frequently mentioned in the legends; comp. 2 Enoch 8. 5; PR 38, 163a; Aggadat Shir 4, 83-84; see also vol. I, p. 132; vol. II, p. 315; *Visio Pauli* 23; Koran 47. 16-17. While in the Koran the stream of oil is replaced by a stream of fresh water, it is just this stream of balsam which is frequently alluded to in rabbinic literature; BR 62 (beginning); Ta'anit 25a; Yerushalmi 'Abodah Zarah 3, 42c; Tan. B. II, 131; Bacher, *Agada der palästinensischen Amoräer*, II, 102, note 7; Jeremias, *Babylonisches im NT*, 47. On the wine preserved for the pious, comp. Sanhedrin 99a and Matthew 26. 29; Targum Eccl. 9. 7, where the Midrash given in the text was very likely made use of.

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thou hast busied thyself with the Torah, and she is compared to wine." The least fair of the just is beautiful as Joseph and Rabbi Johanan, and as the grains of a silver pomegranate upon which fall the rays of the sun.⁸⁰ There is no light, "for the light of the righteous is the shining light." And they undergo four transformations every day, passing through four states. In the first the righteous is changed into a child. He enters the division for children, and tastes the joys of childhood. Then he is changed into a youth, and enters the division for the youths, with whom he enjoys the delights of youth. Next he becomes an adult, in the prime of life, and he enters the division of men, and enjoys the pleasures of manhood. Finally, he is changed into an old man. He enters the division for the old, and enjoys the pleasures of age.

There are eighty myriads of trees in every corner of Paradise, the meanest among them choicer than all the spice {²¹} trees. In every corner there are sixty myriads of angels singing with sweet voices, and the tree of life stands in the middle and shades the whole of Paradise.⁸¹ It has fifteen thousand tastes, each different from the other, and the perfumes thereof vary likewise. Over it hang seven clouds of glory, and winds blow upon it from all four

^{80.} This picture is mentioned in the Talmud, Baba Mezi'a 48a, with reference to the beauty of R. Johanan, upon which our source is based; comp. PK I, 3b.

^{81.} *I. e.*, the branches of this tree extend to the farthest ends of paradise. On the joys of the four different ages, which the pious experience, see Zohar I, 140a, where it is explained allegorically.

sides,⁸² so that its odor is wafted from one end of the world to the other. Underneath sit the scholars and explain the Torah. Over each of them two canopies are spread, one of stars, the other of sun and moon, and a curtain of clouds of glory separates the one canopy from the other.⁸³ Beyond Paradise begins Eden, containing three hundred and ten worlds⁸⁴ and seven compartments for seven different classes of the pious. In the first are “the martyr victims of the government,” like Rabbi Akiba and his colleagues;⁸⁵

^{82.} Instead of מְכִין read מְבִין (“fanning”, from נָבַח “blew”); the variant מְנַשְׁבִּין seems to be an explanation of the difficult מְבִין, which, as a *lectio difficilior*, deserves preference. On the seven clouds of glory see vol. II, p. 374.

^{83.} Comp. vol. IV, p. 205, with reference to the fragrance of paradise. Concerning the “canopies”, see note 78.

^{84.} Concerning these worlds see note 30. According to Zohar I, 125a, Eden is situated in the seventh heaven (according to another view, even above the seventh heaven), and paradise is situated on earth directly opposite to it. Comp. Berakot 34b; Sanhedrin 99a: No eye has ever seen Eden, ... Adam dwelt in the garden (=paradise) of Eden; comp. note 17, end.

^{85.} The divisions of the dwellers in paradise (or Eden?) into seven classes is very frequently met with (Sifre D., 10 and 47; Midrash Tannaim 6; Tehillim 11, 10, and 16, 128; WR 30. 20; PK 28, 197b; PRK, Schönblum’s edition, 36a). In one passage only is the number reduced to three (ARN 43, 120; comp. also note 97). Perhaps the difference of opinion on this point is in some way related to various opinions about the number of the heavens (comp. note 21); each heaven having a separate class of dwellers, the more pious one is, the higher the heaven in which he dwells. It is said in Shir 6. 8 that sixty groups of the pious study Torah under the shades of the tree of life, while eighty groups of

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in the second those who were drowned;⁸⁶ in the third⁸⁷ Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai and his disciples; in the fourth those who were carried off in the cloud of glory;⁸⁸ in the fifth the penitents, who occupy a place which even a perfectly pious man cannot obtain; in the sixth are the youths⁸⁹ who have not tasted of sin in their lives; in the seventh are those poor who studied Bible and Mishnah, and led a life of self-respecting decency. And God sits in the midst of them and expounds the Torah to them.⁹⁰

the average men study the Torah within a short distance from that tree. Mention is often made of the habitations, or rather worlds, which every pious man receives according to his merit; comp. Shabbat 152a; Ruth R. 1, 16; PK 4, 75a; Tehillim 34 (end); ShR 42.2; Koheleth 12. 5; Baba Batra 75a (אחד ואחד שכל) Enoch 61. 2; John 14. 2. This view does not conflict with the division of the pious into classes, since the individual, though being one of aa class, does not forfeit his independence.—The honor conferred upon R. Akiba and his colleagues as members of the first, *i. e.*, the foremost division, is already mentioned in Baba Batra 10b.

⁸⁶. *I. e.*, as martyrs during the religious persecutions; comp. Gittin 57b.

⁸⁷. Comp. Hagigah 14b where this Rabbi describes his disciples as belonging to the “third division”.

⁸⁸. Under these, the descendants of Moses (comp. vol. IV, p. 317) are to be understood.

⁸⁹. In Berakot 34b two views are cited; according to one, those who repent are considered superior to those who have never sinner, while the other view maintains the opposite case. As to the high esteem in which innocent youths are held, comp. Pesahim 113a. On the study of Torah under God's guidance, comp. note 194.

⁹⁰. Perek Gan 'Eden, which is extant in many recensions: Yalkut I, 20

As for the seven divisions of Paradise, each of them is twelve myriads of miles in width and twelve myriads of miles in length. In the first division dwell the proselytes who embraced Judaism of their own free will, not from compulsion. The walls are of glass and the wainscoting of cedar. The prophet Obadiah,⁹¹ himself a

(from a poor text of Yalkut published by Jellinek in BHM II, 52-53, under the wrong title *Seder Gan 'Eden*); Baraita di-Shemuel 25 (text in manuscript by Rachlin, *Bar Levoi*, New York, 1906, pp. 82-84); Mahzor Vitry 735. Aggadat Shir and Targum Eccl., and probably also Zohar (comp. notes 79 and 81), seem to have made use of this description of paradise. Most of the legends relating to paradise and hell are attributed to R. Joshua b. Levi, who, according to a well-known tradition, already mentioned in the Talmud (Ketubot 77b), was permitted to enter paradise during his life-time. Hence the description of paradise begins: "R. Joshua b. Levi said: There are eighty myriads of trees in every corner of paradise, etc." In Baraita di-Shemuel, after this description of paradise, there follows in a second chapter another description of the seven divisions of the pious in paradise (comp. note 97). The entire tractate is headed *Masseket Gan 'Eden*. It is, however, quite obvious from the contents that the two descriptions are of different origin. That a description of hell followed the one of paradise is quite probable, and the designation of the latter as *Perek Gan 'Eden* clearly points to this direction; but the description of hell found in our text of Baraita di-Shemuel 30-32 (published in BHM I, 147-149), from another source, has been artificially attached to that of paradise. One of the descriptions is purely legendary, while the other is midrashic-haggadic; they therefore must be of different origin.

⁹¹ These seven divisions are obviously identical with those previously described. There are many other descriptions of these divisions; comp. note 97. Concerning the proselyte Obadiah, comp. vol. IV, pp. 240-241.

proselyte, is the {²²} overseer of this first division. The second division is built of silver, and the wainscoting thereof is of cedar. Here dwell those who have repented, and Manasseh, the penitent son of Hezekiah, presides over them. The third division is built of silver and gold. Here dwell Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and all the Israelites who came out of Egypt, and the whole generation that lived in the desert.⁹² Also David is there, together with all his sons⁹³ except Absalom, one of them, Chileab, still alive. And all the kings of Judah are there, with the exception of Manasseh, the son of Hezekiah, who presides in the second division, over the penitents. Moses and Aaron preside over the third division. Here are precious vessels of silver and gold and jewels and canopies and beds and thrones and lamps, of gold, of precious stones, and of pearls, the best of everything there is in heaven.⁹⁴ The fourth division is built of beautiful rubies,⁹⁵ and its wainscoting is of olive wood. Here dwell the perfect and the steadfast in faith, and

⁹². The views of the ancient authorities differ on the question whether the "generation of the wilderness" have a portion in the life to come (=paradise); comp. note 177 on vol. III, p. 79.

⁹³. The sentence *מאבשלם . . . וכל* is to be placed after *הוא שם*; hence the translation in the text.

⁹⁴. Read *שבשמים* instead of *שמנים*, and comp. Konen 28. On Chileab comp. Vol. II, p. 260 and vol. IV, p. 118. On Menasseh comp. Vol. IV, p. 280. On those who repent, see note 89 and Koheleth i. 8.

⁹⁵. Read *בנוי מישפה ואדם* (=Ezek. 28. 13) instead of the meaningless *בנוי אדם הראשון*. Comp. Konen 29. A scribe who misread *אדם* for *אדם* added *הראשון*.

their wainscoting is of olive wood, because their lives were bitter as olives to them. The fifth division is built of silver and gold and refined gold,⁹⁶ and the finest of gold and glass and bdellium, and through the midst of it flows the river Gihon. The wainscoting is of silver and gold, and a perfume breathes through it more exquisite than the perfume of Lebanon. The coverings of the silver and gold beds are made of purple and blue, woven by Eve, and of scarlet and the hair of goats, woven by angels. Here dwells the Messiah on a palanquin made of the wood of Lebanon, “the pillars thereof of silver, the bottom of gold, the seat of it purple.” With him is Elijah. He takes the head of Messiah, and places it in his bosom, and says to him, “Be quiet, {23} for the end draweth nigh.” On every Monday and Thursday and on Sabbaths and holidays, the Patriarchs come to him, and the twelve sons of Jacob, and Moses, Aaron, David, Solomon, and all the kings of Israel and of Judah, and they weep with him and comfort him, and say unto him, “Be quiet and put trust in thy Creator, for the end draweth nigh.” Also Korah and his company, and Dathan, Abiram, and Absalom come to him on every Wednesday, and ask him: “How long before the end comes full of wonders? When wilt thou bring us life again, and from the abysses of the earth lift us?” The Messiah answers them, “Go to your fathers and ask them”; and when they hear this, they are ashamed, and do not ask their fathers.

⁹⁶. According to Yoma 45a, fine gold (זָהָב) is the third best among the seven kinds of gold, whereas Parvaim gold (comp. note 77, as well as Masseket Kelim 89) is the very best.

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In the sixth division dwell those who died in performing a pious act, and in the seventh division those who died from illness inflicted as an expiation for the sins of Israel.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ Ma'aseh de-R. Joshua b. Levi 48-49. This description is partly (not in its entirety, as Jellinek asserts) incorporating into Konen 28-30, which source is to be used for the establishing of a correct text of Ma'aseh (comp. notes 94-95). Great caution must, however, be taken, since Konen had other sources, along with Ma'aseh, at its disposal for the description of paradise, found in Gaster's *Ma'asiyyot* 96-97, corresponds to ours in the introductory parts only, in which the adventure of this sage with the angel of death is mentioned (according to Ketubot 77b; comp. note 90), but not in the description of paradise proper. Very characteristic is the fact that this source knows only of three halls of paradise, one of glass, for proselytes; one of silver, for the righteous of Israel (instead of *כל מלבי ישראל*, p. 97, line 24, read *כל אותם שהם מזרע מלבי ישראל*); one of gold, in which dwell the three patriarchs and Moses, Aaron, David, "the weeping" Messiah, and Elijah comforting him. On the division of paradise into three, comp. note 85. The most elaborate description of paradise is that given by Jellinek in BHM III, 131-140 (comp. also the additions, 194-198), published under the title of Seder Gan 'Eden. This description has been extensively made use of by kabbalistic authors (comp. Jellinek, *Einleitung und Zusätze*, as well as Zohar I, 41a; III, 167b) who describe it as part of the Book of Enoch. It, however, shows traces of speculative mysticism (for instance, great emphasis is laid upon the difference between spirit and soul, on the union of the masculine with the feminine souls which result in the productions of new souls, and many other views of speculative mysticism), and it therefore could not have originated earlier than the end of the twelfth century. The division of the pious into seven classes is also known to this source, but it differs from the divisions found

elsewhere (Perek Gan 'Eden 52-53 and Sha'are Gan 'Eden 42-43 = Baraita di-Shemuel 28-29; comp. note 90). This source is also acquainted with a portion of paradise assigned to women, who, like the men, are divided into seven classes, each of which is under the supervision of some famous woman from biblical times. These are: Bithiah, the foster-mother of Moses, Jochebed, Miriam, Huldah the prophetess, Abigail, the four matriarchs, Sarah, Rebekah, Rachel, Leah. As nine women are given here as heads of seven divisions, the text must therefore be corrected in accordance with Zohar III, 167b. The distinction drawn between the garden (=paradise) and Eden is old (comp. note 84 and Sha'are Gan 'Eden, *loc. cit.*, where the dwellers of Eden are divided into twelve classes), but this source expresses this distinction in a different manner. To the old mysticism belongs the conception of the 390 heavens and 18000 worlds (comp. note 30), but this source gives a different interpretation of this mystic doctrine. Quite new is the conception of the secret chamber of the Messiah in paradise which is called here, as well as in Zohar II, 8a, by the peculiar name "bird's nest". On the whole, the Messiah plays an important part in this description of the life of the pious in paradise. Old is the view that the pious, particularly the patriarchs and the Messiah, grieve over Israel's suffering, and pray to God for their redemption; Berakot 18b; ShR 15. 26; BaR 19. 15; Tehillim 14, 115; Ekah 2, 11 (in the two last-named passages it is Jacob especially who is most concerned about Israel's suffering); Baba Mezi'a 85b (comp. this passage in vol. IV, p. 219); Mahzor Vitry 17; Pardes 54d; Seder Rashi 22; a kabbalistic source in Yalkut Reubeni on Deut. 23. 3; Tosafot on Sotah 34d (caption אביותי), and the passages cited there from the Talmud; see further PR 12, 46b-47a. Whereas Tehillim 30, 234 and 14 (according to the reading of Makiri, *ad. loc.*, 79, bottom), and PR 2, 5b, state that the pious when dead continually praise God, later sources (PR 198a; BHM V, 43; Recanati on Gen. 3. 24; R. Bahya on Exod. 20. 8; Seder Gan 'Eden

THE FOURTH DAY

The fourth day of creation produced the sun, the moon, and the stars. These heavenly spheres were not actually fashioned on this day; they were created on the first day, and merely were assigned their places in the heavens on the fourth.⁹⁸ At first the

138) maintain that on the Sabbath, festivals, and new-moons the dead rise from their graves, behold the Shekinah, and praise the Lord. Comp. also Zohar II, 8a (which very likely depends upon the Seder Gan 'Eden, *loc. cit.*); Yalkut Reubeni Gen. 19. 2; vol. III, p. 400. On Korah comp. vol. III, p. 300, and vol. IV, p. 234. — R. Joshua b. Levi is also the author of a description of hell which is given in vol. II, pp. 310, *seq.* For further details concerning the description of hell and paradise, comp. Gaster, *Hebrew Version of Hell and Paradise in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1893, pp. 571-611; Rachlin, *Bar Levoi*, 70-86; Landau, *Hölle und Fegfeuer* (Heidelberg, 1909, *passim*). A fragment of a description of paradise is found in *Steinschneider-Festschrift*, Hebrew section, 55-56. Comp. also *Abkat Rokel*, II, 1.

⁹⁸. Hagigah 12a. The view that the light created on the first day in identical with that of the heavenly bodies is given as that of the majority of scholars. But there are some who maintain that the light of the first day is entirely different from all other lights. Comp. vol. I, pp. 8-9. Philo, *De M. Opif.*, 3-4, asserts that the ideal world was created on the first day (concerning this explanation of the expression יום אחד comp. note 71), whereas the material world appeared on the following days. Similarly a Tanna of the middle of the second century asserts: Everything was created on the first day, except that some things appeared earlier and others later; Tan. B. I, 2; BR 12. 4; Origen on Gen. 22. 2; Ephraim, I, 127C; Basilius *Hexaemeron*, 4. Comp. Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 24. See also Ginzberg's remarks in *R.E.J.*, LXVIII, 148. On the

sun and the moon enjoyed equal powers and prerogatives.⁹⁹ The moon spoke to God, and said: "O Lord, why didst Thou create the world with the letter Bet?" God replied: "That it might be made known unto My creatures that there are two worlds." The moon: "O Lord: which of the two worlds is the larger, this world or the world to come?" God: "The world to come is the larger." The moon: "O Lord, Thou didst create two {24} worlds, a greater and a lesser world; Thou didst create the heaven and the earth, the heaven exceeding the earth; Thou didst create fire and water, the water stronger than the fire, because it can quench the fire; and now Thou hast created the sun and the moon, and it is becoming that one of them should be greater than the other." Then spake God to the moon: "I know well, thou wouldst have me make Thee greater than the sun. As a punishment I decree that thou mayest keep but one-sixtieth of thy light." The moon made supplication: "Shall I be punished so severely for having spoken a single word?" God relented: "In the future world I will restore thy light, so that

same view by the philosophers of the middle ages, see Horovitz, *Ueber den Einfluss... auf dem Kalam*, 22, note 2. Comp. also note 97 on vol. I, p. 82.

⁹⁹ God created the sun and the moon in order to give the lie to the heathen who worship them as deities; had God only created one of them, the heathen would have apparently had good reason for adoring it. Similarly Philo, *De M. Opif.*, 14-15; Theophilus 2. 15; Tadshe (beginning), which reads: God first created the plant world and then the heavenly bodies, in order that it should not be said that the latter produced the former; comp. also vol. I, p. 16, where the same idea is expressed with reference to the angels.

thy light may again be as the light of the sun.” The moon was not yet satisfied. “O Lord,” she said, “and the light of the sun, how great will it be in that day?” Then the wrath of God was once more enkindled: “What, thou still plottest against the sun? As thou livest, in the world to come his light shall be sevenfold the light he now sheds.”¹⁰⁰ The Sun runs his course like a bridegroom. He sits

¹⁰⁰. Konen 25–26, which is based on older sources; comp. BR 6. 3;

Hullin 60b; Shebu’ot 9a (the sacrifice of atonement on the new-moon is God’s acknowledgement that He dealt too severely with the moon); PRE 4 and 51; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 1. 16 and Num. 28. 15. These sources, as well as others (Mekilta Bo 1, 32.; PK 5, 54a; PR 15, 78a; Tan. B. II, 47), also speak of the compensation received by the moon for its reduction in size: it became a symbol of Israel and the pious, whereas the sun represents Esau and the ungodly. Moreover the moon is sometimes seen also by day while the sun on the other hand is never seen by night. A reminiscence of the mythological conception of the diminution of the moon (the rationalistic explanation of the Haggadah by Back, *Monatsschrift* XXIX, 226, *seq.*, must not be taken seriously) as a punishment for its rebellious conduct toward God may be found in Enoch 18. 15, where mention is made of the chastisement of the stars which “did not come at their appointed times”. This corresponds to the reproach administered to the moon, mentioned in BR, *loc. cit.*, for having encroached upon the province of its colleague (=the sun), *i.e.*, for having shone during the day. The myth sought to explain the appearance of the moon by day, which, owing to the superiority of the sun over it, was rather baffling to the primitive mind. Hullin, *loc. cit.*, as well as the later addition in BR (אני הוא שגרמתי), does not present the myth in its original form.—That the sun and moon are endowed with wisdom and passion like man is originally a mythological conception which had been

upon a throne with a garland on his head.¹⁰¹ Ninety-six angels

maintained for a long time by Jews and Christians. On this conception in pseudepigraphic literature and Philo, comp. Psalms of Solomon, end (the prayer at the appearance of the new-moon, קדוש לבנה, in present use, which is already found in Sanhedrin 42a partly corresponds to this psalm); Apocalypse of Baruch 48. 9; Enoch 2, 1–5, 3 (it is more than a poetic description of the order reigning in nature and the lack of order displayed by man); Philo, *De Plant. Noe*, 3; *De Somn.* 1, 4 and 2, 16. On the rabbinic sources containing this view, comp., besides the passages referred to at the beginning of this note, also those cited in notes 102, 104, 105, 112. For the Christian sources, see Origen, I, 7; *Visio Pauli* 4–6. Like the heavenly bodies, even so the earth, the plants, in short, all existing things, were conceived more or less by analogy to man; comp. note 193. — Concerning the motions of the heavenly bodies, the Books of Enoch, as well as the old rabbinic sources, contain a good deal of material which is on the boundary line of mythology and astronomy; comp. Pesahim 94a; Yerushalmi Rosh ha-Shanah 2, 58a; Baba Batra 25a; PK 29, 186a–186b; ER 2, 9–10; Hallel 89; Shir 3. 11; see also the two writings Baraita di-Shemuel and Baraita di-Mazzalot, which are entirely devoted to this subject. Old material is found also in Razel, which is particularly instructive for the history of astrology. Of interest is “the case” in which the disc of the sun is inserted (נרתיק נאקאθςαπ “case”), a conception often mentioned in old rabbinic literature as well as in the writings of the Persians and Arabs (comp. Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 145–146). It is noteworthy that this “case” is known in rabbinic sources (BR 6. 6; Koheleth 1. 5; PK 29, 186a; Nedarim 8b; ‘Abodah Zarah 3b; Tehillim 19, 168 and 170; Tan. B. II, 98; Tan. Tezawweh 8; Hallel 89; Baraita di-Ma’aseh Bereshit 50) by the Greek word νרתικ — Concerning the darkness of the sun and the moon, which occupied the minds of the ancients, comp. Mekilta Bo 1. 3a; Tosefta Sukkah 2. 6 and Babli 29a; Derek Erez 2; Nispahim 10; see also the references in note 112, and

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accompany him on his daily journey, in relays of eight every hour, two to the left of him, and two to the right, two before Him, and two behind. Strong as he is, he could complete his course from

Index s. v. Eclipse. The view that the light of the sun is seven times as intense as that of the moon (Enoch 72. 37, 73. 2, and 78. 4, as well as 2 Enoch 11,2) is based on Is. 30. 26. This opinion is also shared by the legend given in the text in accordance with Kōnen 24–25 concerning the restoration of the light of the moon and the sevenfold increase of the light of the sun in the future. The old midrashic sources (Midrash Tannaim 181; ShR 15. 21; Targum, *ad loc.*), however, conceive the passage of Is., *loc. cit.*, in a different manner, and according to them the relationship between the light of the sun and that of the moon is 1: 49 or 1: 343. That the sun and the moon had been of equal size, as stated by Enoch 72. 37, is not stated explicitly in rabbinic literature, but the legend given in the text implies it. Similar is the view of modern scientists that the moon was originally an independent planet; comp. See, *Researches*, II. Like all first things created (comp. vol. I, p. 59), the moon was created in a fully developed form, so that there was full moon on the fourth day of creation; Seder 'Olam 4.

¹⁰¹ PRE 6; Baraita de-Ma'aseh Bereshit 50. The metaphor of the sun as bridegroom is, of course, taken from Ps. 19. 6. It is, however, questionable whether the crown and the wreath (in Hebrew these two things are represented by one word) belong to this conception. The wreath of the bridegroom is Jewish (comp. Sotah 9. 14) but the wreath of the sun may have been borrowed from the Greeks, as the Jews have often seen the image of the sun-god wreathed. The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch knows of the crown of the sun, as well as of its chariot; so also Enoch 75. 8; 2 Enoch 11. 2. Many of the rabbinic sources cited above employ the word מרכבה "chariot", which is, however, rendered "throne", in order to retain the picture of the bridegroom.

south to north in a single instant, but three hundred and sixty-five angels restrain him by means of as many grappling-irons. Every day one looses his hold, and the sun must thus spend three hundred and sixty-five days on his course. The progress of the sun in his circuit is an uninterrupted song of praise to God. And this song alone makes his motion possible. Therefore, when Joshua wanted {25} to bid the sun stand still, he had to command him to be silent. His song of praise hushed, the sun stood still.¹⁰²

¹⁰². MHG I, 41–42; PRE 6; Tehillim 19, 168–170; Baraita de-Ma’aseh Bereshit 50; Koheleth 86; ‘Aseret ha-Dibrot 64; Zohar Hadash on Gen. 4, 19b; 2 Enoch 11. 4; Greek Apocalypse of Baruch 6. Comp. also vol. I, p. 132. The song of praise of the heavenly bodies is partly based on Ps. 19, but presupposes also an acquaintance with the Pythagorean doctrine (perhaps of oriental origin) of the music of the spheres. The original text of Enoch 41. 7 very likely read **וְהֵם מְוָדִים וּמְפָאֲרִים וְשִׁבְחוּ אִם לֹא יִשְׁבְּחוּ** “And they give thanks and they glorify; they would cease to exist if they would not praise.” In consequence of the similarity between the letters ח and ת, the translator was misled into making the text say just the opposite. With regard to the music of the spheres, Philo, *De Car.*, 3, refers to it in the very words which remind one of the anonymous Midrash quoted in *Hadar*, Deut. 32. 1. Comp. also DR 10. 1 and 2; Yelammedenu in Yalkut I, 729. See further vol. I, pp. 44, *seq.* The song of praise of the sun and moon did not strike the naïve mind as strange, in view of the fact that the surfaces of these luminaries resemble the human countenance; comp. R. Benjamin b. Zerah (about 1050) in his piyyut **אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהִים אִמָּת** in the Roman and German Mahzor (comp. Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte*, 121), who undoubtedly made use of a version of Midrash Konen different from ours, but which Treves still had before him in his commentary on the Roman Mahzor entitled *Kimha Dabishuna*, *ad loc.* The human countenance of the sun is also referred to in the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch 6.

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The sun is double-faced; one face, of fire, is directed toward the earth, and one of hail, toward heaven, to cool off the prodigious heat that streams from the other face, else the earth would catch afire. In winter the sun turns his fiery face upward, and thus the cold is produced.¹⁰³ When the sun descends in the west in the evening, he dips down into the ocean and takes a bath, his fire is extinguished, and therefore he dispenses neither light nor warmth during the night. But as soon as he reaches the east in the morning, he laves himself in a stream of flame, which imparts warmth and light to him, and these he sheds over the earth. In the same way the moon and the stars take a bath in a stream of hail before they enter upon their service for the night.¹⁰⁴

When the sun and the moon are ready to start upon their

Comp. also the preceding note as well as note 112 on vol. IV, p. 4.

¹⁰³ PRE 6; Baraita de-Ma'aseh Bereshit. See also 2 Enoch 37. 2. In the Midrashim (BR 5. 6; Koheleth 1. 5; Tehillim 19, 170; Baraita de-Ma'aseh Bereshit, *loc. cit.*) it is said that the sun is led through a stream, which is put up for that purpose in heaven, before it starts its revolution, to cool off its heat; otherwise it might consume the earth.

¹⁰⁴ PRE 51 and 6; Baraita de-Ma'aseh Bereshit 50. The moon and the stars have light but no heat, and hence the "bath of hail". On the stream of fire in which the sun bathes, comp. also Enoch 17. 4 and Baba Batra 84a. The latter passage reads: The sun passes paradise in the morning and hell in the evening. Dawn is a reflection of the roses of paradise; the evening twilight of the fire of hell. The stream of fire in which the sun bathes, is identical with the Nehar di-Nur; comp. Luria on PRE 51 and note 62.

round of duties, they appear before God, and beseech him to relieve them of their task, so that they may be spared the sight of sinning mankind. Only upon compulsion they proceed with their daily course. Coming from the presence of God, they are blinded by the radiance in the heavens, and they cannot find their way. God, therefore, shoots off arrows, by the glittering light of which they are guided. It is on account of the sinfulness of man, which the sun is forced to contemplate on his rounds, that he grows weaker as the time of his going down approaches, for sins have a defiling and enfeebling effect, and he drops from the horizon as a sphere of blood, for blood is the sign of corruption.¹⁰⁵ As the sun

¹⁰⁵ WR 31. 9; Tehillim 19, 169; ER 2, 11; MHG I, 42; Alphabetot 118; Baraita de-Ma'aseh Bereshit 50. Quite similar is the statement of the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch 8 to the effect that the angels remove the crown of the sun in the evening, bring it to heaven, and "renew" it there (the "renewing" of creation every day is also alluded to in the morning prayer, at the end of *Yotzer*, comp. note 6), because the sun and its rays are becoming defiled on earth. With regard to the compulsory motion of the heavenly bodies, which do not wish to shed their light upon a sinful world, comp. vol. III, pp. 197–298; vol. IV, p. 309. In *Visio Pauli* 4–6, the sun, moon, stars, and the sea implore God to grant them the power to destroy the sinners. There is a widespread view, which is based on Deut. 31. 28, to the effect that the earth, the heaven, and the heavenly bodies bear witness for and against man, according to his actions; comp. Enoch 1. 7; Sifre D., 306; 'Abodah Zarah 3a. The following legend is quoted by many medieval authors (Mahzor Vitry 373; Zohar III, 275a; *Sefer Mizvot Gadol*, 42nd positive precept; Kaneh in Yalkut Reubeni I, 16, 8b) from an unknown midrashic source which reads: Whenever Satan brings accusations against Israel on the New Year, the day when God sits down to judge the whole universe, God commands him to produce witnesses

sets forth on his course in the morning, his wings touch the leaves on the trees of Paradise, and their {²⁶} vibration is communicated to the angels and the holy Hayyot, to the other plants, and also to the trees and plants on earth, and to all the beings on earth and in heaven. It is the signal for them all to cast their eyes upward. As soon as they see the Ineffable Name, which is engraved in the sun, they raise their voices in songs of praise to God. At the same moment a heavenly voice is heard to say, "Woe to the sons of men that consider not the honor of God like unto these creatures whose voices now rise aloft in adoration."¹⁰⁶ These

in support of his accusations. But he can only secure one witness on that day, the sun, because the moon is invisible at that time; but when Satan appears ten days later, on the Day of Atonement, with his second witness, he is informed by the Lord that Israel repented of their sins during the ten days of penitence and that they were pardoned. Satan fares still worse in the legend given in PR 45, 185b–186a, according to which, while Satan is searching for more sins, God removes sins from the balance in which the good and evil deeds are weighed. On the appearance of the heavenly bodies, before and after their daily course, before God, comp. Baba Batra 25a and vol. III, p. 116.

¹⁰⁶. Zohar Hadash Bereshit 4, 23a (on Gen. 2. 8); that God's name is engraved in the sun is already mentioned in PRE 6, as well as in the Baraita de-Ma'aseh Bereshit 50; whereas according to the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch 6, the bird running before the sun (comp. vol. I, p. 32) bears on its body an inscription of golden letters. In the old Midrashim (Tan. B. II, 112; Kinyan Torah; introduction to Ekah 2; Tan. Ki-Tissa 16; PK 15, 12111; ShR 41. 6) it is said that a heavenly voice proclaims daily on mount Horeb: "Woe to mankind for contempt of the

words, naturally, are not heard by men; as little as they perceive the grating of the sun against the wheel to which all the celestial bodies are attached, although the noise it makes is extraordinarily loud.¹⁰⁷ This friction of the sun and the wheel produces the notes

Torah.” The revelation which took place on Sinai-Horeb is a Constant accusation against mankind for not walking in God’s path, despite the Torah that was given to them. Similarly the daily appearance of the sun also is a constant accusation against the sinners who do not recognize their Creator.

¹⁰⁷. BR 6. 7; ShR 5. 9; Koheleth Z. 86; Shemuel 9, 74; Yoma 20b—21a; PRE 34. On the grating of the sun against its wheel, comp. Sachs, *Beiträge*, I, 50; Perles, *Etymologische Studien*, 72; Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 145. This has nothing to do with the music of the spheres, despite the statement of Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed*, II, 8, and Zohar Hadash Bereshit 4 (caption שמעון “תני ר”). The old Jewish sources are not acquainted with the conception of the music of the spheres; comp. note 102. As to the noises which resound throughout the universe but are nevertheless inaudible to man, a good deal more is mentioned in the sources just quoted. These noises are at the birth and death of man, at the first sexual intercourse, as well as at the time of divorce, the felling of a fruitful tree and the sloughing of the skin of a Serpent, the falling of rain (Yoma *loc. cit.*, reads more accurately: the roaring of the taurine angel when he causes the water from the lower abyss to be poured into the upper abyss; comp. Ta’anit 25b; Baraita de-Ma’aseh Bereshit 49; Seder Rabba di-Bereshit 10; *Responsen der Geonim*, Harkavy’s edition, No. 289. p. 142); finally there resounds out of Rome such a loud voice, that were it not for the grating of the sun, it would have been audible all over the world. In these sources mythological conceptions, as, for instance, the roaring of the taurine angel of the abyss, which is merely the Jewish recast of the Babylonian belief about the god “Ea”, are found side by side with purely poetical images. As to the loud voice which resounds at the

dancing about in the sunbeams. They are the carriers of healing to the sick,¹⁰⁸ the only health-giving creations of the fourth day, on the whole an unfortunate day, especially for children, afflicting them with disease.¹⁰⁹ When God punished the envious moon by diminishing her light and splendor, so that she ceased to be the equal of the sun as she had been originally,¹¹⁰ she fell,¹¹¹ and tiny

time of a divorce, comp. Index s. v. Divorce. See also vol. I, p. 59.

¹⁰⁸. Nedarim 8b; Yoma 20b, which reads: These motes are named לא "la" in Aramaic, according to which לה (Dan. 4. 32) is explained. On the grating of the sun, comp. Löw in *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, XV, 305.

¹⁰⁹. Yerushalmi Ta'anit 4, 68b; Babli 27b; Soferim 7. 5. One should not go out of doors on Wednesday night (i.e., on Wednesday eve, for according to the Jewish conception the day belongs to the preceding night) because the demon Agrat the daughter of Ma'hlat (=אגרת בת מחלת; the transliteration is doubtful, and Kohut's Persian etymology in *Angelologie*, 88, is certainly untenable) with her eighteen myriads of malicious throngs come out on this night (also on Saturday night) to inflict evil on man. See Pesahim 111a and 112b; PRK (Grünhut's edition) 73; BaR 12. 3. Comp. further Sifra 26. 4; Geiger, *Kebuzzat Maamarim*, 167, and Ginzberg's note in the supplement. In the middle ages Monday (comp. vol. I, p. 15) and Wednesday were considered as unlucky days, and there is an accepted rule אין מתחילין בב' "one should not begin any undertaking on Monday or Wednesday". Brüll, *Jahrbücher*, IX, 5 (comp. also *ibid.*, 66), accepts the explanation found in a manuscript, according to which the belief is due to the fact that בד in Persian signifies "bad"; but this explanation is rather far-fetched.

¹¹⁰. Comp. vol. I, pp. 23-44.

¹¹¹. It is not on earth but in heaven where the moon slipped in its terror of the punishment which was pronounced.

threads were loosed from her body. These are the stars.¹¹²

^{112.} *Hadar* on Gen. 1. 16, which cites an unknown midrashic source; *Toledot Yizhak* on Gem, *loc. cit.*, which is very likely based on *Hadar*. According to this legend, the word כוכבדים “stars” is connected with the word כבה “was extinguished”; the light of the moon was dimmed because some of her parts fell off. On the etymology of שמש “sun”, ירח and סהר “moon”, see Konen 25-46. The text of this passage is to be corrected in accordance with Zohar Hadash Bereshit 4. 19b: שמש =

שֶׁמֶשׁ “servant of man”. Jellinek emended it correctly without having known the parallel passage. — In the legends concerning the sun, moon, and the stars it is presupposed that these luminaries are endowed with consciousness and intelligence. This idea, as pointed out in note 100, was so widespread among the ancients that Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed*, II, 5 (comp. also *Yad ha-Hazakah*, *Yesode ha-Torah*, 3. 9), was justified in referring to the Haggadah as support for his doctrine which he borrowed from the Greeks, that the heavenly bodies were endowed with intelligence. Philo, *De Plan. Noe*, 3 and *De Somn.*, 4, likewise calls attention to the agreement among the Jews and the Greeks concerning this view. It should, however, be observed that in the liturgy, at least as far as the old prayers are concerned, the conception of the heavenly bodies as intelligent or animate beings is entirely ignored, though the opportunity has frequently presented itself to make use of this idea, as, for instance, in the morning and evening prayer, in the passages of Yozer and Ma’arib ‘Arabim. On the passages in pseudepigraphic literature stating that the heavenly bodies are endowed with life and senses, comp. note 100, as well as Enoch 41. 5, and the passages cited by Charles. Not only Enoch 18. 13-16, but also the Talmud (Mo’ed Katan 16a) speaks of “rebellious” stars; comp. also vol. IV, p. 36, on Meroz (Jud. 5. 23). On the eclipse of the moon and sun comp. note 100. See further Philo, *De M. Opif.*, 19, and Steinschneider in *Magazin für Literatur d. Auslands*, 1845, No. 80. Concerning the material of which the sun and moon were made

THE FIFTH DAY

On the fifth day of creation God took fire¹¹³ and water, and out of these two elements He made the fishes of the sea.¹¹⁴ The animals in the water are much more numerous than those on land. For every species on land, excepting only the weasel, there is a corresponding species in the water, and, besides, there are many found only in the water.¹¹⁵ {27}

The ruler over the sea-animals is leviathan.¹¹⁶ With all the other

very little is found in the Haggadah; according to Konen 25 the moon consists of light, the sun of fire. The statement made in the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch 9 to the effect that the moon has the likeness of a woman (in the original myth she must have been the wife of the sun) is unknown in Jewish sources. On the human form of the moon, however, see note 102. Comp. further Index, s. v. "Man in the Moon".

¹¹³ Konen 26, where **ש**א should probably be read instead of **אור**; comp., however, Ginzberg, *Unbekannte Sekte*, 114, note 2, as well as PRE 9.

¹¹⁴ Konen 26. On the three elements, light, fire, and water, by the combination of which all the heavenly and earthly bodies have been formed, comp. Konen 24.

¹¹⁵ Hullin 127a; Yerushalmi Shabbat 14, 14c; Tehillim 104, 445; PR 23, 117a. The creation of the sea shows God's might as much as that of all the other creatures taken together. Similarly God's power is manifested in the creation of Leviathan as in that of all the other creatures taken together. See Mekilta Bahodesh 7, 69b (read **שהים** instead of **שהיום**), and Mekilta RS, 109.

¹¹⁶ Midrash Jonah 98; comp. also vol. I, p. 40, and vol. IV, p. 249, as

fishes he was made on the fifth day.¹¹⁷ Originally he was created male and female like all the other animals. But when it appeared that a pair of these monsters might annihilate the whole earth with their united strength, God killed the female.¹¹⁸ So enormous is leviathan that to quench his thirst he needs all the water that flows from the Jordan into the sea.¹¹⁹ His food consists of the fish

well as Mekilta RS, 109. A vast collection of passages from rabbinic literature, which treat of Leviathan, is given by I. Löw in *Judaica* (Cohen-Festschrift, Berlin, 1912), 338-340. Comp. also Löw in *Orientalische Studien*, 555; Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 127-130.

¹¹⁷. Baba Batra 74b; BR 7. 4; Konen 26; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 1. 20. In all these passages, תנינים (Gen., *loc. cit.*) is identified with Leviathan (so BR 11. 9, and the parallel passages cited by Theodor, *ad loc.*). תנין is indeed the proper word for Leviathan, since by looking at it man is induced to relate (=תנן) God's wonders. Comp. Lekah, Gen, *loc. cit.* According to another view תנינים means the "sea-gazelle"; comp. Baba Batra, *loc. cit.*, and note 132.

¹¹⁸. Baba Batra 74b; Zohar II, 108b. Konen 26 mentions the creation of the female Leviathan, but not its slaying; it thus assumes the existence of a pair of these monsters which have no sexual desire, so that they do not multiply. This is explicitly stated in BR 7. 4 with reference to Behemoth; this source quotes the dissenting view that neither Leviathan nor Behemoth exists as a "pair". In Baba Batra, *loc. cit.*, however, it is stated that God not only slew the female, but also castrated the male. Comp. also Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 1. 20. The Leviathan "pair" may be compared with the Babylonian myth concerning Tiamat and her only mate Kingu, according to which the latter is vanquished by Marduk and made harmless, while the former is slain.

¹¹⁹. Baba Batra 74b. The Midrashim (PK 6, 58; PR 16, 81a; WR 22. 9; BaR 21. 18; Tan. Pinehas 6) describe, in still more glowing colors, the

which go between his jaws of their own accord.¹²⁰ When he is hungry, a hot breath blows from his nostrils, and it makes the waters of the great sea seething hot. Formidable though behemoth, the other monster, is, he feels insecure until he is certain that leviathan has satisfied his thirst.¹²¹ The only thing that can keep him in check is the stickleback, a little fish which was created for the purpose, and of which he stands in great awe.¹²² But leviathan is more than merely large and strong; he is wonderfully made besides. His fins radiate brilliant light, the very sun is obscured by it,¹²³ and also his eyes shed such splendor that frequently the sea is illuminated suddenly by it.¹²¹ No wonder that this marvellous beast

enormous quantities of water needed by Behemoth, and quote a view according to which a river comes out from paradise in order to quench the thirst of this monster. Comp. note 142.

^{120.} PK 29, 188a; Baba Batra 74b; Midrash Jonah 98; PRE 9. Comp. vol. I, p. 40; vol. IV, p. 249.

^{121.} Baba Batra 74b–75a. Comp. also the Midrashim cited in note 119.

^{122.} Shabbat 77b; PRK (Grünhut's edition) 74; Iggeret Ba'ale Hayyim 3, 12. According to I. Löw, *Orientalische Studien*, 565, which causes terror to the Leviathan, is the Greek χαλκίς "lizzard".

^{123.} PK 29, 188a. Comp. also vol. I, p. 28, with regard to the illuminating canopy over the heads of the pious made of the hide of Leviathan. The clothes of the first "human couple" which were "garments of light", were made of the hide of the female Leviathan (comp. Index, s. v. "Adam, Garments of"). Comp. the unknown Midrash in *Hadar* and *Da'at* (מנחת יהודה) on Gen. 3, 21. In the Babylonian myths of creation the heavens are formed of the upper parts of the body of Tiamat.

is the plaything of God, in whom He takes His pastime.¹²⁴

There is but one thing that makes leviathan repulsive, his foul smell: which is so strong that if it penetrated thither, it would render Paradise itself an impossible abode.¹²⁵

The real purpose of leviathan is to be served up as a dainty to

¹²⁴ 'Abodah Zarah 3b; PRE 9; Midrash Jonah 98; Hasidim 476. Comp. further Septuagint and Targum on Ps. 104. 26, both of which understand this passage to say (very likely on the basis of Job 40. 27, as already remarked by Rashi on Ps., *loc. cit.*, which escaped the notice of Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze* 128) that God sports with Leviathan. In 'Abodah Zarah, *loc. cit.*, the following account is given of God's occupation during the twelve hours of the day. He studies the Torah during the first three hours; He judges the world for three hours; during the next three hours He provides for the needs of all living creatures; the last three hours He spends sporting with Leviathan. This Haggadah is allegorically explained in ER 2, 61—62, where Leviathan is taken symbolically to represent the power of the heathen (comp. Tehillim 104, 445). It is accordingly stated there that nothing pleases God so much as the failure of the designs of the heathen against Him (comp. Ps. 2. 1—4). On the plan of God's daily occupation comp. further ER 17, 84; 18, 90; 26, 130; 31, 162. On Leviathan = evil, comp. note 127, end.

¹²⁵ Baba Batra 75a, which literally reads: If Leviathan were not to put his head into paradise and become perfumed by its fragrance, no creature could exist on account of the awful odor he emits. This statement has nothing to do with the medieval legend concerning the offensive odor of the devil, but it is related to the ancient identification of Leviathan with the sea. The latter has an offensive odor. Comp. vol. III, p. 25 (end of paragraph).

The Legends of the Jews

the pious in the world to come. The female was put into brine as soon as she was killed, to be preserved against the time when her flesh will be needed.¹²⁶ The male is destined to offer a delectable sight to all beholders before he is consumed. When his last hour arrives, God will summon {28} the angels to enter into combat with the monster. But no sooner will leviathan cast his glance at them than they will flee in fear and dismay from the field of battle. They will return to the charge with swords, but in vain, for his scales can turn back steel like straw. They will be equally unsuccessful when they attempt to kill him by throwing darts and slinging stones; such missiles will rebound without leaving the least impression on his body. Disheartened, the angels will give up the combat, and God will command leviathan and behemot to enter into a duel with each other. The issue will be that both will drop dead, behemot slaughtered by a blow of leviathan's fins, and leviathan killed by a lash of behemot's tail. From the skin of leviathan God will construct tents to shelter companies of the pious while they enjoy the dishes made of his flesh. The amount assigned to each of the pious will be in proportion to his deserts, and none will envy or begrudge the other his better share. What is left of leviathan's skin will be stretched out over Jerusalem as a canopy, and the light streaming from it will illumine the whole world, and what is left of his flesh after the pious have appeased their appetite, will be distributed among the rest of men, to carry

¹²⁶. Baba Batra 74b, where a reason is given why the female monster and not the male was put to death. Comp. note 118 and the following note.

on traffic therewith.¹²⁷

¹²⁷. PK 29, 188a–188b; Baba Batra 753; Alphabetot 98. The contest between the angels and the monsters is variously described in the sources quoted above, and especially noteworthy is the description of Alphabetot. Gabriel receives the order from God to drag out Leviathan from the Great Sea (=Ocean, or the Mediterranean Sea; comp. Baba Batra 74b and note 73), for which purpose the angel provides himself with the necessary implements. He succeeds in hooking Leviathan, but is swallowed up in his attempt to drag him out on dry land. Whereupon God Himself is obliged to seize Leviathan, and He slays him in the presence of the pious. Then Michael and Gabriel are sent against the male and female Behemoth, but being unable to carry out God's command (this is the way the fragmentary text is to be emended), He Himself is then obliged to accomplish it. For further details concerning Leviathan and Behemoth, comp. Pirke Mashiah, 76; BHM VI. 150; WR 13. 3; Kalir in the piyyut *יכון עולם* (end of *Lamentations* in Roman Mahzor), who made use of old sources which are no longer extant, in his description of the two monsters and of their contest which ends with the annihilation of both. Comp. further vol. I, pp. 29 and 30 with reference to Ziz and Behemoth. It is noteworthy that the tannaitic literature does not contain anything concerning Leviathan and Behemoth (the remark in Sifra 11. 10 that Leviathan is a clean fish has hardly anything to do with the view that it will be eaten at the Messianic banquet, comp. also Hullin 67b and note 139, beginning), nor concerning the Messianic banquet. The word used in Abot 3. 25 need not be taken literally, as may be seen from Tosefta Sanhedrin 8. 9. Only in post-tannaitic literature, especially in later Midrashim, does the Messianic banquet play a great part. Comp., besides the sources already quoted, Nistarot R. Simeon 80; BHM V, 45–46; VI, 47; Alphabet R. Akiba 33. Comp. also vol. IV, pp. 115–116 and 249. Luzzatto, in his notes on the Roman Mahzor II, 212b, correctly remarked that the legend about the Messianic banquet wants to

On the same day with the fishes, the birds were created, for

convey the view that this will be the last feast, after which the pure spiritual life will begin, when there will be no bodily needs or pleasures. Those who interpret the Leviathan-Behemoth legends allegorically conceive the Messianic banquet in a spiritual sense. Comp. further below. Targum Yerushalmi Num. 11. 26 reads: And they will enjoy the good things which were prepared for them in the pristine times. This is not to be translated, as is done by Bousset, *Religion*, 327: And they will... to enjoy the meat of the steer. This mistranslation is due to the fact that Bousset incorrectly read תורא for טובא. Comp. also note 79 with regard to the wine of the Messianic banquet. The pseudepigraphic literature already knows the essential elements of the highly developed Leviathan-Behemoth legends found in the later Midrashim. In Enoch 60.7-10 it is asserted, in agreement with BR 7.4, that Leviathan and Behemoth (alluding to Job 40. 20 and Ps 50. 10-11, Behemoth was described in the Hebrew text of Enoch as בהמות שדה, which the translator, however, misunderstood and instead of שדה "field", i.e., "the dry land", has שדה "his breast") were created on the fifth day, and of these two the former was the female and the latter the male. But they were separated (comp. vol. 1, p. 27, with regard to the female of the Leviathan), the male monster, Behemoth, received the desert Dudain for his abode (undoubtedly identical with the desert Dudel, Enoch 10. 4; that the latter is situated in the proximity of Jerusalem, the former east of paradise, cannot be urged as an objection to this identification, as the holy city is east of paradise; comp. PRE 20 20, beginning. See further notes 119 and 141 on the habitation of Behemoth in the proximity of paradise), whereas the female Leviathan lives in the depth of the sea. Both, however (verse 24), will serve as food (for the pious; but the text is not very clear here). In 4 Ezra 6. 49-52, Enoch is made use of, but at the same time an attempt is made to explain how it happens that the male monster

these two kinds of animals are closely related to each other. Fish

Behemoth lives on the dry land, while his mate, Leviathan, is in the water. The mates of Leviathan and Behemoth are spoken of in rabbinic sources (comp. note 118). Nowhere, however (Targum Yerushalmi I, 21, is based on Baba Batra 74b, and does not maintain, as Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 54, incorrectly asserts, that Behemoth is the wife of Leviathan), is the idea expressed that both monsters are “a mated pair”; nor does it occur in BR 7. 4; comp. Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 16. The Apocalypse of Baruch 29. 4 knows of the legend that both monsters are destined to be the food of the pious in the time to come, but does not offer any additional information on the subject. The Apocalypse of Abraham 10 speaks of Leviathans (*i. e.*, the male and female monsters), which the archangel Jaoel holds in check; in another passage (21; the text is not quite clear) Leviathan and his possession are spoken of, where, perhaps, the Leviathan and his mate should be read. In case this apocalyptic work was originally composed in Hebrew, the present text can easily be explained as being due to the translator’s confusion of קניתו = קנעתו “his mate” with קניתו = קנינו “his possession”. Comp. Kiddushin 6a, where instead of the reading קנייה, as is found in our texts, we should read, with the Geonim in *Sha’are Zedek* 17a, No. 4, קניתי = קנעתי “my mate”. In the last passage of the Apocalypse referred to above the remark is made that the world rests upon Leviathan. This shows the high antiquity of the similar statement found in rabbinic sources; PRE 9; Konen 26; ‘Aseret ha-Dibrot 63; Baraita de-Ma’aseh Bereshit 47 (the whole world, as well as the “Great Sea” which compasses it, rests on four pillars, and these pillars rest on one of the fins of Leviathan); Seder Rabba di-Bereshit 9; Zohar III, 279. Comp. also the numerous quotations from Kabbalistic writings by Luria on PRE, *loc. cit.*, as well as Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 19, where a quotation from a New Testament apocrypha is given concerning the “divos pisces (*i. e.*, Leviathan and his mate) jacentes super aquas... tenentes totam

are fashioned out of water, and birds out of marshy ground

terram". Rather obscure is the statement of Jerome on Is. 27. 1 that, according to a *Judaica Fabula*, the monster spoken of by the prophet lives under the ground and in the air, whereas the monsters mentioned in Gen. 1. 21 have their habitation in the sea. As an explanation of these obscure words of Jerome, attention should be called to the fact that next to the view mentioned above which sees in Leviathan a monster which encircles the whole earth, there is also another which identifies him with the vault of heaven to which the signs of the Zodiac are affixed. Comp. the quotation from PRE by Kimhi on Is., *loc. cit.*; Kalir, *loc. cit.* (it has 365 eyes = days of the year); Kaneh 30c and 32c-32d; Rokeah in the commentary on Yezirah 14c. Comp. also Harkavy תלי אתליא in the Hebrew periodical *Ben 'Ammi*, January 1887, 27-35. That Leviathan was not identical with the תנינים mentioned in Gen., *loc. cit.*, is also presupposed by the Haggadah which asserts that Leviathan was created first (this is based on Job 40. 19, which rather applies to Behemoth; thus the two monsters are taken to be a "pair"; comp. above), and afterwards the rest of the world. Comp. Ibn Ezra's introduction to his commentary on the Pentateuch, and פרוש על איוב ed. Sulzbach, Job, *loc. cit.* All these legends concerning Leviathan and Behemoth point to the fact, which has already been observed by several authors (comp. especially Gunkel, *Schöpfung and Chaos*, 41-69), that a good deal of old mythological material has been preserved in them. Nevertheless one must not look exclusively for Babylonian myths, and one is not warranted to identify, on the basis of Enoch, *loc. cit.*, Behemoth and Leviathan with Tiamat and Kingu, respectively, of the Babylonian mythology, since not only the rabbinic sources but also Job 40 clearly describes Behemoth as a land monster. It may therefore be said that Behemoth belongs to quite another cycle of myths, but owing to learned combinations, the pseud-epigraphic authors made it the consort of Leviathan, whereas the

saturated with water.¹²⁸

As leviathan is the king of fishes, so the ziz is appointed to rule over the birds.¹²⁹ His name comes from the variety of tastes his

rabbinic sources retain the original conception of it as a land monster. The allegorical interpretation of the Levinthan-Behemoth legends originated at a very early date, and is found not only among the Gnostics (comp. the Jewish gnostic Apocalypse of Abraham, *loc. cit.*, and Hippolytus 5. 21, on Leviathan as a bad angel in the system of Justinus), but also in rabbinic sources. Comp. ER 2, 61–62 (partly quoted in note 124); *Guide of the Perplexed*, III, 23; Kimhi on Is. 27. 1, and particularly in kabbalistic literature in which Leviathan is identified with “Evil” which will disappear in Messianic times, when the righteous as purely spiritual beings like the angels, will enjoy life in paradise. See *Ma’areket* 8, 102–103b; *Nefesh ha-Hayyim* 1, 17; the numerous passages cited from Zohar by Heilpern, ‘*Erke ha-Kinnuyim*, s. v. לִיָּתָן. See also the remark of R. David b. R. Judah he-Hasid in *Shitah Mekubbezet* on Babe Batra 75a. On Leviathan as the serpent encircling the world, comp. Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 129, and note 275 on vol. I, p. 394.

¹²⁸. Hullin 27b; PK 4, 35a; Tan. B. IV, 112 (the feet of the hen therefore resemble the scales of the fish); Tan. Hukkat 6; BaR 19. 3; Koheleth 7. 23; Konen 26. Philo, *De M. Opif.*, 20, finds the relationship between birds and fishes in that these two kinds of animals swim, the former in the air (νῆχεν “to swim” may also be used for the flight of birds), the latter in the water. On the view of PRE 9 concerning the origin of birds and fishes, comp. Ginzberg, *Unbekannte Sekte*, 114. See further Targum Yerushalmi, Gen. 1. 20.

¹²⁹. The name Ziz is derived from Ps. 50. 11 (זִיז שָׂדֵי), which is taken by the Haggadah as a proper name. Johann Heinrich Wolfius wrote a monograph on Ziz under the title “*Dissertatio de portentosae magnitudinis ave זִיז שָׂדֵי*”, which appeared in Leipzig, 1683.

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flesh has; it tastes like this, *zeh*, and like that, *zeh*.¹³⁰ The ziz is as monstrous of size as leviathan himself. {29} His ankles rest on the earth, and his head reaches to the very sky.¹³¹

It once happened that travellers on a vessel noticed a bird. As he stood in the water, it merely covered his feet, and his head knocked against the sky. The onlookers thought the water could not have any depth at that point, and they prepared to take a bath there. A heavenly voice warned them: "Alight not here! Once a carpenter's axe slipped from his hand at this spot, and it took it seven years to touch bottom." The bird the travellers saw was none other than the ziz.¹³² His wings are so huge that unfurled they darken the sun.¹³³ They protect the earth against the storms of the south; without their aid the earth would not be able to resist the winds blowing thence.¹³⁴ Once an egg of the ziz fell to the

¹³⁰. WR 22. 10; Tehillim 80, 363. Comp. further PK 6, 58a; PR 16, 81a; Tan. Pinehas 12; BaR 21. 18, with regard to Ziz; see also vol. I, pp. 4-5.

¹³¹. Targum on Ps. 50. 11, which is very likely based on Baba Batra 73b. Comp. the following note. It is stated in Konen 26 that Ziz rests its feet on the fins of Leviathan (comp. note 127), and that his head reaches the throne of glory. On this passage comp. note 139.

¹³². Baba Batra 73b. Comp. further *Ma'asiyyot* (Gaster's edition 8), where in the Alexander legend an allusion is made to this axe.

¹³³. WR 22. 10; BR 19. 4.

¹³⁴. Gittin 31b and Baba Batra 25b. In both of these talmudic passages the winged זיז is none other than Ziz, as may be seen by comparing the talmudic statement with that found in the sources referred to in the preceding note. The commentators, however, take זיז to be a winged

ground and broke. The fluid from it flooded sixty cities, and the shock crushed three hundred cedars. Fortunately such accidents do not occur frequently. As a rule the bird lets her eggs slide gently into her nest. This one mishap was due to the fact that the egg was rotten, and the bird cast it away carelessly. The ziz has another name, Renanim,¹³⁵ because he is the celestial singer.¹³⁶ On account of his relation to the heavenly regions he is also called Sekwi, the seer, and, besides, he is called “son of the nest,”¹³⁷ because his fledgling birds break away from the shell without being hatched by the mother bird; they spring directly from the nest, as it were.¹³⁸ Like leviathan, so ziz is a delicacy to be served to

angel; comp. Rashi, *ad loc.*, as well as in his commentary on Job 39. 26.

¹³⁵ Bekorot 57b and Menahot 66b, as an explanation of Job 39. 13.

¹³⁶ Targum Job 3. 6, 38. 36, 39. 13. In all these targumic passages this bird bearing the name תרנגול ברא “the wild cock” (comp. שור הבר “wild ox”, as a name for Behemoth, note 143; it is nevertheless doubtful whether the word ברא is to be translated by “wild” in these cases) is undoubtedly to be identified with Ziz, although in the legend of Solomon (comp. vol. IV, p. 168 and note 86 appertaining to it) תרנגול ברא is employed to describe an entirely different bird. Comp. note 139.

¹³⁷ On Sekwi (שכוי) comp. Targum on Job 38. 36 (according to Rosh ha-Shanah 26a and Yerushalmi Berakot 9, 13c, it signifies “cock”); comp. note 139. On בר יכני “son of the nest”, see the following note.

¹³⁸ The attempt to explain בר יכני as Persian must not be taken seriously; comp. Ginzberg in Jewish Encyclopedia, II, 512 s. 22. “Bar Yokni,” where reasons are given for the translation “son of the nest”. The talmudic passages where this gigantic bird is mentioned are: Sukkah 5a (bottom); Yoma 80a; Bekorot 57b. Comp. also Menahot 66b and Sifra 1. 14. Comp. Ginzberg in *Schwarz-Festschrift*, 360.

the pious at the end of time, to compensate them for the privations which abstaining from the unclean fowls imposed upon them.¹³⁹

¹³⁹ WR 22. 10, where it is explicitly stated that Ziz and Leviathan belong to the “clean animals” (comp. note 127 with reference to Leviathan), whereas in 13. 3 and Tehillim 146, 535, it is emphasized, with reference to the use of these animals, that in the time of the Messiah a new Torah will be given which will dispense with the present dietary laws. Nistarot R. Simeon 8 reads: Behemoth will be slaughtered, Leviathan (a fish does not require to be killed ritually) will be torn by Ziz, and the latter slaughtered by Moses. In view of the description of the contest between Behemoth and Leviathan (comp. vol. I, p. 28), we should probably read in Nistarot *וּבְהֵמוֹת לִיִּיתֵן שׁוֹחֲטוֹ*, “and Behemoth will be slain by Leviathan”, i. e. by the points of his fins, which may be used as instruments for ritual slaughtering; comp. Hullin 1. 2. On the disposal of the three monsters, Leviathan, Behemoth, and Ziz, that is, the representatives of the three animal kingdoms, at the Messianic banquet, see Tehillim 18, 153, and 23, 202, whence the statement found in later writings (*Kad ha-Kemah*, end of letter ח, L93a; , 93a; Levita, Tishbi, s. v. מ]’P) that the bird Bar Yokni will be used as food for the pious in Messianic times. No trace is found in older sources of the identity of this bird with Ziz; but since רִנָּנִים (Job 39. 13) is according to Bekorot 57b, the same as Bar Yokni, and in the opinion of Targum, *ad loc.*, it is the same as *תְּרַנְגוּל בְּרָא*, i. e., Ziz (comp. Targum Ps. 50. 11), it was quite natural for the later authorities to identify Bar Yokni with Ziz. In most of the Ziz legends the dependence upon Iranic mythology is evident. The “heavenly singer and seer” is naturally the sacred cock of Avesta (*Vendidad* 18, 33, *seq.*); comp. Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 37, *seq.*; Rubin, *Kabbala und Agada*, 23–25; Ginzberg in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s. v. “Cock”, as well as note 194. Of Iranic origin is also the conception that the wings of Ziz eclipse the sun.

THE SIXTH DAY

As the fish were formed out of water, and the birds out of boggy earth well mixed with water, so the mammals were formed out of solid earth,¹⁴⁰ and as leviathan is the most notable representative of the fish kind, and ziz of the bird kind, so behemot is the most notable representative of the mammal kind. Behemot matches leviathan in strength, and he had to be prevented, like leviathan, from multiplying and increasing, else the world could not have continued to exist; after God had created him male and female, He at once deprived him of the desire to

With this should be compared the sun birds of the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch 6-8 and the Chalkidri in 2 Enoch 15; comp. Bousset, *Religion*, 568. Highly instructive is the following passage in Konen 26, which precedes the description of the creation of Ziz (comp. note 131): And He created an Ofan (a kind of angel) on earth, whose head reaches the holy Hayyot who is the mediator between Israel and their heavenly Father. He hears the name Sandalfon and fashions out of the prayers wreaths (or crowns) for God's majesty, which ascend upon the head of the Lord at his uttering the holy name. Whatever is said here concerning Sandalfon is taken from Hagigah 13b (comp. also PR 20, 97a). The connection, however, between Sandalfon and Ziz can only be understood when one considers the fact that Ziz was originally taken as the heavenly singer; he is hence identical with Sandalfon. To quite a different cycle of legends belongs the conception of the gigantic bird Ziz, which will be eaten by the pious in the world to come.

¹⁴⁰. Hullin 27b; PRE 11. For a different view see Konen 26, which reads: He took water, earth, and light, out of which He created Behemoth; comp. notes 113 and 128.

propagate his kind.¹⁴¹ He is so monstrous that he requires the produce of a thousand mountains for his daily food. All the water that flows through the bed of the Jordan in a year suffices him exactly for one gulp. It therefore was necessary to give him one stream entirely for his own use, a stream flowing forth from Paradise, called Yubal.¹⁴² Behemot, too, is destined to be served to

^{141.} Baba Batra 74b, where it is said that the male monster was castrated, and the desire to propagate its kind was taken away from the female. Konen 26 reads: He created Behemoth of the thousand mountains, as well as the ox who uproots thousand mountains daily, and both appear daily in paradise to make merry in the presence of the Lord. That Behemoth is a female monster disagrees with the view of the older rabbinic sources, as well as that of the pseudepigraphic writers (comp. notes 117–118, as well as note 127). Moreover Konen made two monsters out of the two names of the monster. The older rabbinic sources speak of Behemoth, or following Ps. 50. 10, of “Behemoth upon a thousand hills,” but sometimes they use שׂוֹר הַבֵּר or, in Aramaic sources, its equivalent תּוֹר בֵּר, instead of Behemoth (comp. e. g. Targ. Ps. *loc. cit.*) and hence in Konen the female Behemoth of the thousand mountains (hills) is found alongside of the ox who uproots thousand mountains daily. Comp. also Kalir in the Piyyut וִיכֹן (end of *Lamentations* in the Roman Mahzor) who speaks of the two consorts of Leviathan. Comp. note 127, and on the sports of the monsters in paradise see note 124.

^{142.} PK 6, 58a; PR 16, 80b, and 194 (here it is also stated that Leviathan lies on the abyss, which otherwise would flood the earth; since the water of the ocean is salty, he is compelled to raise his fins whenever he wants to drink, in order that the water of the abyss should come up); WR 22. 10; BaR 21. 18; Tan. Pinehas 12; PRE 11. Comp. also Baba Batra 74b. The last-named Midrash understands Ps. 50. 10 to say that the grass of the

the pious as an appetizing dainty, but before they enjoy his flesh, they will be permitted to view the mortal combat between leviathan and behemot, as a reward for having denied themselves the pleasures of the circus and its gladiatorial contests.¹⁴³

Leviathan, ziz, and behemot are not the only monsters; there are many others, and marvellous ones, like the reēm, a giant animal, of which only one couple, male and female, is in existence. Had there been more, the world could hardly have maintained itself against them. The act of copulation occurs but once in seventy years between them, for God has so ordered it that the male and female reēm are at opposite ends of the earth, the one in the east, the other in the west. {31} The act of copulation results in the death of the male. He is bitten by the female and dies of the bite. The female becomes pregnant and remains in this state for no less than twelve years. At the end of this long period she gives birth to twins, a male and a female. The year preceding her delivery she is not able to move. She would die of hunger,

thousand mountains grows anew every night, whereas in the older Midrashim a view is cited, according to which the meaning of this verse is that thousand animals grazing on the thousand mountains serve as food for Behemoth. On Behemoth in the close proximity of paradise, comp. note 127 and Konen 26. For an allegorical interpretation of this legend, comp. Zohar I, 18b, 223a (bottom), as well as III, 217a, 240b.

¹⁴³ WR 13. 3; PRE 11. Concerning Behemoth as food for the pious, comp. further notes 127 and 139. On the prejudice against attending a theatre, comp. 'Abodah Zarah 10b, where, like Tertullian, *De Spectaculis* 4, Ps. 1. 1 is said to refer to the pious who keep away from the theatre and circus.

were it not that her own spittle flowing copiously from her mouth waters and fructifies the earth near her, and causes it to bring forth enough for her maintenance. For a whole year the animal can but roll from side to side, until finally her belly bursts, and the twins issue forth. Their appearance is thus the signal for the death of the mother re'em. She makes room for the new generation, which in turn is destined to suffer the same fate as the generation that went before. Immediately after birth, the one goes eastward and the other westward, to meet only after the lapse of seventy years, propagate themselves, and perish.¹⁴⁴ A traveller who once saw a re'em one day old described its height to be four parasangs, and the length of its head one parasang and a half.¹⁴⁵ Its horns measure one hundred ells, and their height is a great deal more.¹⁴⁶

One of the most remarkable creatures is the "man of the mountain," Adne Sadeh, or, briefly, Adam.¹⁴⁷ His form is exactly

¹⁴⁴ A quotation from a manuscript Midrash in *Midbar Kedemot* "ק, No. 12, and Aguddat Aggadot 39. A similar statement is found MHG I, 95-96 concerning a certain serpent related to the one which seduced Eve. Comp. also Rashi on Is. 30. 6 and Herodotus III, 109.

¹⁴⁵ Baba Batra 73b; comp. also *ibid.* 74b, where a view is quoted which declares the monsters תנינים (Gen. 1. 21) to be אורזלי דימא, which is very likely a kind of *Re'em*.

¹⁴⁶ Tehillim 22, 195, where one view is also cited to the effect that the circumference was about one hundred cubits; comp. vol. IV, p. 83. On a frightful kind of tiger comp. Hullin 59b; a passage which was strangely misunderstood by the author of the article "Leviathan and Behemoth" in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, VIII, 39.

that of a human being, but he is fastened to the ground by means of a navel-string, upon which his life depends. The cord once snapped, he dies. This animal keeps himself alive with what is produced by the soil around about him as far as his tether permits him to crawl. No creature may venture to approach within the radius of his cord, for he seizes and demolishes whatever comes in his reach. To kill {³²} him, one may not go near to him, the navel-string must be severed from a distance by means of a dart, and then he dies amid groans and moans.¹⁴⁸ Once upon a time a traveller happened in the region where this animal is found. He

¹⁴⁷. This species is known as Adne [Sadeh], or more accurately Idne; the singular is Adan. Comp. the following note.

¹⁴⁸. Tan. Introduction 125. Comp. further R. Simeon of Sens on Kil'ayim 8. 5 and *Ma'asehbuch* 201; *Magen Abot* 35b and 68a (women who grow on trees); Eshkol 24b; the references to non-Jewish writings (Mas'udi, Ibn Tufail, and Pseudo-Calisthenes) given by Steinschneider, *Pseudo-Epigraphische Literatur*, 25, and *Hebräische Uebersetzungen*, 12, 360. On the plant-man comp. further note 150, and note 89 on vol. I. 360. Kil'ayim 8. 5 speaks of אדני השדה (it is plural of אדן which occurs frequently in correct manuscripts instead of אדם), which Yerushalmi, ad 106., 31c, renders in Aramaic by בר נש דטורא, "the man of the mountain" (שדה is also found in the Bible in the sense of "mountain"). It is undoubtedly a certain species of ape. The Yerushalmi continues that this species is vulnerable only in its navel; later authors, however, found in this remark of the Yerushalmi a reference to the plant-man which is fastened by its navel to the ground. Comp. Fink, *Monatsschrift*, LI, 173-182; Nathan, *ibid.*, 501. Comp. Ginzberg in *Schwarz-Festschrift*, 327-333, who deals at length with the meaning of אדני השדה, which Rashi identifies with the Werewolf and believes to be referred to in Job 5. 23.

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overheard his host consult his wife as to what to do to honor their guest, and resolve to serve “our man,” as he said. Thinking he had fallen among cannibals, the stranger ran as fast as his feet could carry him from his entertainer, who sought vainly to restrain him. Afterward, he found out that there had been no intention of regaling him with human flesh, but only with the flesh of the strange animal called “man.”¹⁴⁹

As the “man of the mountain” is fixed to the ground by his navel-string, so the barnacle-goose is grown to a tree by its bill. It is hard to say whether it is an animal and must be slaughtered to be fit for food, or whether it is a plant and no ritual ceremony is necessary before eating it.¹⁵⁰ Among the birds the phoenix is the

¹⁴⁹. Tan. Introduction 125.

¹⁵⁰. Responsa of R. Meir of Rothenburg (Lemberg edition, No. 160), and through the literary channels, namely, the writings of the Franco-German scholars of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, who often discussed the “legal status” of the barnacle-goose, scholars of other countries became acquainted with this legend, though there it failed to engage the popular fancy. Christian authors, at the same time, discussed the question whether it was permissible to eat these birds during Lent. Comp. Geraldus Cambiensis (1154–1189), whose zeal burned against the rashness of those who indulged in the enjoyment of this bird during the Lent season. It appears, however, that his zeal was not of much avail, since Duran, in his *Magen Abot*, 35b, confirms the persistence of the “rashness and indulgence” of the Frenchmen of his time, two hundred years after that “zeal for the observance”. Comp. Oppenheim, *Monatsschrift*, XVIII, 88-93; Güdemann, *Erziehungswesen* II, 117, 213, and III, 129; Steinschneider, *Hebräische Bibliographie* V, 116–117;

most wonderful. When Eve gave all the animals some of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, the phoenix was the only bird that refused to eat thereof, and he was rewarded with eternal life. When he has lived a thousand years, his body shrinks, and the feathers drop from it, until he is as small as an egg. This is the nucleus of the new bird.¹⁵¹

The phoenix is also called “the guardian of the terrestrial sphere.” He runs with the sun on his circuit, and he spreads out

Steinschneider in Gosche's *Archiv* III, 8; *Ha-Goren* IV, 99; *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s. v. “Barnacle-geese.”

¹⁵¹ BR 19. 5; Shemuel 12, 81; Tan. Introduction 155; 2 Alphabet of Ben Sira 27a, 28b, 29a-29b; Bereshit Rabbeti cited by Jellinek, *Einleitung* to BHM VI, 12, note, 4. The older sources name the phoenix חול, and find in Job 29. 18 a reference to this bird; in the two last-named sources the immortal bird is called מלחם or מלתם, a word of obscure origin which is very likely corrupt. Ben Sira 27a adds that this bird and its species, after the fall of man, was locked up in a city to which no one, not even the angel of death, has access. Here the very old legend concerning Luz is made use of (vol. IV, pp. 30 and 175). The Church Fathers, as well as the Rabbis, refer to the phoenix as a proof for the resurrection of the dead. The discrepancies of the sources in the description of the rejuvenation of the dead represents different dogmatic opinions relating to the doctrine of resurrection; comp. Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 52-55; Güdemann, *Religionsgeschichte* 55-65. See further note 37 on vol. I, p. 161, and note 67 on vol. I, p. 74. The description of the rejuvenation of the pious in the world to come, found in Alphabetot 107, which was probably made use of in Mahzor Vitry 317, line 11 (טל ילדות צומח) presupposes the phoenix legend. On the phoenix legend in patristic literature, comp. the vast collection of material given by Charles, 2 Enoch 12.

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his wings and catches up the fiery rays of the sun.¹⁵² If he were not there to intercept them, neither man nor any other animate being would keep alive. On his right wing the following words are inscribed in huge letters,¹⁵³ {33} about four thousand stadia high: "Neither the earth produces me, nor the heavens, but only the wings of fire." His food consists of the manna of heaven and the dew of the earth. His excrement is a worm, whose excrement in turn is the cinnamon used by kings and princes.¹⁵⁴ Enoch, who saw the phoenix birds when he was translated, describes them as flying creatures, wonderful and strange in appearance, with the feet and tails of lions, and the heads of crocodiles; their appearance is of a purple color like the rainbow; their size nine hundred measures. Their wings are like those of angels, each having twelve, and they attend the chariot of the sun and go with him, bringing heat and dew as they are ordered by God. In the morning when the sun starts on his daily course, the phoenixes and the chalkidri¹⁵⁵ sing, and every bird flaps its wings, rejoicing the Giver of light, and they sing a song at the command of the Lord.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² Greek Apocalypse of Baruch 6; comp. notes 133-134. On a similar idea in rabbinic literature, comp. the legend concerning Ziz vol. I, 29. and notes 134, 139.

¹⁵³ On this inscription comp. note 106.

¹⁵⁴ The etymology of the word "Chalkidri" is very obscure; comp. Forbes and Charles on 2 Enoch 12. 1; Bousset, *Religion*, 568. The latter conjectures that it is to be regarded as an Iranic word.

¹⁵⁵ 2 Enoch 12 and 15. The ordinary angels have six wings (Is. 6. 2), but

Among reptiles the salamander and the shamir are the most marvellous. The salamander originates from a fire of myrtle wood¹⁵⁶ which has been kept burning for seven years steadily by means of magic arts. Not bigger than a mouse, it yet is invested with peculiar properties. One who smears himself with its blood is invulnerable,¹⁵⁷ and the web woven by it is a talisman against fire.¹⁵⁸ The people who lived at the deluge boasted that, were a fire

these sun-birds are higher beings, and therefore possess twelve wings; comp. PRE 13, where the important place of Sammael in the heavenly hierarchy, before his fall, is characterized by the fact that he possesses twelve wings.

¹⁵⁶. This is only found in Rashi on Hullin 127a.

¹⁵⁷. Hagigah (end); Sanhedrin 63b; Hullin 127a (comp. Rashi, *ad loc.*, and 'Aruk. s. v. סלמנדרא), Tan. Wa-Yesheb 3; Sifra 11. 29; ShR 15. 28. A vast collection of material relating to Salamander in Jewish literature is given by Löw in Krauss' *Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter*, s. v. סלמנדרא. See also Löw in *Florilegium*, in honor of De Vogüé's seventieth birthday 399–406. Comp. further Lewysohn, *Zoologie des Talmuds*, 227–230; Straschun in *Ha-Maggid* IX, No. 14. It is noteworthy that Philo, *Quaestiones*, Exod. 28, likewise mentions πυρίγενες, which could move about in fire without suffering any harm. Philo surely had Salamander and similar creatures in mind. Hullin and Sifra, *loc. cit.*, likewise speak of creatures in the plural which live in the fire, that is, Salamander and others. The statement of Aristotle, *Historia Animalium* V, 19, and that of Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, X, 68 and 87, concerning the Salamander essentially agrees with the view of the rabbinic sources. On the use of the myrtle in the producing of the Salamander (comp. note 156), see Hippolytus, *Haereses* 4. 33. Comp. also the following three notes.

¹⁵⁸. Zohar II, 211; Hadassi, Eshkol 24d; *Abkat Rokel* 2, 1. These assertions concerning the clothes of Salamander, slightly differing from one

flood to come, they would protect themselves with the blood of the salamander.¹⁵⁹

King Hezekiah owes his life to the salamander. His wicked father, King Ahaz, had delivered him to the fires of Moloch, and he would have been burnt, had his mother not painted him with the blood of the salamander, so that the fire could do him no harm.¹⁶⁰ {34}

The shamir was made at twilight on the sixth day of creation together with other extraordinary things.¹⁶¹ It is about as large as a barley corn, and it possesses the remarkable property of cutting the hardest of diamonds. For this reason it was used for the stones in the breastplate worn by the high priest. First the names of the twelve tribes were traced with ink on the stones to be set into the breastplate, then the shamir was passed over the lines, and thus they were graven. The wonderful circumstance was that the

another, are not found in the talmudic-midrashic literature, but are, however, known, in non-Jewish writings of the Middle Ages; comp. Jellinek, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kabbala*, I, 48, and Grässe, *Beiträge zur Literatur und Sage des Mittelalters*, 81.

¹⁵⁹ Sanhedrin 108b, where עליתא (the reading is doubtful) is the Semitic name for Salamander. In Tan. Wa-Yiggash 3 עכבית "spider" is the correct reading, since according to Aristotle, *Historia Animalium*, V, 19, the size of the Salamander is like that of the house-fly and the difference between the latter and the spider is not very great.

¹⁶⁰ Sanhedrin 63b. Comp. Bacher, ZDMG XXVII, 15, and vol. IV, p. 226.

¹⁶¹ Abot 5. 6; Sifre D., 355; Midrash Tannaim 219; Pesahim 54a; 2 ARN 37, 95; PRE 19. Comp. further note 99 on vol. I, p. 83.

friction wore no particles from the stones. The shamir was also used for hewing into shape the stones from which the Temple was built, because the law prohibited iron tools to be used for the work in the Temple.¹⁶² The shamir may not be put in an iron vessel for safe-keeping, nor in any metal vessel, it would burst such a receptacle asunder. It is kept wrapped up in a woollen cloth, and this in turn is placed in a lead basket filled with barley bran.¹⁶³ The shamir was guarded in Paradise until Solomon needed it. He sent the eagle thither to fetch the worm.¹⁶⁴ With the destruction of the Temple the shamir vanished.¹⁶⁵

^{162.} Tosefta Sotah 15. 1; Babli 48b; Yerushalmi 9, 20d. It is stated in PR 33, 155a, that the Shamir was also applied to the building of the temple for the purpose of splitting the rock-like hard wood (so is גלומי to be translated; comp. Syriac גלמא "rocky ground").

^{163.} Tosefta Sotah 15. 1; Babli 48b; Yerushalmi 9, 20d. Comp. note 166.

^{164.} Tehillim 77, 35I, which was incorporated in Yalkut II, 182. Another legend on the procuring of the Shamir is given in vol. IV, p. 166.

^{165.} Sotah 9. 2 (it is the first temple which is meant here, contrary to the view of Tosafot on Zebahim 54b, caption (אבנים); Tosefta 15. 1; Babli 48b; Yerushalmi 9, 20d. In the talmudic-midrashic sources it is never explicitly stated that the Shamir was a living creature. Nevertheless, as a matter of fact, the opinion of medieval authors that it was a worm (Rashi Pesahim 54a; Maimonides, commentary on Abot 5. 6; Mahzor Vitry 540 and many others) is undoubtedly correct. In Babli Sotah, *loc. cit.*, and PR 38, 153a, the expression מראה וכו', used in connection with the Shamir, clearly shows it was the glance of a living being which effected the splitting of wood and stones. A caper-spurge, to which the non-Jewish sources of the Middle Ages ascribed the characteristic of the Shamir, is also known in Jewish literature (WR 32. 4; Koheleth 5. 9); but it is not

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A similar fate overtook the tahash, which had been created only that its skin might be used for the Tabernacle. Once the Tabernacle was completed, the tahash disappeared. It had a horn on its forehead, was gaily colored like the turkey-cock, and belonged to the class of clean animals.¹⁶⁶

Among the fishes there are also wonderful creatures, the sea-goats and the dolphins, not to mention leviathan. A sea-faring man once saw a sea-goat on whose horns the words were inscribed: "I am a little sea-animal, yet I traversed three hundred parasangs to offer myself as food to the leviathan."¹⁶⁷ {35} The dolphins are half man and half fish; they even have sexual intercourse with human beings; therefore they are called also "sons of the sea," for in a sense they represent the human kind in

identical with the Shamir. The view of the tannaitic sources that the Shamir was only accessible to man at the time of the building of the temple, while the caper-spurge could be found in later times, proves that these two must not be confused with one another. Comp. Cassel, *Shamir*, in *Denkschriften der Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Erfurt, 1854; Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 41, seq.; Löw, *Graphische Requisiten*, 181, seq. (he justly refutes Cassel's assertions that Shamir was a stone); Salzberger, *Salomos Tempelbau und Thron*, 36–54.

¹⁶⁶. Shabbat 28b; Yerushalmi 2, 4d; PR 33, 154d; Koheleth 1, 9. Comp. vol. III, p. 164. On the one-horned animal see note 108 on vol. I, p. 98. PR, 155a, states that the wood used by Solomon (1 Kings 10. 12) was also created with this end in view; it therefore disappeared as soon as it had fulfilled its purpose.

¹⁶⁷. Baba Batra 74a. Comp. Löw, *Aramäische Fischnamen*, No. 19, in *Nöldeke-Festschrift* 550.

the waters.¹⁶⁸

Though every species in the animal world was created during the last two days of the six of creation,¹⁶⁹ yet many characteristics of certain animals appeared later. Cats and mice, foes now, were friends originally. Their later enmity had a distinct cause. On one occasion the mouse appeared before God and spoke: "I and the cat are partners, but now we have nothing to eat." The Lord answered: "Thou art intriguing against thy companion, only that thou mayest devour her. As a punishment, she shall devour thee." Thereupon the mouse: "O Lord of the world, wherein have I done wrong?" God replied: "O thou unclean reptile, thou shouldst have been warned by the example of the moon, who lost a part of her

¹⁶⁸. Tosefta Bekorot 1. 11 and Babli 8a, where instead of דולפינין of the Tosefta, the Aramaic בני ימא is used, which Rashi renders by "sirens" while ps.-R. Gershon explains it as "seamen". In our text of the Talmud nothing is said about a union of the sirens and men, and it is uncertain whether this statement of Rashi is based on a different text (כבני עם) or whether, influenced by the belief in fays and naiads, prevalent in the Middle Ages, all through Europe, Rashi ascribes to the Talmud something which is alien to it. According to the Tosefta and the Talmud, the dolphins give birth to their children in the same manner as human beings do. The assertion of Duran, *Magen Abot*, 68a, concerning the dolphins belongs rather to European folklore, although it pretends to be Jewish. Comp. Lewysohn, *Zoologie des Talmuds*, 153-155; Löw, *Aramäische Fischnamen*, No. 49, in Nöldeke-

Festschrift; Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 101. According to Enoch 19. 2, the women who caused the fall of the angels were transformed into sirens; comp. Apocalypse of Baruch 10. 8.

¹⁶⁹. Comp. vol. I, pp. 26, 28, 30; further note 322 on vol. I, p. 424.

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light, because she spake ill of the sun, and what she lost was given to her opponent.¹⁷⁰ The evil intentions thou didst harbor against thy companion shall be punished in the same way. Instead of thy devouring her, she shall devour thee.” The mouse: “O Lord of the world! Shall my whole kind be destroyed?” God: “I will take care that a remnant of thee is spared.” In her rage the mouse bit the cat, and the cat in turn threw herself upon the mouse, and hacked into her with her teeth until she lay dead. Since that moment the mouse stands in such awe of the cat that she does not even attempt to defend herself against her enemy’s attacks, and always keeps herself in hiding.¹⁷¹

Similarly dogs and cats maintained a friendly relation to each other, and only later on became enemies. A dog and a cat {36} were partners, and they shared with each other whatever they had. It once happened that neither could find anything to eat for three days. Thereupon the dog proposed that they dissolve their partnership. The cat should go to Adam, in whose house there would surely be enough for her to eat, while the dog should seek his fortune elsewhere. Before they separated, they took an oath never to go to the same master. The cat took up her abode with Adam, and she found sufficient mice in his house to satisfy her

¹⁷⁰. Comp. vol. I, pp. 23-24, concerning the fall of the moon. But in none of the sources is it mentioned (comp. notes 100, 110-112) that the light taken from the moon was added to the sun.

¹⁷¹. 2 Alphabet of Ben Sira 25a and 34a. Perek Shirah (cat and mouse) very likely alludes to this legend.

appetite. Seeing how useful she was in driving away and extirpating mice, Adam treated her most kindly. The dog, on the other hand, saw bad times. The first night after their separation he spent in the cave of the wolf, who had granted him a night's lodging. At night the dog caught the sound of steps, and he reported it to his host, who bade him repulse the intruders. They were wild animals. Little lacked and the dog would have lost his life. Dismayed, the dog fled from the house of the wolf, and took refuge with the monkey. But he would not grant him even a single night's lodging; and the fugitive was forced to appeal to the hospitality of the sheep. Again the dog heard steps in the middle of the night. Obeying the bidding of his host, he arose to chase away the marauders, who turned out to be wolves. The barking of the dog apprised the wolves of the presence of sheep, so that the dog innocently caused the sheep's death. Now he had lost his last friend. Night after night he begged for shelter, without ever finding a home. Finally, he decided to repair to the house of Adam, who also granted him refuge for one night. When wild animals approached the house under cover of darkness, the dog began {37} to bark, Adam awoke, and with his bow and arrow he drove them away. Recognizing the dog's usefulness, he bade him remain with him always. But as soon as the cat espied the dog in Adam's house, she began to quarrel with him, and reproach him with having broken his oath to her. Adam did his best to pacify the cat. He told her he had himself invited the dog to make his home there, and he assured her she would in no wise be the loser by the dog's presence; he wanted both to stay with him. But it was impossible to appease the cat. The dog promised her not to touch anything intended for her. She insisted that she could not live in

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one and the same house with a thief like the dog. Bickerings between the dog and the cat became the order of the day. Finally the dog could stand it no longer, and he left Adam's house, and betook himself to Seth's. By Seth he was welcomed kindly, and from Seth's house, he continued to make efforts at reconciliation with the cat. In vain. Yes, the enmity between the first dog and the first cat was transmitted to all their descendants until this very day.¹⁷²

Even the physical peculiarities of certain animals were not original features with them, but owed their existence to something that occurred subsequent to the days of creation. The mouse at first had quite a different mouth from its present mouth. In Noah's ark, in which all animals, to ensure the preservation of every kind, lived together peaceably, the pair of mice were once sitting next to the cat. Suddenly the latter remembered that her father was in the habit of devouring mice, and thinking there was no harm in following his example, she jumped at the mouse, who vainly looked for a hole into which to slip out of sight. {38} Then a miracle happened; a hole appeared where none had been before, and the mouse sought refuge in it. The cat pursued the mouse, and though she could not follow her

¹⁷². 2 Alphabet of Ben Sirah 25a-25b. The other legend of the origin of the enmity between the cat and the mouse which is found in *Iggeret Ba'ale Hayyim* 2, 6, is derived from Arabic sources, since these animals are brought into relation with the descendants of Cain and Abel, whereas according to Jewish and Christian legends Abel died childless; comp. Index s. v. Abel.

into the hole, she could insert her paw and try to pull the mouse out of her covert. Quickly the mouse opened her mouth in the hope that the paw would go into it, and the cat would be prevented from fastening her claws in her flesh. But as the cavity of the mouth was not big enough, the cat succeeded in clawing the cheeks of the mouse. Not that this helped her much, it merely widened the mouth of the mouse, and her prey after all escaped the cat.¹⁷³ After her happy escape, the mouse betook herself to Noah and said to him, "O pious man, be good enough to sew up my cheek where my enemy, the cat, has torn a rent in it." Noah bade her fetch a hair out of the tail of the swine, and with this he repaired the damage. Thence the little seam-like line next to the mouth of every mouse to this very day.¹⁷⁴

The raven is another animal that changed its appearance

¹⁷³ The text of 2 Ben Sira does not seem to be in proper form.

¹⁷⁴ 2 Alphabet of Ben Sira 26a–26b; see also 34b, where it is said that Noah stole the hair which he needed for his work, from a sleeping swine. The story told in this source (25a–34b) concerning the donkey, which was shocked at having to serve man without any compensation, practically agrees with the Sicilian legend by Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, III, 178. The characteristics of these animals to scent their excrement and to urinate, as soon as one of them starts to do it, is explained in the following manner. They threatened God that they would stop to propagate their species in case they were not to receive their reward for their work. They received the following answer: "Ye will receive your reward for your labor as soon as your urine will flow as a stream big enough to work a mill and when your excrement will smell as perfume." Hence the donkeys wish to ascertain whether they have fulfilled the conditions under which a reward was promised to them.

during its sojourn in the ark. When Noah desired to send him forth to find out about the state of the waters, he hid under the wings of the eagle. Noah found him, however, and said to him, "Go and see whether the waters have diminished." The raven pleaded: "Hast thou none other among all the birds to send on this errand?" Noah: "My power extends no further than over thee and the dove."¹⁷⁵ But the raven was not satisfied. He said to Noah with great insolence: "Thou sendest me forth only that I may meet my death, and thou wishest my death that my wife may be at thy service."¹⁷⁶ Thereupon Noah cursed the raven thus: "May thy mouth, which has spoken evil against me, be {39} accursed, and thy intercourse with thy wife be only through it."¹⁷⁷ All the animals

¹⁷⁵. As the cause of this, Noah remarks: "The inhabitants of the city of Ai (עֵי ; ע' = עורב "raven"; י' = יונה "dove") will slay Jair, because he permitted the use of the meat of the raven, but prohibited that of the dove (comp. Sanherdin 100a, top) in contradiction to the Torah". Comp., however, vol. IV, p. 8 with reference to the piety and learning of Jair.

¹⁷⁶. This suspicion against Noah is already found in older sources, comp. note 46 on vol. I, p. 164. See further PRK (Schönblum's edition), 32b.

¹⁷⁷. This supposed peculiarity of the raven is already mentioned in Aristotle's *Historia Animalium*, V, 47, and by many classical authors; comp. Bochart, *Hieroz.*, III, 818, as well as Lewysohn, *Zoologie des Talmuds*, 173. According to Barnabas, 10. 8, it is the weasel which is impregnated through the mouth. This, however, inaccurately reproduces the statement of Aristaeas 165, according to which the Bible has prohibited the enjoyment of this animal because it is impregnated through the ears and gives birth through the mouth. This widespread

in the ark said Amen. And this is the reason why a mass of spittle runs from the mouth of the male raven into the mouth of the female during the act of copulation, and only thus the female is impregnated.¹⁷⁸

Altogether the raven is an unattractive animal. He is unkind toward his own young so long as their bodies are not covered with black feathers,¹⁷⁹ though as a rule ravens love one another.¹⁸⁰ God

view is also mentioned by Aristotle in *De Generatione Animalium*, III, 6. 5 who, however, scoffs at it. A statement similar to that of Barnabas concerning the annual change of sex of the hyena is found in medieval Jewish writings, but not in the old rabbinic literature. Concerning the hare (ארנבת), comp. Ibn Ezra on Lev. 11. 6. Related to this View is the quotation in *Pa'aneah*, Lev. 12. 2 from PRE (not found in our text) that the stomach of a hare is a cure for sterility. R. Eleazar, *Rim e Haftarot*, Naso, explicitly states that this cure, which the women recommended to Samson's mother, and against which the angel warned her (Jud. 13. 7), is due to the peculiarity of this species to change its sex. It is highly probable that *Pa'aneah* introduced the quotation with the words 'בפ' ר' אליעזר, that is "in the commentary (on the Haftarot) by R. Eleazar (of Worms)"; but the scribe misread the abbreviation 'בפ' (= בפרוש) as בפרקי, and hence ר' אליעזר בפרקי. For further remarks on the raven, comp. the following note.

¹⁷⁸. 2 Alphabet of Ben Sira 26b-27a and 34a-35a. The older sources (Sanhedrin 108b; BR 36. 7; Yerushalmi Ta'anit 1, 64d; Tan. Noah 12) state that three were punished because they did not observe the law of abstinence while in the ark (comp. vol. I, p. 166): Ham, the dog, and the raven. Ham became the ancestor of the black (colored) race; the dog remains attached to the body of his mate after cohabitation; the raven conceives through his mouth. Comp. further note 46 on vol. I, p. 164, and note 54 on vol. I, p. 166.

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therefore takes the young ravens under His special protection. From their own excrement maggots come forth,¹⁸¹ which serve as their food during the three days that elapse after their birth, until their white feathers turn black and their parents recognize them as their offspring and care for them.¹⁸²

The raven has himself to blame also for the awkward hop in his gait. He observed the graceful step of the dove, and envious of her tried to emulate it. The outcome was that he almost broke his bones without in the least succeeding in making himself resemble the dove, not to mention that he brought the scorn of the other animals down upon himself. His failure excited their ridicule.

¹⁷⁹. Ketubot 49b; WR 19. 1; Shemuel 5, 57; Shir 5. 11.

¹⁸⁰. Pesahim 113b.

¹⁸¹. WR 19, Shemuel 5. 57; PRE 21. Comp. vol. I, p. 113. Makiri on Ps. 147, 286, quotes, from PRE, the statement that she-bears have no breasts with which to nurse their young, but God makes the young bears suck their paws, and this sustains them until they grow up and are able to provide for themselves. Concerning the sucking of paws or fingers, comp. vol. I, p. 189. The jackals hate their young, and abandon them as the ravens do; they would even devour them if they could see them. For this reason God ordained that when the female jackal nurses her young ones, their faces are covered as if with a veil, so that she cannot see them. Ekah 4, 144. Comp., on the other hand, Tan. Behukkotai 3 and Tan. B. III, 111, where the opposite view is given to the effect that these animals are devoted to their young.

¹⁸². 2 Alphabet of Ben Sira 24a (read לְבִינִים for לְבִינִים) and 33b. Comp. PRE 21, and the quotation from the latter in Makiri on Ps. 147, 286, as well as in Aguddat Aggadot 38, note 4.

Then he decided to return to his own original gait, but in the interval he had unlearned it, and he could walk neither the one way nor the other properly. His step had become a hop betwixt and between. Thus we see how true it is, that he who is dissatisfied with his small portion loses the little he has in striving for more and better things.¹⁸³

The steer is also one of the animals that have suffered a change in the course of time. Originally his face was entirely overgrown with hair, but now there is none on his nose, {40} and that is because Joshua kissed him on his nose during the siege of Jericho. Joshua was an exceedingly heavy man. Horses, donkeys, and mules, none could bear him, they all broke down under his weight. What they could not do, the steer accomplished. On his back Joshua rode to the siege of Jericho, and in gratitude he bestowed a kiss upon his nose.¹⁸⁴

The serpent, too, is other than it was at first. Before the fall of man it was the cleverest of all animals created, and in form it resembled man closely. It stood upright, and was of extraordinary size.¹⁸⁵ Afterward, it lost the mental advantages it had possessed as

^{183.} 2 Alphabet of Ben Sira 26b. The proverb, “he who is dissatisfied, etc.” (most likely the word לא fell out before נמצא) is a variant of the proverb already found in Tosefta Sotah 4. 16 and in the parallel passages (comp. note 34 on vol. I, p. 78). Sanhedrin 106a reads: The camel looked for horns, and lost his ears which he had possessed. This is allusion to the fable found in Pend-Nameh 207.

^{184.} 2 Alphabet of Ben Sira 25a (בריא) is used here in the sense of the English “strong”, “stout”. Comp. Duran, *Keshet u-Magen* for the similar Arabic legend concerning Mohammed.

compared with other animals, and it degenerated physically, too; it was deprived of its feet, so that it could not pursue other animals and kill them. The mole and the frog had to be made harmless in similar ways; the former has no eyes, else it were irresistible, and the frog has no teeth, else no animal in the water were sure of its life.¹⁸⁶

While the cunning of the serpent wrought its own undoing, the cunning of the fox stood him in good stead in many an embarrassing situation. After Adam had committed the sin of disobedience, God delivered the whole of the animal world into the power of the Angel of Death, and He ordered him to cast one pair of each kind into the water. He and leviathan together thus have dominion over all that has life. When the Angel of Death was in the act of executing the Divine command upon the fox, he began to weep bitterly. The Angel of Death asked him the reason of his tears, and the fox replied that he was mourning the sad fate of his friend. At the same time he pointed to the figure of {41} a fox in the sea, which was nothing but his own reflection. The Angel of Death, persuaded that a representative of the fox family had been cast into the water, let him go free. The fox told his trick to the cat, and she in turn played it on the Angel of Death.¹⁸⁷ So it

¹⁸⁵. BR 19. 1. On the original superior qualities of the serpent, comp. further vol. I, pp. 71–72.

¹⁸⁶. Tehillim 58, 300. On the mole, comp. also Mo'ed Katan 6b, and Yerushalmi I, 80c.

¹⁸⁷. The angel of death occurring often in rabbinic literature, in which he is identified with Satan (Baba Batra 16a), is also well known in

happened that neither cats nor foxes are represented in the water, while all other animals are.¹⁸⁸

When leviathan passed the animals in review, and missing the fox was informed of the sly way in which he had eluded his authority, he dispatched great and powerful fish on the errand of enticing the truant into the water. The fox walking along the shore espied the large number of fish, and he exclaimed, "How happy he who may always satisfy his hunger with the flesh of such as these." The fish told him, if he would but follow them, his appetite could easily be appeased. At the same time they informed him that a great honor awaited him. Leviathan, they said, was at death's door, and he had commissioned them to install the fox as his successor. They were ready to carry him on their backs, so that

pseudepigraphic literature; comp. the Apocalypse of Baruch 21. 25; Ascension of Isaiah 9. 16. See also note 317 on vol. I, p. 300. The relationship between Leviathan and the angel of death clearly points to the assumption that the view prevalent in the Kabbalah concerning the identity of Satan with Leviathan (comp. note 127) goes back to an ancient tradition. According to a legend handed down from a different version, there are several angels of death. Thus PRK 14b (Schönblum's edition) states that there are six angels of death. Gabriel is in charge of taking away the lives of young persons; Kazfiel is appointed over kings; Meshabber over animals; Mashhit over children; Af over the other kinds of men; Hemah over domestic animals. On the relation of Gabriel to the angel of death, comp. Ma'aseh Torah 98; Huppah Eliyyahu 6; Zohar I, 99a.

^{188.} According to ancient sources (comp. note 115), it is the weasel, which lives on the dry land, and if we want to be accurate, we ought to read "weasel" instead of "cat" in the text.

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he had no need to fear the water, and thus they would convey him to the throne, which stood upon a huge rock. The fox yielded to these persuasions, and descended into the water. Presently an uncomfortable feeling took possession of him. He began to suspect that the tables were turned; he was being made game of instead of making game of others as usual. He urged the fish to tell him the truth, and they admitted that they had been sent out to secure his person for leviathan, who wanted his heart,¹⁸⁹ that he might become as knowing as the fox, whose wisdom he had heard many extol. The fox said reproachfully: "Why did {42} you not tell me the truth at once? Then I could have brought my heart along with me for King Leviathan, who would have showered honors upon me. As it is, you will surely suffer punishment for bringing me without my heart. The foxes, you see," he continued, "do not carry their hearts around with them. They keep them in a safe place, and when they have need of them, they fetch them thence." The fish quickly swam to shore, and landed the fox, so that he might go for his heart. No sooner did he feel dry land under his feet than he began to jump and shout, and when they urged him to go in search of his heart, and follow them, he said: "O ye fools, could I have followed you into the water, if I had not had my heart with me? Or exists there a creature able to go abroad without his heart?" The fish replied: "Come, come, thou art fooling us." Whereupon the fox: "O ye fools, if I could play a trick on the

¹⁸⁹. The heart, according to the Hebrew idiom, signifies the intellect. The conception that one can acquire the characteristics of an animal by eating it is well known among all primitive peoples.

Angel of Death, how much easier was it to make game of you.” So they had to return, their errand undone, and leviathan could not but confirm the taunting judgment of the fox: “In very truth, the fox is wise of heart, and ye are fools.”¹⁹⁰

¹⁹⁰. 2 Alphabet of Ben Sira 27a–28b and 36a. The text requires many emendations. 28a, line 8, read: *אָמְרוּ לִי הָאֵמֶת*; 28a, line 15: *לִכְאֹן וּלְכַאֵן*; 36a, 1. 15: *וּשְׁמֵם נִכּוֹן*. On the origin of this animal fable, comp. Ginzberg, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, II, 680; s. v. “Ben Sira”, Abrahams, *Book of Delight*, 159, *seq.* It should be further noted that although MHG II, 45, *Sekel*, Exod. 29, *Imre No’am* and *Hadar* on Exod. 7. 14 give different versions of the similar fable found in Yalkut I, 182 (in the first edition *מדרש* is given as source) concerning the lion, the ass, and the fox, there can be no doubt that the origin of our fable is to be found in that about the ape and the crocodile (Pantchatantra IV, 1), which has found its way also into the Alphabet of Ben Sira, where, however, it was combined with other elements. Whether the author of the Alphabet had directly made use of the Indian-Arabic fable literature, or whether he had adapted fables known to him from older Jewish writings, is a moot question. The first alternative, however, is the more likely, since the author knows a number of animal fables, which are not extant in the older Jewish literature. Some animal fables are also given in 1 Alphabet 5a–5b and 7a–7b; but those are found also in the older rabbinic literature, so that the priority of this source is more than questionable. The account of the pious son who was compensated by Leviathan because he had fulfilled his father’s last wish (on this motive comp. vol. I, pp. 118, *seq.*) is known not only to 1 Alphabet (5a–5b), but is also found in *Hibbur ha-Ma’asiyyot*, fifth commandment, and is very likely borrowed from there in the *Ma’asehbuch* 194. In these sources the following stories are welded into one: The story from 1 Alphabet 7a–7b, with the lesson “not to do any good to the wicked, so that one should not suffer from them”; the story

given in vol. IV, pp. 138–141, concerning the man who understood the language of the animals; as well as the one about the pious son. This, of course, proves that the sources are quite new. WR 22. 4 and Koheleth 5. 4 must certainly have been made use of by Alphabet and the two other sources mentioned.—The Talmudim, like the Midrashim, contain very extensive material of animal folklore, a very small part of which is to be found in Lewysohn, *Zoologie des Talmuds* (350–358). As to the post-talmudic period, see Duran, *Magen Abot* (comp., e. g., 35b–37b) and *Shebet Maser* (particularly chapter 22), which contains vast material on this subject. The following contains material taken from the older sources. The propagation of animals is usually the result of cohabitation, but there is also spontaneous generation, *i. e.*, animals springing forth as the result of the putrefaction of animals or vegetables. Man, fish, and serpent are the only species whose mates face each other during cohabitation, because they are the only living creatures to whom God spoke (Gen. 3. 14; Jonah 2. 11); hence this distinction is conferred upon them; Bekorot 8a; BR 20. 3. Once in seven years God transforms nature, as a result of which the hornet springs forth from the remains of the horse; bees from the cattle; the wild boar from the mountain-mouse; the multipede from the backbone of the fish; the serpent from the backbone of the human body which did not formerly bow down at the time of prayer; Yerushalmi Shabbat 1, 3b. The beginning of this passage is badly corrupted, part of it, however, may be restored in accordance with Baba Kamma 16a (bottom) and with the text of R. Hananel, Baba Kamma *loc. cit.* One may read, with certainty, some אפא מיתעבד חוח . . . אפא מיתעבד סממא שד ממוחו דרישא . . . ודמעיא סממא. It is questionable whether קמוש and חוח in Yerushalmi and Babli are to be taken as bramble-bushes. Targum on Is. 34. 13 and Hos. 9. 6 takes these nouns to be certain species of animals, as has been rightly observed by Duran, *Megan Abot*, 58b; comp.

also Kimhi on the first passage. Both Yerushalmi and Babli speak in this connection of the sexual metamorphosis of the hyena (comp. note 177 with respect to the peculiarity of giving birth through the mouth, comp. Huppat Eliyyahu 3, where this is ascribed to the raven), and Babli knows of a long process of transformations of this animal, which finally becomes a demon. Concerning the splendor of the color of this animal, it is said that it possesses 365 different colors; see BR 7. 4; Tan. Tazria' 2; Tehillim 103, 432. Comp. also Berakot 6a, where this is stated with reference to the bird Kerum.—The serpent is the wicked among the animals (Bekorot 68a; Yerushalmi Berakot 2, 9a; accordingly MHG I, 95, הרשע =the serpent), and despite his punishment after the fall, this animal retained his weakness for the feminine sex; comp. Shabbat 109a, and note 60 on vol. I, p. 72. A remedy against serpents is the fumigation of the places frequented by them with the horns of a hind (this is also found in Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, VIII, 32, 50), which is the "pious one" among the animals. Whenever a drought occurs, the other animals apply to the hind to pray to God, who will listen to its prayers on account of its piety. It digs a pit in the ground into which it sticks its horns, and prays to God for rain. Whereupon God causes water to come up from the abyss. See Tehillim 25, 187. The attribute "pious" is shared by the hind with the stork which is called in Hebrew *Hasidah*, "the pious one", because the animals of this species are kind to one another; Hullin 63a; Tehillim 104, 144, Philo, *De Decalogo*, 12, who is very likely dependent upon Aristotle, *Historia Animalium*, 9. 13. Comp. also Hasidim 240–241, and the passages referred to by the editor, as well as *Shebet Musar* 25 (end), concerning the family purity of the stork. The heron, though it is closely related to the stork, is possessed of a different nature; it is a very unkind animal, and its name in Hebrew is therefore *Anafah*, "the wrathful one"; Hullin, *loc. cit.* The stork and the heron both belong to the family of birds that are distinguished for their keen sight, so that from

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“Whatever God created has value.” Even the animals and the insects that seem useless and noxious at first sight have a vocation to fulfil. The snail trailing a moist streak after it as it crawls, and so using up its vitality, serves as a remedy for boils. The sting of a hornet is healed by the house-fly crushed and applied to the wound. The gnat, feeble creature, taking in food but never secreting it, is a specific against the poison of a viper, and this venomous reptile {43} itself cures eruptions, while the lizard is the antidote to the scorpion.¹⁹¹ Not only do all creatures serve man,

Babylon they can see any object in Palestine; Hullin 63a–63b; PK 29. 187b. The ostrich like the heron is also a cruel bird, which does not even care for its young; Lekah, Lev. 11. 16 (it is very likely based on a reading very different from our texts of Hullin 64b). On the hyena, jackal, and bear comp. note 181. The lowest and least developed mind is attributed to the fishes; Philo, *De M. Opif.*, 22 (it is very likely based on Plato, *Timaeus*, 92a), and this view is connected with the statement that the fishes did not receive any names from Adam; Tosafot on Hullin 66b; and *Pa'aneah*, Lev. 11 (end). Philo, however, *Quaestiones*, Gen. 12, makes Adam name every living thing. Descriptions of fabulous animals are found in the Hebrew version of the Alexander legend (comp. Lèvi in *Steinschneider-Festschrift* 145, *seq.*); Hadassi, *Eshkol* 24b–24c, and *Zel 'Olam*, II, 5, *seq.* The following account by R. Akiba goes back to an Indian fable. R. Akiba saw once a lion, a dog, and a lizard (אֶנְקִינְתָּא is akin to Hebrew אֶנְקָה); the lion wanted to attack the dog, but could not carry out his plan out of fear of the lizard (read צִדִּי), which is the protector of the lion, whereas the dog is the protector of the lizard. *Tehillim* 104, 445.

and contribute to his comfort, but also God “teacheth us through the beasts of the earth, and maketh us wise through the fowls of heaven.” He endowed many animals with admirable moral qualities as a pattern for man. If the Torah had not been revealed to us, we might have learnt regard for the decencies of life from the cat, who covers her excrement with earth; regard for the property of others from the ants, who never encroach upon one another’s stores; and regard for decorous conduct from the cock, who, when he desires to unite with the hen, promises to buy her a cloak long enough to reach to the ground, and when the hen reminds him of his promise, he shakes his comb and says, “May I be deprived of my comb, if I do not buy it when I have the means.” The grasshopper also has a lesson to teach to man. All the summer through it sings, until its belly bursts, and death claims it. Though it knows the fate that awaits it, yet it sings on.

^{191.} Shabbat 77b. The sentence “Whatever, etc.” literally agrees with that of Aristotle, *De Coelo*, I, 4: ‘Ο δὲ θεὸς καὶ ἡ φύσις οὐδὲν μάτην ποιοῦσιν. Many a species of animal was only created on account of a single specimen to which some special historical mission was assigned. For instance, the gnat that lives only one day was destined to cause the death of Titus (it crept through his nose into his brains); Gittin 56b; 2 Alphabet of Ben Sira 24a; BR 10. 7; WR 22. 1; Koheleth 5. 8; Koheleth Z., 104; BaR 18. 22; Tan. B. IV, 98, *seq.*; Tan. Hukkat 1; ShR 10. 1. Comp. also Ecclu. 39. 28–34. The emphasis frequently laid on the statement that everything in nature has a mission to perform, so that even the bad may be applied as a means to attain the good, is directed against the view of the Persians, according to which all noxious animals are the creation of the god Ahriman. See Lactantius, *Institutiones*, 7. 4, who like the Rabbis emphasized the usefulness of all created things.

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So man should do his duty toward God, no matter what the consequences. The stork should be taken as a model in two respects. He guards the purity of his family life zealously, and toward his fellows he is compassionate and merciful. Even the frog can be the teacher of man. By the side of the water there lives a species of animals which subsist off aquatic creatures alone. When the frog notices that one of them is hungry, he goes to it of his own accord, and offers himself as food, thus fulfilling the injunction, "If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat; and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink."¹⁹² {44}

The whole of creation was called into existence by God unto His glory,¹⁹³ and each creature has its own hymn of praise wherewith to extol the Creator. Heaven and earth, Paradise and hell, desert and field, rivers and seas—all have their own way of paying homage to God. The hymn of the earth is, "From the

¹⁹². 'Erubin 100b, where the monogamous life of the dove is pointed out as a moral lesson which may be derived from nature. The statement concerning grasshoppers, storks, and frogs are found in *Shebet Musar* 22, 70b and 73c, as well as 31, 98a (comp. also note 190), the source or sources of which are not known. On the frog, comp. Löw in *Florilegium ... M. de Vogüe*, 398, and below, note 194. A description of the superiority of many animals over man in moral and physical respects is contained in part 15 of *Ben ha-Melech*. On the ant comp. DR 5. 2.

¹⁹³. Tosefta Yoma 2. 5 and Babli 38a, as well as ShR 17. 1, where this idea, derived from the Bible (Is. 43. 7 and Prov. 16. 4), is fully developed. The creation is the revelation of God's majesty and splendor in nature; comp. vol. I, p. 3, and note 2 on vol. I, p. 49.

uttermost part of the earth have we heard songs, glory to the Righteous." The sea exclaims, "Above the voices of many waters, the mighty breakers of the sea, the Lord on high is mighty."

Also the celestial bodies and the elements proclaim the praise of their Creator—the sun, moon, and stars, the clouds and the winds, lightning and dew. The sun says, "The sun and moon stood still in their habitation, at the light of Thine arrows as they went, at the shining of Thy glittering spear"; and the stars sing, "Thou art the Lord, even Thou alone; Thou hast made heaven, the heaven of heavens, with all their host, the earth and all things that are thereon, the seas and all that is in them, and Thou preservest them all; and the host of heaven worshippeth Thee."

Every plant, furthermore, has a song of praise. The fruitful tree sings, "Then shall all the trees of the wood sing for joy, before the Lord, for He cometh; for He cometh to judge the earth"; and the ears of grain on the field sing, "The pastures are covered with flocks; the valleys also are covered over with corn; they shout for joy, they also sing."

Great among singers of praise are the birds, and greatest among them is the cock. When God at midnight goes to the pious in Paradise, all the trees therein break out into adoration, and their songs awaken the cock, who begins in turn to praise God. Seven times he crows, each time reciting a {45} verse. The first verse is: "Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in. Who is the King of glory? The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle." The second verse: "Lift up your heads, O ye gates; yea, lift them up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in.

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Who is this King of glory? The Lord of hosts, He is the King of glory." The third: "Arise, ye righteous, and occupy yourselves with the Torah, that your reward may be abundant in the world hereafter." The fourth: "I have waited for Thy salvation, O Lord!" The fifth: "How long wilt thou sleep, O sluggard? When wilt thou arise out of thy sleep?" The sixth: "Love not sleep, lest thou come to poverty; open thine eyes, and thou shalt be satisfied with bread." And the seventh verse sung by the cock runs: "It is time to work for the Lord, for they have made void Thy law."

The song of the vulture is: "I will hiss for them, and gather them; for I have redeemed them, and they shall increase as they have increased" — the same verse with which the bird will in time to come announce the advent of the Messiah, the only difference being, that when he heralds the Messiah he will sit upon the ground and sing his verse, while at all other times he is seated elsewhere when he sings it.

Nor do the other animals praise God less than the birds. Even the beasts of prey give forth adoration. The lion says: "The Lord shall go forth as a mighty man; He shall stir up jealousy like a man of war; He shall cry, yea, He shall shout aloud; He shall do mightily against his enemies." And the fox exhorts unto justice with the words: "Woe unto him {46} that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by injustice; that useth his neighbor's service without wages, and giveth him not his hire."

Yea, the dumb fishes know how to proclaim the praise of their Lord. "The voice of the Lord is upon the waters," they say, "the God of glory thundereth, even the Lord upon many waters"; while

the frog exclaims, “Blessed be the name of the glory of His kingdom forever and ever.”

Contemptible though they are, even the reptiles give praise unto their Creator. The mouse extols God with the words: “Howbeit Thou art just in all that is come upon me; for Thou hast dealt truly, but I have done wickedly.” And the cat sings: “Let everything that hath breath praise the Lord. Praise ye the Lord.”¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁴ Perek (Pirke) Shirah. On the oldest source where this small treatise is made use of and on its history, comp. Steinschneider, *Hebräische Bibliographie*, XIII, 103, 106, and Zunz, *Magazin*, XVIII, 301–302. It is questionable whether, as Steinschneider maintains, this treatise was influenced by the fable of the contest of animals which plays an important role in the writings of the Pure Brethren. The conception that the animals and all created things chant praise to God is genuinely Jewish, and is not only poetically expressed in the Bible (Ps. 65. 14, etc.), but occurs quite frequently in talmudic and midrashic literature, where the “singing” and praise of the animals and trees are spoken of; comp. Rosh ha-Shanah 8a; Hullin 54b; ‘Abodah Zarah 24b; BR 13. 2; Tehillim 104, 442–443 (read *אין אני עומד*; the words *ואני יודע* are an explanatory gloss), and 148, 538. That animals chant praise seems quite natural in legends, since they originally spoke in human language (comp. vol. I, p. 71), and after the fall of man they were still in possession of languages which many a wise man understood; Gittin 45a. Comp. also vol. IV, p. 138, *seq.* The language of trees was understood not only by R. Johanan b. Zaccai (Sukkah 28a; Baba Batra 184a; Soferim 16. 9), but also by the Gaon R. Abraham; comp. ‘Aruk, s. v. *סח* 1, and the parallels cited by Kohut, as well as *Toratan shel Rishonim* I, 63. If we further find that in Perek Shirah inanimate objects also praise God, we have to bear in mind that Hippolytus, *Haeres.*, 9, 25 explicitly states (comp. also 5, 2, where the same assertion is made concerning the gnostic sect of the Naasenians)

that according to the Jewish view, "all things in creation are endowed with sensation, and that there is nothing inanimate". In mystic literature the angels of animals, trees, rivers, etc., praise God; comp. Seder Rabba di-Bereshit 7-8; Tosafot on 'Abodah Zarah 17a (bottom); Hullin 7a (bottom). Comp. notes 102, 105, 112, and Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 340. The Christian legend knows not only of talking animals, trees, or other inanimate objects like ships, water, pictures, etc. (comp. Gunter, *Christliche Legende*. s. v. "Redend"; Acts of Xantippe, 30; Narrative of Zosimus II), but is also familiar with the chants of praises of all things, which are divided into twelve classes, and utter their praise in turn one hour every day. Comp. the Testament of Adam, and the literature appertaining to it, cited by Bezold, *Das Arabisch-Aethiopische Testamentum Adami* in *Orientalische Studien*, 893-912, and James, *The Lost Apocrypha* 2-4. 2 Enoch 2. 5 is a reminiscence of Ps. 150. 6, while the Testament of Abraham 3 speaks of the human language of the trees; comp. Hagigah 14b.—In connection with the praises enumerated in Perek Shirah the following is to be noted: On the earth comp. Sanhedrin 37b and 94a ("the prince of the earth", alluded to in this passage, refers to the angel of the earth; comp. note 75); on the sea and the water comp. note 53; concerning the trees see Hagigah 14b. God's visit paid to the pious in paradise, with which the song of the cock is to be connected, is frequently mentioned in later Midrashim, especially in the mystic literature; comp. Midrash Shir 42a; midrashic quotation in the anonymous commentary on Song of Songs, published in *Steinschneider-Festschrift*, Hebrew section, 55-56, where the song of praise of the trees in paradise is brought in connection with God's visit; Seder Gan 'Eden 132-133; Zohar I, 10b, 40b, 72a, 77a-77b, 82b, 92a, 92b, 178b, 218b; II, 46a, 57a, 173b, 175b, 196a; III, 22a, 22b, 23a, 52b, 193a; Zohar Hadash Bereshit 3, 17b. On the cock as the herald of light, and the one who

admonishes man not to forget to chant praise to God, comp. the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch 7, and for further details, see Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 77, seq., and Ginzberg in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s. v. “Cock”, and note 39. As to the song of praise of the vulture, comp. Hullin 63a. Concerning the song of the mouse, comp. note 171. On the hymn of the frog see vol. IV, pp. 101–102, and Löw, *Lurchnamen* 7 in *Florilegium* in honor of M. de Vogüé, 398. In connection with the Hebrew name of the first letter of the alphabet, God is made to say: “I open the tongue and mouth of all men (אפתח לשון פה = אלף), so that they shall praise Me daily and recognize Me as King over the four corners of the earth. Were it not for the daily hymns and songs of praise, I should not have created the world.” The heavens, the earth, the rivers, the brooks, the mountains, and the hills, in brief, the entire order of creation, chant hymns to the Creator. Adam too intoned a hymn to the Lord saying, (comp. vol. I, 83-85): “It is a good thing to give thanks to the Lord, and to sing praise to His name.” With these words he referred to the songs of praise intoned by the celestials and terrestrials; Alphabet R. Akiba 12–13.

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II

ADAM

MAN AND THE WORLD

THE ANGELS AND THE CREATION OF MAN

THE CREATION OF ADAM

THE SOUL OF MAN

THE IDEAL MAN

THE FALL OF SATAN

WOMAN

ADAM AND EVE IN PARADISE

THE FALL OF MAN

THE PUNISHMENT

SABBATH IN HEAVEN

ADAM'S REPENTANCE

THE BOOK OF RAZIEL

THE SICKNESS OF ADAM

EVE'S STORY OF THE FALL

THE DEATH OF ADAM

THE DEATH OF EVE

II

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ADAM

MAN AND THE WORLD

With ten Sayings God created the world, although a single Saying would have sufficed. God desired to make known how severe is the punishment to be meted out to the wicked, who destroy a world created with as many as ten Sayings, and how goodly the reward destined for the righteous, who preserve a world created with as many as ten Sayings.¹

¹ Abot 5. 1; ARN 31, 90 (second version 36, 90); Rosh ha-Shanah 32a; BR 17. 1; PR 21, 108 (whence Mahzor Vitry 535); PRE 3; Lekah, Gen. 1. 5; Tikkune Zohar 70; the commentators of the Mishnah quoted by Schechter on 2 ARN. The number 10 (on the significance of this number comp. Lekah, *loc. cit.*; Tehillim 5, 19; Ma'aseh Torah 10) is computed in various ways. In Gen. 1. 3-29 the expression "and God said" occurs only nine times, but the prevalent view is that the very first beginning of creation likewise resulted from God's utterance (on the doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo* comp. Excursus I), so that there were ten utterances corresponding to the ten acts of creation. The Gnostic Manichaeism also speaks of the ten creations; comp. Hippolytus, *Haeres.*, 8. 7. The expression "God's word is an act" occurs frequently in Jewish and Christian writings; comp. BR 44. 22; Tehillim 107, 461-462; Enoch 14. 17; 2 Enoch 33.4; Philo, *Sacrif. Caini*, 18. Comp. further Apocalypse of Baruch 14. 17; 4 Ezra 6. 38; Heb. 11. 3; 2 Peter 3. 5; Clemens Alexandrinus, *Hortatio*, 4.

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The world was made for man, though he was the last-comer among its creatures. This was design. He was to find all things ready for him. God was the host who prepared dainty dishes, set the table, and then led His guest to his seat. At the same time man's late appearance on earth is to convey an admonition to humility. Let him beware of being proud, lest he invite the retort that the gnat is older than he.²

The superiority of man to the other creatures is apparent in the very manner of his creation, altogether different from theirs. He is the only one who was created by the hand of God.³ The rest sprang

² Tosefta Sanhedrin 8. 7–8; Babli 38a; Yerushalmi 4 (end). Comp. note 8.

³ Alphabet of R. Akiba 59, whence Rashi borrowed his remark on Gen. 1. 27. This assertion is found much more frequently in Christian sources; comp. Theophilus Ant., *Ad Autol.*, II, 18; Aphraates, 240; Clementine *Homilies*, II, 52; III, 20; IV, 34 (the last passage is a quotation from Is. 41. 20); Athenagoras, *Legat.*, 33; Irenaeus, *Haer.*, 5. 5, 1, and 2. 58 (the hands of God=the Holy Ghost and the Son); Apocalypse of Ezra (beginning); Tertullian, *De Resurrectione*, 5; *Adversus Marcionem*, 2; ps.-Tertullian, on Gen. 35–40; Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 4, 37 (the biblical passages referring to this subject, as Job 10. 8 and Ps. 119. 73, are not to be taken literally, but have a hidden meaning); Clemens Alexandrinus, *Instructor*, I, 3; Emerson, *Legends of Cain* (*Publications of Modern Languages Association of America*, XXI, 41) shows the continuance of this conception in Christian literature of the latter part of the Middle Ages. Comp. further Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 21–22, and 29, note 2. On the occurrence of this legend in pseudepigraphic literature comp. 4 Ezra 4. 14, and the Armenian version of the Book of Adam in

from the word of God. The body of man is a microcosm, the whole world in miniature, and the world in turn is a reflex of man. The hair upon his head corresponds to the woods of the earth, his tears to a river, his mouth to the ocean.⁴ Also, the world {50}

Preuschen's *Adamschriften*, 29, and 2 Enoch 44. 1. In the following passages of the older literature the expression "the right, the left hand, one, and both hands of God" must not be taken literally; they only describe the relative importance of creations. God created the world with one hand, the temple with both hands (Mekilta Shirah 10, 44a; Mekilta RS. 70); He created the heavenly beings with His right hand, and the terrestrial with His left (Menahot 36b; Sifre D., 35; Midrash Tannaim 28; Mekilta Pasha 17, 21a; Wa-Yosha' 49; see further vol. IV, p. 426). He created the whole world with one hand, man and the temple with both (ARN 1, 8; Ketubot 5a; comp. further PRE 7, beginning; Ma'amar 'Aseret Melakim 54; Mekilta Bahodesh 6, 69b; Alphabet of R. Akiba 24-25; Seder Rabba di-Bereshit 1, bottom, and 4, bottom; note 12 on vol. I, p. 8, the sources with reference to the letters by means of which God created the world). The statement which emphasizes the fact that man is the creation of God's hands is probably directed against the doctrine of Philo and the Gnostics who maintain that Adam was partly or wholly created by the angels; comp. note 14. It is noteworthy that Philo, *De Somn.*, 1, 36, emphatically asserts that "man was not made by hand, but is the work of invisible nature."

⁴ ARN 31, 91—92, where parallels are drawn between man and the world. The comparison between man and the world in both directions, man as microcosmos and the world as macroanthropos, is a favorite subject of the Haggadah; comp, e. g., Aggadat 'Olam Katan 57-59; Pesikta Hadta 36; Alphabet of R. Akiba 13; Tan. B. II, 34; Abkir in Yalkut I, 148 and 743; Koheleth and Koheleth Z. 1. 4 (this is the source of Yalkut I, 186; the reference to Ten. in the editions is erroneous); PR 203a; Targum and Midrash in Eccl. 9. 4 and 12. 2, *seq.* Of special interest are,

resembles the ball of his eye: the ocean that encircles the earth is like unto the white of the eye, the dry land is the iris, Jerusalem the pupil, and the Temple the image mirrored in the pupil of the eye.⁵ But man is more than a mere image of this world. He unites both heavenly and earthly qualities within himself. In four he resembles the angels, in four the beasts. His power of speech, his discriminating intellect, his upright walk, the glance of his eye—they all make an angel of him. But, on the other hand, he eats and drinks, secretes the waste matter in his body, propagates his kind, and dies, like the beast of the field. Therefore God said before the

in later literature, the parallels elaborately drawn between man and the world; see *Orehot Zaddikim* 28 (towards the end), and *Shebet Musar* I. Since the conception of the microcosmos (Hebrew עולם קטן occurs for the first time in Tan. Pekude 3) was already known to the Babylonians (see Winckler, *Babylonische Cultur*, 33), there is no necessity to trace the haggadic conception of the microcosmos to the corresponding philosophical doctrine of the Greeks. Dependent upon the latter are Philo (*De M. Opif.*, 28; *De Plant. Noe*, 19; *Moses*, 3. 14) and the statement bearing upon this subject found in the medieval philosophical literature of the Jews (comp. *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s. v. "Microcosmos", and Malter, *Personification of Soul and Body*, J.Q.R., N.S., II, 453, seq.). The doctrine of the later Kabbalah concerning the Adam Kadmon (comp. Ginzberg, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, I, 183) partly coincides with the philosophical and partly with the haggadic conception of man as microcosmos. It is questionable whether 4 Ezra 4. 10 knows of man as microcosmos; but one may ascribe the acquaintance with this view to 2 Enoch 30. 8.

⁵ Derek Erez Z. (end). Comp. the sources in the preceding note and Rashi on Bekorot 16a.

creation of man: "The celestials are not propagated, but they are immortal; the beings on earth are propagated, but they die. I will create man to be the union of the two, so that when he sins, when he behaves like a beast, death shall overtake him; but if he refrains from sin, he shall live forever."⁶ God now bade all beings in

⁶ BR 7. 11, 12. 8, 14. 3; Hagigah 16a (on the text of the talmudic passage comp. Lekah, Gen. 1. 20, according to which angels resemble man with respect to the fact that they are endowed with speech, but not in the use of the Hebrew language, as our texts of the Talmud read; comp. note 58); ARN 37, 109; Shemuel 2, 48; PR 43, 179b; Aggadat Bereshit 52, 106; Baraita of 32 Middot, No 16; Ma'aseh Torah 98; Sifre D., 306, 132ב (ויבד יהיה ר' סימאי); Midrash Tannaim 185-186; Midrash R. Akiba 31; EZ 3, 176. Comp. Schechter on ARN, *loc. cit.*, and Yalkut II, 831 (end). Man, according to Philo too, is a "creature" on the boundary-line of the mortal and the immortal; comp. *De Fortitud.*, 3; *De M. Opif.*, 46 and 24. In Lactantius, *Institutiones*, 2. 13, the conception of man as a creature combining the heavenly and earthly elements is brought into relation with the view that he is considered as microcosmos (comp. note 4). This Church Father, in several passages, calls attention (7. 5, 9; 2. 13) to the fact "that animals look downward because they are earthly; man looks upward because he is of heavenly origin." This statement is found not only in Lactantius, but also in Philo, *Noe*, 2. 4, and *Quod Deterius Potiori Insidiari Soleat*, 29. A midrashic passage quoted by many medieval authors (*Sefer Mizwot Gadol*, Introduction to the positive precepts; *Sefer Mizwot Katan*, No. 53; Hasidim 478), and found also in a manuscript of Tan. (Introduction 152 and 154), reads as follows: Neither the angels nor the animals satisfied God; the former have no evil inclination (this view is based on BR 48. 11), the latter have no good inclination. The good of the one and the evil of the other, therefore, are not the result of their free will. God therefore created man who possesses both the good and evil inclinations; if he follows evil, he is likened to an

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heaven and on earth contribute to the creation of man, and He Himself took part in it. Thus they all will love man, and if he

animal; if he follows good, he is higher than an angel (comp. BR 14. 3—4 and the parallel passages). A similar view on the nature of man is expressed by the Church Fathers: comp. Theophilus, 2, 27, and especially Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, 2, 8, who finds, in agreement with R. Akiba in BR 21. 5, the superiority of man to the angels in his free will. Here and there one meets with the view that man was created in the image and likeness of the angels, not in that of God; comp. BR, *loc. cit.*, and ShR 30. 16. This is most likely directed against the Christians, who interpret Gen. 1. 27 and 5. 1 christologically; comp. Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, 2, 5; *De Resurrectione*, 6; *Adversus Praxean*, 12. There are numerous other explanations of these verses in Genesis; comp. BR 8. 9, and the parallel passages cited by Theodor; see further Abot 3. 21 (on this statement of R. Akiba comp. Ginzberg, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s. v. “Adam Kadmon” and “Akiba”, as well as Geiger, *Kebuzzat Ma’amarim*, Poznanski’s edition, 101–405, and Ginzberg’s notes, 396); *Peletat Soferim*, 3–4; Tan. Introduction 154 (read *כמו שכתבתי*); Lekah, Gen. 1. 27; *Guide of the Perplexed*, I, 1. The conception that man was created in the image of the angels is perhaps related to the statement made in Jub. 15. 27, according to which certain classes of angels were created “circumcised”; comp. Tikkunim 47. The view expressed in the last-named passage, as well as in other kabbalistic sources, that only the Jew who observes the law resembles the image of God or of the angels, finds its counterpart among the Church Fathers with respect to Christians; comp. Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protrepticus* (end); Clementine *Homilies*, II. 4; 16. 19; 17. 7; Origen, *De Princ.*, III, 6. 1; *Contra Celsum*, 7, 63 (where a rationalistic attitude is adopted). On the question whether animals possess an evil inclination, comp. 2 ARN 34, 74; BR 14.4; Berakot 60a.

should sin, they will be interested in his preservation.⁷

The whole world naturally was created for the pious, the God-fearing man, whom Israel produces with the helpful guidance of the law of God revealed to him.⁸ It was, therefore, Israel who was

⁷ Yalkut Reubeni on Gen. 1. 26 (the source is given as Midrash, but it must be a later one). The older sources (BR 12. 8; WR 9. 9; Tan. B. I, 11; MHG I, 51; Zohar III, 219b, which gives a somewhat mystic interpretation) remark: All things came to being alternately out of heaven and earth, both of which had been created on the first day. Accordingly the firmament, the creation of the second day, sprang up from heaven; the plants on the third day from the earth; the lights on the fourth day emanated from heaven; the animals on the fifth day arose from the earth. When God was about to create man, He said: "If I create man of the earth, the terrestrial creations will be numerically more than the celestial ones; if I create him of heaven, the result will be the reverse." Hence He created man's soul of heaven and his body of earth. Thus was harmony established between heaven and earth.

⁸ The view occurring frequently in rabbinic and pseudepigraphic literature that the world was created for the sake of Israel (BR 1. 4, and the parallels cited by Theodor; see further Batte Midrashot I, 44; Shir 2. 2 and 7. 3; Tan. B. IV, 5; Tehillim 109, 465; Makiri on Ps. 47, 262; 4 Ezra 6. 55; Apocalypse of Baruch 14. 17; Assumption of Moses 1. 12; comp. further vol. IV, pp. 399, 407, 415, 424, as well as the numerous sources cited by Weber, *Palästinenische Theologie*), does not owe its origin to national pride, but is closely connected with the ethical conception of creation. Man was the purpose of creation, and just as "the host will not invite his guest to the feast, until everything has been prepared...; even so thought and did the Guide of all things... When He wished to invite man to the feast, He prepared the necessary good things" (Philo, *De M. Opif.*, 25; comp. further *De Sacrificiis Abelis*, 3; *De Decalogo*, 10).

taken into special consideration at the time man was made. All

Practically the same words are used by the Rabbis, Sanhedrin Tosefta 8. 7–9; Babli 38a; Yerushalmi 4 (end). See also Kiddushin 4. 14. Of course, it is not every man that can claim to be the “crown of creation”. “He who observes the law... and obeys God... outweighs the whole world”, observe Philo (*De Decalogo*, 10) and the Rabbis, Sanhedrin 103b. It is not the average man but, to use a modern expression, the “superman” who was the goal of creation. Hence the Rabbis remark that the world was created for the sake of Abraham, Moses, David, the Messiah; BR 1. 7; 12. 2 and 9; Sanhedrin 98b; Hullin 89a. To be sure, every man is given the opportunity to attain to the highest ideal. It is therefore asserted that “every Jew, that every man may outweigh the whole world”; comp. Sanhedrin 4. 5; ARN 30, 90–91 (מישראל) has been added by the editor without good authority); second version 36, 90. The means whereby man may attain the goal of his task was given in God’s revelation, in the Torah. Hence the frequent statement that it is the Torah for whose sake the world was created; comp. Index, s. v. “Torah”. See further Assumption of Moses 1. 12, where *legem* should perhaps be read instead of *plebem*. Nahmanides, in his *Derashah*, 1–4, with his deep insight recognized the relationship that exists between the rabbinic statement concerning man as the purpose of creation and the assertion of the Rabbis regarding Israel and the Torah as necessary conditions for the existence of the world. His polemic against Ibn Ezra (Gen. 1. 1) and Maimonides (*Guide of the Perplexed*, III, 13), who deny that man is the purpose of creation, is justified from the talmudic point of view. The fundamental idea that man is the crown of creation, and that the Torah was revealed to Israel as the only means whereby man can perform the task assigned to him, is found in the Bible (comp. especially Jer. 31. 35 and 33. 25–20; Ps. 8. 6–7; Is. 42. 5–6). The Church accepted this view, without any modifications, substituting only the word “Christian” for “Jew”. “The Christian is of

other creatures were instructed to change their nature, if Israel should ever need their help in the course of his history. The sea was ordered to divide before Moses, and the heavens to give ear to the words of the leader; the sun and the moon were bidden to stand still {51} before Joshua, the ravens to feed Elijah, the fire to spare the three youths in the furnace, the lion to do no harm to Daniel, the fish to spew forth Jonah, and the heavens to open

greater importance than the whole world", observes Cyprian (*Epistola ad Donatum*, 1. 14), and Justin Martyr, 2 *Apologia*, 7, speaks of "Christians who knew that they were the cause of the preservation of nature". This statement, with variations, is likewise found in the letter *Ad Diogenem*, 7 (towards the end), ascribed to that Church Father. Comp. further his *Apologia*, 1. 45, as well as Aristides, *Apologia*, 26, 1. 17 (Syriac text). The attacks on Jewish arrogance and exclusiveness, in modern theological literature, on account of this belief, are practically identical with those against which Origen had to defend the Christians. Similar charges were brought by the pagan Celsus against the Christians, and Origen refuted them in his *Contra Celsum*, 4. 27-31 (he quotes the following from Euripides: The sun and the moon are slaves of mortal men), and particularly 74-79. Comp. also note 6, which contains quotations from patristic literature on the view that the Christian alone was made in the image of God. On the view that the world was created for the sake of man, see also Justin, *Apologia*, 1. 10; *Dialogue*, 10; Aristides, *Apologia* (bottom). See also Lactantius, *Institutiones*, 2. 11 and 8. 5; Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, 2. 3 and 4. Comp. also, Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 9-40. The following characteristic remark of the Talmud (Berakot 61b) may be quoted here: The world was created only for the very pious or for the very wicked, for men like R. Hanina b. Dosa (a saint who flourished during the first century C. E); or for men like Ahab; this world was created for the latter, the other for the former.

before Ezekiel.⁹

In His modesty, God took counsel with the angels, before the creation of the world, regarding His intention of making man. He said: "For the sake of Israel, I will create the world. As I shall make a division between light and darkness, so I will in time to come do for Israel in Egypt—thick darkness shall be over the land, and the children of Israel shall have light in their dwellings; as I shall make a separation between the waters under the firmament and the waters above the firmament, so I will do for Israel—I will divide the waters for him when he crosses the Red Sea; as on the third day I shall create plants, so I will do for Israel—I will bring forth manna for him in the wilderness; as I shall create luminaries to divide day from night, so I will do for Israel—I will go before him by day in a pillar of cloud and by night in a pillar of fire; as I shall create the fowl of the air and the fishes of the sea, so I will do for Israel—I will bring quails for him from the sea; and as I shall breathe the breath of life into the nostrils of man, so I will do for Israel—I will give the Torah unto

⁹ BR 5. 5 (the reading יונתן 'ר is also in Mekilta RS, 53); Aguddat Aggadot 21-22; Midrash Jonah 102-103; Zohar II, 198b. The view that miracles are primordial creations was later developed by Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed*, II, 29, in whose theology it plays an important part. The following sources have this remark on miracles: God already performed in this world, through the prophets, a part of the miracles which are to take place in the world to come: PK 9, 76a; WR 27. 4; Tan. B. III, 90, and IV, 4; Tan. Emor 9; Koheleth 3. 15. Comp. also Tan. Introduction 153.

him, the tree of life.” The angels marvelled that so much love should be lavished upon this people of Israel, and God told them: “On the first day of creation, I shall make the heavens and stretch them out; so will Israel raise up the Tabernacle as the dwelling-place of My glory. On the second day, I shall put a division between the terrestrial waters and the heavenly waters; so will he hang up a veil in the Tabernacle to divide {52} the Holy Place and the Most Holy. On the third day, I shall make the earth put forth grass and herb; so will he, in obedience to My commands, eat herbs on the first night of the Passover, and prepare showbread for Me. On the fourth day, I shall make the luminaries; so will he make a golden candlestick for Me. On the fifth day, I shall create the birds; so will he fashion the cherubim with outstretched wings. On the sixth day, I shall create man; so will Israel set aside a man of the sons of Aaron as high priest for My service.”¹⁰

Accordingly, the whole of creation was conditional. God said to the things He made on the first six days: “If Israel accepts the Torah, you will continue and endure; otherwise, I shall turn everything back into chaos again.” The whole world was thus kept in suspense and dread until the day of the revelation on Sinai, when Israel received and accepted the Torah, and so fulfilled the condition made by God at the time when He created the universe.¹¹

¹⁰. Abkir in Yalkut I, 17; Midrash Shir 8; Tan. Pekude 2; 2 Ben Sira 32b; Pesikta Hadta 38; Aguddat Aggadot 8; comp. Horowitz, *ad loc.* See further vol. III, p. 151; vol. IV, p. 399. On the idea that God consulted the angels, comp. note 12, and note 3, on vol. I, p. 3.

THE ANGELS AND THE CREATION OF MAN

God in His wisdom having resolved to create man, He asked counsel of all around Him before He proceeded to execute His purpose—an example to man, be he never so great and distinguished, not to scorn the advice of the humble and lowly. First God called upon heaven and earth, then upon all other things He had created, and last upon the angels.

The angels were not all of one opinion. The Angel of Love favored the creation of man, because he would be affectionate and loving; but the Angel of Truth opposed it, {53} because he would be full of lies. And while the Angel of Justice favored it, because he would practice justice, the Angel of Peace opposed it, because he would be quarrelsome.

To invalidate his protest, God cast the Angel of Truth down from heaven to earth, and when the others cried out against such contemptuous treatment of their companion, He said, "Truth will spring back out of the earth."

The objections of the angels would have been much stronger, had they known the whole truth about man. God had told them only about the pious, and had concealed from them that there would be reprobates among mankind, too. And yet, though they knew but half the truth, the angels were nevertheless prompted to

^{11.} Shabbat 88a; DR 8. 5; Ruth R. (beginning); Koheleth 1. 4. Comp. note 8, and note 202 on vol. III, p. 92.

cry out: "What is man, that Thou art mindful of him? And the son of man, that Thou visitest him?" God replied: "The fowl of the air and the fish of the sea, what were they created for? Of what avail a larder full of appetizing dainties, and no guest to enjoy them?" And the angels could not but exclaim: "O Lord, our Lord, how excellent is Thy name in all the earth! Do as is pleasing in Thy sight."¹²

¹². BR 8. 3—9; Tan. Introduction 154; Tehillim 1, 23; PR 40, 166b; comp. further Yerushalmi Berakot 9, 12d; Sanhedrin 38b; DR 2. 13, and parallels cited by Theodor on BR 8. 9. The opposition of the angels to the creation of man is already mentioned in tannaitic sources (comp. Tosefta Sotah 6. 5), and is frequently alluded to in talmudic-midrashic literature; comp. PK 4, 34a; PR 14, 59b; Tan. B. IV, 110; Tan. Wa-Yera 18 and Hukkat 6; BaR 19. 3; Koheleth 7. 23; Tehillim 8, 73; 2 Ben Sira 32a; see also the following note. This legend emphasizes the Jewish view as opposed to the Philo-Gnostic opinion, according to which man was, wholly or partly, created by the lower powers, not by God Himself; comp. Philo, *De M. Opif.*, 24; *De Confusione Linguarum*, 35; *De Profug.*, 14. For the Gnostic doctrine see Hippolytus, 7. 16 and 20; Tertullian, *De Resurrectione*, 5, and *De Anima*, 23. In opposition to this view, that man was, wholly or partly, created by the evil or lower powers, the Jewish legend lays stress upon the fact that the angels had nothing to do with man's creation, which they tried rather to prevent. A vague reminiscence of the Gnostic doctrine is the statement found in later sources (*Hadar*, Gen. 1. 27) that, when the angels noticed their superiority to the animal world, they became very proud; hence God commanded them to make a man, in order to humiliate them by their inability to carry out His command. Just as Philo, in the passage cited above, found this theory concerning the angels co-operating in the creation of man confirmed in the words of Scripture: "Let us make" (Gen, *loc. cit.*), so the Christians believed that

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For not a few of the angels their opposition bore fatal consequences. When God summoned the band under the archangel Michael, and asked their opinion on the creation of man, they answered scornfully: "What is man, that Thou art mindful of him? And the son of man, that Thou visitest him?"

these words indicated the co-operation of the Logos. It is a moot question in Jewish, as well as in Christian literature, as to how the plural of *נְעָרִים* is to be understood. BR, *loc. cit.*, cites not less than six different explanations of this strange plural (some explain it there as a *pluralis majestatis*), whereas most of the Church Fathers take it Christologically; comp. Irenaeus, 2. 5; Justin Martyr, *Dialogue*, 62 (refutes the Jewish view that God consulted the angels); Theophilus, *Ad Autol.*, 2. 18; Theodoretus, Gen. 1. 27; Basilius, *Hexaemeron*, Hom. 9. 6; Christian Sibylline Oracles, 8, 544. On the assertion of the Midrashim that God, though not in need of any service, took counsel with the angels, in order that He might serve as an example to man to ask the advice of his fellow-men, comp. Philo, *De Confusion Linguarum*, 27. See further Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, I, 19–21, as well as Goldfahn, *Justin Martyr und die Agada*, 24–25. The angels whom God consulted were the Seraphim, God's advisers, according to some; Mercy and Justice, according to others; see Sode Raza and Sefer ha-Tagin in Yalkut Reubeni, Gen. 1. 27; comp. note 6, on vol. I, p. 4. The statement that when a man commits a sin the angels accuse him (quoted from Tan. or Yelammedenu in Makiri on Prov. 3. 18) is probably related to the view that from the very beginning the angels were not favorably inclined towards man. The view that man's own good and evil deeds are his heavenly defenders and accusers, respectively, occurs already in a tannaitic statement (Shabbat 32a). Comp. the following note and note 20.

God thereupon stretched forth His little finger, and all were consumed by fire except their chief Michael. And the same fate befell the band under the leadership of the archangel Gabriel; he alone of all was saved from destruction. {54}

The third band consulted was commanded by the archangel Labbiel. Taught by the horrible fate of his predecessors, he warned his troop: "You have seen what misfortune overtook the angels who said 'What is man, that Thou art mindful of him?'" Let us have a care not to do likewise, lest we suffer the same dire punishment. For God will not refrain from doing in the end what He has planned. Therefore it is advisable for us to yield to His wishes." Thus warned, the angels spoke: "Lord of the world, it is well that Thou hast thought of creating man. Do Thou create him according to Thy will. And as for us, we will be his attendants and his ministers, and reveal unto him all our secrets." Thereupon God changed Labbiel's name to Raphael, the Rescuer, because his host of angels had been rescued by his sage advice. He was appointed the Angel of Healing, who has in his safe-keeping all the celestial remedies, the types of the medical remedies used on earth.¹³

¹³. Konen 26-27, and Yerahmeel 14-15 (read. Boel instead of Labiel), parts of which only go back to Sanhedrin 38b. Comp. also vol. III, p. 110, and further 2 Ben Sira 32a concerning the terrible punishment God inflicted on the revolting angels. According to Sode Raza in Yalkut Reubeni, Gen. 1. 27, these angels were thrown down from heaven on earth, where Adam met them later. It is noteworthy that in Konen the heads of the heavenly hierarchy are not four or seven (comp. note 440 on vol. III, pp. 231-32, and note 64 on vol. I, 16), but three. This

corresponds to the threefold division of the cosmos, already found among the Babylonians, into heaven, earth and water. Michael is therefore said to consist of fire, the heavenly element; Gabriel of snow, the primordial substance of which the earth was made (comp. note 18 on vol. I, 8). According to others, Michael is of snow, and Gabriel of fire; comp. Targum Job 25. 2; the numerous references by Buber on PK 1, 3a, and note 63 on vol. I, p, 16, as well as the Christian pseudepigraphic *History of Joseph the Carpenter*, 22, which reads: Michael the prince of the angels (the same title is also found in 13, whereas in 6 Gabriel bears this title; comp. BR 78. 1; Shir 3. 6 and BaR 11. 3, where the phrase is used: Michael and Gabriel, the princes of the angels; see Dan. 12. 1), and Gabriel the herald of light. The element out of which the third archangel was made, we may well assume, is the water beneath the earth, the streams of Belial of the Bible=the waters of death. Comp. also notes 23 and 187 on vol. I, pp. 10, 40-41, respectively. Since in Babylonian mythology Nergal, the god of the nether-world, has the form of a lion (comp. Jeremias in Roscher's *Lexicon der Mythologie*, III, 250), לביאל may be taken to stand for לבי "lion" and אל "god", and its transliteration should accordingly be Lebiel. Most likely the name Raphael had originally nothing to do with רפא "he healed", but was derived from רפאים "shades". In Enoch 22. 1-6 this angel clearly appears as the prince of Hades. In 20. 2-3 the original text probably read: ועל השאול רפאל "And over the Tartarus, Raphael who is in charge of the departed souls". But the translator took ועל השאול to belong to the preceding sentence. The identification of Lebiel with Raphael in Konen is therefore a learned explanation of an old tradition. It is not certain whether Raphael, as the angel of healing, owes his calling to the false explanation of his name (as "healer" we find him in Tobit and frequently in Jewish and Christian literature; comp., e. g., Baba Mezi'a 86b; Origen,

THE CREATION OF ADAM

When at last the assent of the angels to the creation of man was given, God said to Gabriel: "Go and fetch Me dust from the four corners of the earth, and I will create man therewith." Gabriel went forth to do the bidding of the Lord, but the earth drove him away, and refused to let him gather up dust from it. Gabriel remonstrated: "Why, O Earth, dost thou not hearken unto the

De Princ., I, 8. 1), for the development of the "prince of the nether-world" into the "healer" is quite conceivable. Similar developments may be found in many mythological systems.—On the function of the three archangels, it may be observed that Origen, *loc. cit.*, considers Michael as the angel of prayer, who brings man's prayers before God, and Gabriel as the angel of war. The latter is also the view of the Rabbis, as may be seen from the statement that Gabriel was the one who annihilated Sennacherib's camp, destroyed Sodom, and set fire to the temple at Jerusalem (comp. Index, 5. 22. "Gabriel"), and is therefore called the severe angel, in contrast to Michael, "the angel of mercy"; comp. Ekah 2, 98. The angel of prayer, according to the Rabbis, is Sandalfon (comp. note 139 on vol. I, p. 29, and Index, 3. 12.), but the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch 11 seems to agree with Origen. In the Christian pseudepigraphic work the *Passing of Mary*, 8, Michael appears as the prince of paradise, which is to be compared with the function of this angel as high priest in the heavenly temple (comp. Index, s. v.), which is only another expression for paradise. Although in Jewish angelology Michael is superior to Gabriel, so that he alone bears the title "prince" (*Hagigah*, *loc. cit.*, and Hullin 40a; comp. further the Jewish tradition given by Jerome on Dan. 8. 10), one must not fail to note that at least among the Babylonian Jews Gabriel's prestige almost equals that of his rival Michael. Comp. Kohut, *Angelologie*, 24–33, whose views require a thorough revision. Comp. also note 8 on vol. I, p. 5.

voice of the Lord, who founded thee upon the waters without props or pillars?” The earth replied, and said: “I am destined to become a curse, and to be cursed through man, and if God Himself does not take the dust from me, no one else shall ever do it.” {55} When God heard this, He stretched out His hand, took of the dust of the ground, and created the first man therewith.¹⁴ Of set purpose the dust was taken from all four corners of the earth, so that if a man from the east should happen to die in the west, or a man from the west in the east, the earth should not dare refuse to receive the dead, and tell him to go whence he was taken. Wherever a man chances to die, and wheresoever he is buried, there will he return to the earth from which he sprang. Also, the dust was of various colors — red, black, white, and green — red for the blood, black for the bowels, white for the bones and veins, and green for the pale skin.

At this early moment the Torah interfered. She addressed herself to God: “O Lord of the world! The world is Thine, Thou canst do with it as seemeth good in Thine eyes. But the man Thou art now creating will be few of days and full of trouble and sin. If it be not Thy purpose to have forbearance and patience with him, it were better not to call him into being.” God replied, “Is it for

¹⁴ Yerahmeel 15. For a similar statement among the Arabs, comp. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 61–62. According to Konen 27., it was Michael, not Gabriel, who brought the dust for Adam’s body. The rivalry between these two angels is often met with throughout Jewish literature; comp. the preceding note and note 8 on vol. I, p. 5.

naught I am called long-suffering and merciful?”¹⁵

¹⁵ PRE 11; Tan. Pekude 3 (end); Targum Yerushalmi, Gen. 2. 7; Yerahmeel 15–16; Sanhedrin 38a–38b. Comp. further Philo, *De M. Opif.*, 51, which reads: But in the foundation of the body he is like the whole world, since he is made out of the combination of the same elements as the world, i. e., out of earth, water, air, and fire, in which each element contributed its part towards the completion of the composition of material sufficient for this purpose... to form this visible image. This view of the Greek philosophers that the human body consists of the four elements is mentioned by Philo also, *De Decalogo*, 8; but in *De Somn.*, 1. 3, he is in agreement with the Jewish sources (comp. Targum Yerushalmi, *loc. cit.*; MHG I, 73, goes back to a very late source, which is acquainted with the philosophical doctrine of the four elements), and states that Adam’s body was formed out of earth and water. 2 Enoch 30. 8 knows of seven substances which were employed in the composition of the human body; comp. Charles, *ad. loc.*, as well ARN 31, 91–92, with reference to the correspondence between the parts of the human body and those of the earth. The etymology of the name Adam found in the Sibylline Books III, 24–26, and elsewhere in Christian literature (comp. Schürer, *Geschichte*, III, 290): Ἀνατολή “east”, Δύσις “west”, Ἀρκτος “north”, and Μεσημβρία “south”, goes back to 2 Enoch 30. 13. The rabbinic sources (Sotah 5a; comp. further PRE 12) explain אדם “Adam” as אפר “dust”, דם “blood”, and מרה “gall”. Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 1. 2, reads: He was called Adam... which signifies one who is red (אדם), because he was formed out of red earth. . . of that which is virgin soil (קרקע בתולה in mishnic Hebrew) and real earth. Concerning this passage comp. Löw, *Zeitschrift für neut. Wissenschaft*, XI, 167. A Christological explanation of the virgin soil is found in the *Martyrdom of Bartholomew*. Just as the first Adam was created out of a virgin, so was the second. The old mythological conception of “mother-earth” has also left its traces in the Jewish legends; comp. 4 Ezra 5. 28, and the legend concerning the

The grace and lovingkindness of God revealed themselves

“pregnancy of the earth with Adam” in Aguddat Aggadot 77; comp. also Ecclu. 40. 1. In connection with the view that the dust for the human body was taken out of the whole earth, Sanhedrin 38a–38b reads: The soil of Palestine furnished the material for Adam’s head; that of Babylon for his trunk; that of Akra de-Agma (a town in Babylon, notorious on account of the loose morals of its inhabitants) for his privates; that of all other countries for his extremities. Parallels to this legend in later Christian and Arabic writings are cited by Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 55–58 and 62.—On the conception that man’s existence is only possible as the result of God’s mercy, comp. BR. 8. 4; PR 40, 166b: Tehillim 1, 23, as well as vol. I, pp. 3-5. On the creation of the world by means of God’s justice and kindness, comp. further the quotations from Yelammedenu by Sikli, *Talmud Torah* 6. Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, 1. 25–26, and 2. 3, emphasizes, as do the Rabbis, the necessity of these attributes of God for the existence of the world and man. Recanati, Lev. 23. 24, quotes the following from an unknown Midrash: When God betakes Himself to His seat of judgment to judge the world, Mercy on His right and Justice on His left strive with one another. Justice says: “Judge the world with exact justice, and requite the sinners according to their actions”; but Mercy rejoins: “If Thou, O Lord, heedest sins, who shall be able to exist?” (Ps. 130. 3). Justice then says: “The wicked shall die because of his sins” (Ezek., 23. 8). Whereupon Mercy replies: “I ask not the death of the wicked” (Ezek. 18. 32 and 23. 11; the citations are not literal). Justice says: “All this takes place because of the sins of Jacob” (Micah 1. 5). But Mercy replies: “Not now shall Jacob be ashamed” (Is. 29. 22). “Then will I also do this unto you” (Lev. 26. 16), says Justice. “For my own sake will I do it” (Is. 48. 11), replies Mercy. “Since yesterday is the conflagration (*i. e.* hell) made ready” (Is. 30. 33), says Justice, and Mercy replies: “Before the mountains were created... and Thou sayest: Return, ye children of men”

particularly in His taking one spoonful of dust from the spot where in time to come the altar would stand, saying, "I shall take man from the place of atonement, that he may endure."¹⁶

THE SOUL OF MAN

The care which God exercised in fashioning every detail of the body of man is as naught in comparison with His {56} solicitude for the human soul. The soul of man was created on the first day, for it is the spirit of God moving upon the face of the waters. Thus, instead of being the last, man is really the first work of creation.¹⁷

(Ps. 90. 2—3). Justice says: "Therefore hath the deep (*i. e.* hell) enlarged her desire" (Is. 5. 14), and Mercy replies: "A tree of life is she (wisdom) to those that lay hold on her" (Prov. 3. 18). "I will no longer have any mercy" (Hos. 1. 6), says Justice, and Mercy replies: "For the Lord will have mercy on Jacob" (Is. 14. 1). Justice says: "And some to disgrace and everlasting abhorrence" (Dan. 12. 2), and Mercy replies: "And these to everlasting life" (*ibid.*).

¹⁶. Yerushalmi Nazir 7, 56b; BR 14. 8, PRE 11, 12, and 20; Tehillim 92, 405; EZ 2, 173. In later Midrashim two different legends have been united, and it is asserted that the dust taken from the various parts of the earth, out of which Adam's body was formed (comp. the preceding note) was kneaded at the holy place in Jerusalem. The older sources (Nazir and BR, *loc. cit.*), as well as Philo, *De M. Opif.*, 47 (he took the best of the whole earth), do not know of this combination. Comp. note 137.

¹⁷. BR 8. 1 (on the text comp. Sikli, *Talmud Torah*, 11, where, however, אֵיט is to be read for אֵיכָא); WR 14. 1; Tan. B. III, 32; Tan. Tazria' 1; Tehillim 139, 529. Comp. also Sanhedrin 38a. In the sources just quoted,

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This spirit, or, to call it by its usual name, the soul of man, possesses five different powers. By means of one of them she escapes from the body every night, rises up to heaven, and fetches new life thence for man.¹⁸

as well as elsewhere (comp. Excursus I) "the spirit of God", which in the beginning of creation moved on the surface of the waters, was afterwards identified with the spirit (=soul) of the Messiah. This was probably occasioned by an anti-Christian tendency (Origen, *De Princ.*, I, 3.3, Ephraim I, 8 B, Theodoretus, *ad loc.*, as well as many other. Church Fathers identify the spirit, of God in Gen. 1. 2 with the Holy Ghost). The Talmud, Hagigah 12a, however, explains the word רוח in this passage as "wind". Comp. Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 14-15, and note 14 on vol. I, p. 8.

¹⁸. BR 14. 9; comp. further WR 32. 2; DR 2. 37. The philosophers found here the doctrine of the various powers of the soul, but there is no doubt that this Haggadah, in its original form, wishes to express the view of polypsychism, which was prevalent in ancient times; comp. Toy, *Introduction to the History of Religion*, 20. These five souls are, according to the Midrash, blood, wind, breath, the principle of life (immortal soul?), and the individual soul. One of these souls leaves the body at the time of sleep (on this "dream-soul" comp. Toy, *ibid.*, 2, and further Tertullian, *De Anima*, 43, who opposes this popular conception of the Christians of his time); see BR, *loc. cit.*, and 78. 1; WR, *loc. cit.*, and 4. 8; DZ 5; Berakot 60b (in a prayer still found in the liturgy); PR 8, 29a, and 31, 143a; Koheleth 10. 20; Ekah 3, 132; Tehillim 11, 102 (here dreams are explained as the result of the wanderings of the soul during the time the body is asleep), and 25, 210; ER 2, 8; EZ 15, 199; Tan. Mishpatim 16; Alphabetot 114-116; Al-Barceloni, 181 (Kaufmann's remark, 342, is accordingly to be corrected); Zohar I, 53b, 121a, 122a, 169b, 183a, 200a

With the soul of Adam the souls of all the generations of men were created. They are stored up in a promptuary, in the seventh of the heavens, whence they are drawn as they are needed for human body after human body.¹⁹

and (probably based on Tehillim 11. 102) III, 119a, as well as 234b; Mahzor Vitry 78; Pardes 55a; *Orehot Hayyim* I, 1a; Shibbole ha-Leket, 41. In the last-named non-midrashic sources (comp. Tehillim 57, 307) it is said that the soul, which at the time when the body is asleep is in God's keeping, does not wish to return to man again; but God compels it to do so, saying to it: "I do not wish that man who entrusted his soul to Me when he went to sleep should be disappointed." Comp. Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchengv.*, 23, whose explanation of BR 14. 9, though accepted by Theodor, *ad loc.*, is erroneous, as may be seen from the passages quoted above concerning the journey of the soul while the body is asleep. In Tehillim 62, 307 עולה ויורדת signifies "breathing."

¹⁹ Tan. Pekude 3, where the statement occurs that all souls are but part of Adam's soul. Comp. Tan. Ki-Tissa 12; ShR 40. 3. This view which is probably of Christian origin (comp. I Cor. 15. 22, and Rom. 5. 14, as well as Tertullian, *De Anima*, 40), plays a great part in the Kabbalah, which speaks of the sparks of Adam's soul forming the souls of later generations. A different view is given in BR 8. 8, where it is said that God consulted the souls of the pious concerning the creation of man; comp. Excursus I. The abode of the souls of the unborn, according to Hagigah 12b, is the seventh heaven (in this passage the souls are differentiated from the spirits; comp. the preceding note); but according to Tan. Pekude, *loc. cit.*, it is in paradise. Yebamot 62a and parallel passages speak of a גוף where the soul of all future generations are preserved. It also has the additional remark that the Messiah will not come until this גוף is emptied. According to the traditional interpretation, גוף denotes a promptuary (comp. *'Aruk*, s. v.). See further 2 Enoch 23. 14;

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The soul and body of man are united in this way: When a woman has conceived, the Angel of the Night, Lailah, carries the sperm before God, and God decrees what manner of human being shall become of it—whether it shall be male or female, strong or weak, rich or poor, beautiful or ugly, long or short, fat or thin, and what all its other qualities shall be. Piety and wickedness alone are left to the determination of man himself. Then God makes a sign to the angel appointed over the souls, saying, “Bring Me the soul so-and-so, which is hidden in Paradise, whose name is so-and-so, and whose form is so-and-so.” The angel brings the designated soul, and she bows down when she appears in the presence of God, and prostrates herself before Him. At that moment, God issues the command, “Enter this sperm.” The soul opens her mouth, and pleads: “O Lord of the world! I am well pleased with the world in which I have been living since the day on which Thou didst call me into being. Why dost Thou now desire to have me enter this impure sperm, I who {57} am holy and pure, and a part of Thy glory?” God consoles her: “The world which I shall cause thee to enter is better than the world in which thou hast lived hitherto, and when I created thee, it was only for

and 58.5 (here an abode of the souls [spirits?] of animals is likewise spoken of); Apocalypse of Baruch 23. 5; 4 Ezra 4. 35. According to another view, this גוף is identical with the “curtain” (פרגוד) before God’s throne (frequently mentioned in the Talmud), on which all souls are “painted”; comp. *Aruk*, loc. cit.; Zohar II, 96b, and the quotation, from a work of R. Eleazar of Worms (Rokeah), by R. Joseph Jabez, at the end of the latter’s work *Ma’amar ha-Ahdut*.

this purpose.” The soul is then forced to enter the sperm against her will, and the angel carries her back to the womb of the mother. Two angels are detailed to watch that she shall not leave it, nor drop out of it, and a light is set above her, whereby the soul can see from one end of the world to the other. In the morning an angel carries her to Paradise, and shows her the righteous, who sit there in their glory, with crowns upon their heads. The angel then says to the soul, “Dost thou know who these are?” She replies in the negative, and the angel goes on: “These whom thou beholdest here were formed, like unto thee, in the womb of their mother. When they came into the world, they observed God’s Torah and His commandments. Therefore they became the partakers of this bliss which thou seest them enjoy. Know, also thou wilt one day depart from the world below, and if thou wilt observe God’s Torah, then wilt thou be found worthy of sitting with these pious ones. But if not, thou wilt be doomed to the other place.”

In the evening, the angel takes the soul to hell, and there points out the sinners whom the Angels of Destruction are smiting with fiery scourges, the sinners all the while crying out Woe! Woe! but no mercy is shown unto them. The angel then questions the soul as before, “Dost thou know who these are?” and as before the reply is negative. The angel continues: “These who are consumed with fire were created like unto thee. When they were put into the world, {58} they did not observe God’s Torah and His commandments. Therefore have they come to this disgrace which thou seest them suffer. Know, thy destiny is also to depart from the world. Be just, therefore, and not wicked, that thou mayest gain the future world.”

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Between morning and evening the angel carries the soul around, and shows her where she will live and where she will die, and the place where she will be buried, and he takes her through the whole world, and points out the just and the sinners and all things. In the evening, he replaces her in the womb of the mother, and there she remains for nine months.

When the time arrives for her to emerge from the womb into the open world, the same angel addresses the soul, "The time has come for thee to go abroad into the open world." The soul demurs, "Why dost thou want to make me go forth into the open world?" The angel replies: "Know that as thou wert formed against thy will, so now thou wilt be born against thy will, and against thy will thou shalt die, and against thy will thou shalt give account of thyself before the King of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He." But the soul is reluctant to leave her place. Then the angel fillips the babe on the nose, extinguishes the light at his head, and brings him forth into the world against his will. Immediately the child forgets all his soul has seen and learnt, and he comes into the world crying, for he loses a place of shelter and security and rest.

When the time arrives for man to quit this world, the same angel appears and asks him, "Dost thou recognize me?" And man replies, "Yes; but why dost thou come to {59} me to-day, and thou didst come on no other day?" The angel says, "To take thee away from the world, for the time of thy departure has arrived." Then man falls to weeping, and his voice penetrates to all ends of the world, yet no creature hears his voice, except the cock alone. Man remonstrates with the angel, "From two worlds thou didst take

me, and into this world thou didst bring me.” But the angel reminds him: “Did I not tell thee that thou wert formed against thy will, and thou wouldst be born against thy will, and against thy will thou wouldst die? And against thy will thou wilt have to give account and reckoning of thyself before the Holy One, blessed be He.”²⁰

²⁰. Tan. Pekude 3, and as an independent Midrash entitled *Yez-irat ha-Walad* (“creation of the embryo”) in *Abkat Rokel*, whence it was republished by Jellinek in BHM I, 153-155. The latter scholar added a second midrashic treatise giving more material about the physical nature of man and the “creation of the embryo” from Likkute ha-Pardes 4d-5b, which is partly of the same contents as that of the first treatise. Yerahmeel 10, 19-23, is identical with Tan., *loc. cit.* As to particulars, note the following. On the angel Lailah (“night”) and his functions, comp. Niddah 16b; Sanhedrin 96a; ‘Aseret ha-Dibrot 79; note 98 on Vol. I, p. 232. In Zohar II, 11a-11b, it is Gabriel who is in charge of the soul; comp. also *ibid.* 96b. That everything is predestined by God, except man’s moral freedom, is also found in Ketubot 30a; Apocalypse of Baruch 54. 15. Comp. the references given by Charles, *ad loc.*, to Josephus and other sources. There is also a statement that a few days before the birth of a male child a heavenly voice announces: That woman is destined to become his wife, that house or that field will belong to him; comp. Sotah 2a and Mo’ed Katan 18b. On the View that marriages are made in heaven, see further Yerushalmi Bezah 5, 63a (bottom); WR 8. 1; BR 68. 4; PK 2, 11b-12a; Tan. Ki-Tissa 5; Shemuel 5, 62. See also Abrahams, *J.Q.R.* 11, 172-177 = *Book of Delight*, 172-183. On the predestination of the intellectual and other traits of man, comp. Yelammedenu in Yalkut II, 916 on Job 28. The differentiation of the sex of the embryo, according to the Kabbalists, is brought by the angel Sandalfon; comp. Yalkut Reubeni, Lev. 12. 2. The refusal of the soul to enter the embryo is already

presupposed in Abot 4 (end). The two heavenly companions of the soul are naturally the guardian angels of every individual person, who are frequently alluded to in Jewish, as well as in Christian, literature; comp. Berakot 60b (top): Shabbat 119b; Ta'anit 11a; Tan. Wa-Yeze 3; Matthew 18. 10; *Hermas Pastor*, Visio, V, 6. 2; Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, 6. 17; Justin Martyr, *Dialogue*, 5, and 2 *Apologia*, 5; Athenagoras, *Legatio*, 10. 20; *Visio Pauli*, 14; *The History of Joseph the Carpenter*, 13. In the Jewish sources (comp. Shabbat and Tan., *loc. cit.*; ER 18, 100; Tehillim 104, 440) the doctrine of the guardian angels appears quite early with a rationalistic explanation. In View of Shabbat *loc. cit.*, Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed*, III, 23, is certainly correct in asserting that the ancient Rabbis understood these guardian angels to represent the good and evil inclinations. It is interesting that *Hermas Pastor*, *loc. cit.*, represents practically the same conception. Directly dependent on Maimonides is Zohar, I, 144b, 165b, 191a; II, 41b–42a; III, 106a. Here and there the view is found, both in Jewish and Christian sources, that every man has only one guardian angel; comp. ER, *loc. cit.*, and *Kimha Dabishuna* on the piyyut האומרים אחד (morning prayer of the Day of Atonement); *Visio Pauli*, *loc. cit.* The prevalent opinion, however, is that there are two guardian angels; comp. the sources quoted above, and Eusebius, 689a, as well as vol. I, p. 95. That the angels who accompany man testify before God concerning his acts is found not only in Ta'anit, *loc. cit.*, but also in 2 Enoch 19.5. Here also belong the remarks about the angels who come to God to plead for a man if he is good, and about those who accuse him if his conduct is bad; comp. Tehillim 94, 418; Mishle 11, 70. Hence the statement that man's actions, his limbs and his soul are his witnesses; comp. Ta'anit, *loc. cit.*; 'Aseret ha-Dibrot 79; Sifre D., 307. Midrash Tannaim 187; Tan. B. I, 21: When a man is about to die, God appears (the appearance of God is mentioned also in Sifre N., 103), and says to him:

“Write down all thy deeds, because thou art about to die now.” The man then writes everything down, and signs it with his hand. On the last day of judgment, God will produce these books, and a man’s actions will be shown to him. Comp. also Shabbat 32a, which reads: A man’s good deeds are his *Parakletin* (“defenders”) at the heavenly court. To the oldest sources, where guardian angels are mentioned, belongs 2 Maccabees 3. 26; Comp. also note 12.—According to Niddah 30b, the soul of the embryo knows and sees everything, and hence the corresponding statement in ‘Aseret ha-Dibrot 79 as well as in the sources cited at the beginning of note. Comp. further Mishle 2, 49; Tan. B. III, 32; WR 14. 8–9. On the relation of this conception to the Platonic doctrine of anamnesia, comp. Güdemann, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, 7, seq., and Joel, *Blicke*, I, 118–119. The kabbalistic treatment of this Platonic doctrine appears in Ziyoni, *Hayye Sarah* (beginning). On the idea that every man has a place in paradise or hell after death, according to his deserts, see Hagigah 15a; 2 Enoch 49; Tehillim 21, 239; Apocalypse of Baruch 23. 4; comp. especially the elaborate amplification of Hagigah, *loc. cit.*, in Hasidim 36. The idea that an angel causes the soul to forget everything, when it enters this world, is derived from Nidah 39a, where it is emphasized that the heavenly hosts adjure the embryo with the following words: “Be pious and not wicked; but when the world regards thee as pious, it shall appear to thee as though thou art wicked. Know that God is pure, His servants are pure, and thy soul is pure. If thou keepest it pure, it is well for thee; otherwise it will be taken away from thee.” On the loud weeping of the dying, comp. note 107 on vol. I, p. 26. Zohar I, 98a (Midrash ha-Ne’elam) and 79a, call the moment of death “the great judgment” for the individual, in which the soul acknowledges everything it has done during its life. For this point in the older sources comp. Sifre D., 307; Midrash Tannaim 187; Tan. B. I, 21.—The words of the angel of death are taken almost verbatim from Abot 4 (end). The

motive of refusing to die plays an important part in the legends concerning Abraham and Moses (comp. Index, 5. 9. "Abraham", "Moses"), and is also found in Christian legends; comp. Louise Dudley, *Egyptian Elements in the Legend of the Body and Soul*, 151, *seq.* The dependence of the Christian on the Jewish legends, and not on the Egyptian, as Dudley assumes, appears quite clearly from the passage of *Visio Pauli* 4, which Dudley, 27, is unable to explain. The angels who took away the soul of the sinner say to him: "As for that from which thou departest, again wilt thou return unto it." This Christian source quotes almost verbatim from Abot *loc. cit.* though the words do not fit into the description of death in *Visio Pauli*. Almost all men (comp. Index, s. v. "Death by Kiss") die by the "sword of the angel"; nevertheless the death of the pious is painless, that of the wicked is painful. Comp. the following passages where details concerning this point are given: Berakot 8a; 'Abodah Zarah 20b (here two different views are blended into one: 1) the sword of the angel of death; 2) a drop of venom, bitter as death, from the angel's hand causes death); Tehillim 11, 102-403. In the last passage it is also said that the soul (נשמה) is removed from the body, whereas the spirit (=wind רוח) remains at the tip of the nose after death until the corpse becomes putrefied, whereupon it is removed by the angel Duma into its proper place, paradise or hell. On the various souls which man possesses, comp. note 18. The older sources (Yerushalmi Mo'ed Katan 3, 82b; Tan. Mikkez 4; comp. further Shabbat 152a) maintain that the soul during the first three days hovers about the dead body, in the hope that it will be resurrected, and' it leaves it mournfully when putrefaction has set in; comp. John 11, 39, and Bousset, *Religion*, 341, note 1, as well as Zohar III, 53a, and notes 139-140.

THE IDEAL MAN

Like all creatures formed on the six days of creation, Adam came from the hands of the Creator fully and completely developed. He was not like a child, but like a man of twenty years of age.²¹ The dimensions of his body were gigantic, reaching from heaven to earth, or, what amounts to the same, from east to west.²²

^{21.} BR 14. 7; BaR 12. 8; Shir 3. 11; Hullin 60a (on this talmudic passage comp. Al-Barceloni, 74, and *Responsen der Geonim*, Harkavy's edition, 199); Jerome, I, 902; Ephraim, I, 159; comp. Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.* 31–33, with regard to the Christian form of this view, and note 97. The opinion of the superiority and the accomplishment of the first “human pair” is only a special application of the idea that all primordial creations came out fully developed. Comp. Seder ‘Olam 4, with reference to the heavenly luminaries, and Sifra 26. 4, with respect to the plant world. Comp. also notes 74 and 100 on vol. I, pp. 19 and 24, respectively. Philo, *De M. Opif.* 13, 47, 51, also speaks of the excellence of primordial creations, particularly that of Adam. To many gnostic systems this legend concerning Adam's spiritual and physical excellence is of great import; comp. *Recognitiones*, I, 47. Shu'aib, Ki-Tissa, 39c, quotes the following from an unknown Midrash: Adam received five crowns: he was king, prophet, high priest, his countenance shone in heavenly splendor, and God revealed the Torah to him.—Since the word Adam in Hebrew means “man”, the first man is called אדם הראשון and not infrequently also אדם הקדמוני; hence in Aramaic אדם קדמאה. Comp. Sifra 5. 17; BaR 10. 2; BR 20. 11 and note 60.

^{22.} BR 8. 1; 21. 3; 24. 2; Hagigah 12a; PRE 11; ARN 8, 22–23; PR 23, 115a; Tehillim 139, 529; WR 14. 1 and 18. 2; Tan. B. III, 37; Tan. Tazria' 8. Adam's enormously high stature plays an important part in the views of many gnostic sects, according to whom Adam was a gigantic monster without any intelligence, and moved about by creeping. Comp. Irenaeus

Among later generations of men, there were but few who in a

V, 22. 2; Hippolytus 5. 2 and 8. 16. Allusions to the time when Adam's body was not yet endowed with intellect are found in many other passages of rabbinic literature; comp. Sanhedrin 38b; ARN 1, 5 (second version 8), as well as 8, 22; PK 23, 150b; PR, *loc. cit.*, and 46, 187b; ShR 40. 3; Tan. B. III, 31; Tan. Shemini 8; Tehillim 92, 403. According to Abkir in Yalkut I, 34, and readings of manuscripts of Midrash Ruth (comp. Ginzberg, *Hazofeh*, IV, 35-66), God created, as the very first act of creation, the soulless (גולם) in all these passages does not mean "lifeless") Adam and then all the other creatures. Accordingly, Adam, though the first creation, did not receive his soul before all other creations had been formed, in order that he should not be considered as God's assistant in creation; comp. note 61 on vol. I, p. 16. Hence man is rightfully regarded as the beginning and the end of creation. 2 ARN 8, 22-23, and Epiphanius, *Haer.*, 1. 4. 4, oppose the view that Adam was God's first creation; comp., however, vol. I, p. 56, with reference to Adam's soul which was created on the first day. Philo, *Quaestiones*, Gen. 2. 56, asserts that the ideal man was created on the sixth day, the physical on the seventh. This does not harmonize with his general view of creation, according to which the former is of a timeless state (comp., e. g., *Legum Alleg.*, 2. 4), and it appears that he tried to fit a Haggadah into his system, but did not succeed. Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien*, I, 70, and Weinstein, *Zur Genesis der Agada*, 52, 79, find, in the utterances of the Haggadah concerning Adam's dimensions, which extended over the whole world, an echo of Philo's doctrine of the ideal man, the image of the whole world (*De M. Opif.*, 24, 46, and 51). This assumption is only partly correct. Both the Rabbis and Philo made use, each in his own way, of the old myth, according to which the world is a macroanthropos; comp. note 4. On Adam as a soulless monster among the Arabs, comp. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 62, *seq.* See further Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, I,

measure resembled Adam in his extraordinary size and physical perfections. Samson possessed his strength, Saul his neck, Absalom his hair, Asahel his fleetness of foot, Uzziah his forehead, Josiah his nostrils, Zedekiah his eyes, and Zerubbabel his voice. History shows that these physical excellencies were no blessings to many of their possessors; they invited the ruin of almost all. Samson's extraordinary strength caused his death; Saul killed himself by cutting his neck with his own sword; while speeding swiftly, Asahel was pierced by {60} Abner's spear; Absalom was caught up by his hair in an oak, and thus suspended met his death; Uzziah was smitten with leprosy upon his forehead; the darts that killed Josiah entered through his nostrils, and Zedekiah's eyes were blinded.²³

The generality of men inherited as little of the beauty as of the portentous size of their first father. The fairest women compared with Sarah are as apes compared with a human being. Sarah's relation to Eve is the same, and, again, Eve was but as an ape

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²³. PRK (Schönblum's edition, 16b; Grünhut's edition, 72; Jellinek's edition, 97); Sotah 10a (does not know of Zerubbabel's wonderful voice, and has Asa, king of Judah, instead of Ashael; comp. on this point vol. IV, p. 73; on Zedekiah see vol. IV, pp. 293-294); PRE 53 (one of the chosen is Josiah, whose nostrils were wonderful); MHG I, 66; Tan. B. V, 8 (Buber's statement, note 20, is incorrect); Tan. Wa-Ethanan 1; Yalkut on 1 Kings (end); Al-Barceloni, 30; Zohar I, 123b; Duran, *Milhemet Mizwah*, 26. On Zerubbabel comp. note 25 on vol. IV, p. 352; on Adam see Ecclu. 49. 16, which reads: Adam excelled all creatures in splendor.

compared with Adam. His person was so handsome that the very sole of his foot obscured the splendor of the sun.²⁴

His spiritual qualities kept pace with his personal charm, for God had fashioned his soul with particular care. She is the image of God, and as God fills the world, so the soul fills the human body; as God sees all things, and is seen by none, so the soul sees, but cannot be seen; as God guides the world, so the soul guides the body; as God in His holiness is pure, so is the soul; and as God dwells in secret, so doth the soul.²⁵

²⁴ Baba Batra 58a. On Adam's splendor which eclipsed the sun, comp. PK 4, 36b, 12, 101a; 27, 170a; PR 14, 62a; Koheleth 8. 1; WR 20. 2; Tan. B. III, 57; IV, 114; Tan. Ahare 2; *Adamschriften*, 29; *Apology of Sedrach*, 7 (along with Adam, Eve's beauty and splendor are mentioned). Comp. also on this point notes 69 and 105. The following persons are mentioned as ideals of beauty: Eve, Sarah, Rahab, Abigail, Esther, Abishag (not half as pretty as Sarah, but not inferior to Eve), Michal, and Jael, among the women. The men are: Adam, Jacob, Joseph, Saul, Absalom, R. Ishmael, and R. Ab-bahu. Comp. Baba Batra, *loc. cit.*; Baba Mezi'a 84a; Megillah 15a; PRK (Schönblum's edition, 24a); Sanhedrin 39b; BR 40. 5; Ma'aseh 'Aseret Haruge Malkut 23; Zohar I, 142b; II, 55a; III, 83b; Al-Barceloni, 41 and 45; Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 19. Comp. further on Adam's beauty, notes 104 and 105. On Eve's beauty see the Gnostic view quoted by Irenaeus I, 30, 7. On Sarah's beauty, see note 67 on vol. I, p. 222.

²⁵ Berakot 10a; WR4.8; Tehillim 103, 433 (cited in *Pugio Fidei*, 554, with considerable variations); Tan. Hayye Sarah 3; DR 2. 37; PRE 34; Zohar I, 125a; Philo, *De M. Opif.*, 23. The latter is the intermediary between the Stoics, who speak of the relationship that exists between God and the

When God was about to put a soul into Adam's clod-like body,

soul (comp. Diogenes of Babylonia; *Philodem. De Piet.*, Gomperti edition, 82; Seneca, *Ep.*, 65. 24), and the Haggadah. Comp. Bergmann in *Judaica* (in honor of Hermann Cohen), 151. In the Midrashim mentioned above, as well as elsewhere (comp. BR 14. 9) it is asserted that the soul does not sleep (comp. note 18 on the "dream soul") any more than does God. This conveys the idea of the immortality of the soul, as sleep (so already in the Gilgamesh epos) is the likeness of death; Berakot 57b. Comp. Vol. I, p. 64 (bottom). A doctrine concerning the soul, borrowed from the Stoics, is the one found in Sanhedrin 91b, according to which the soul enters the body at the time of conception. Comp. Begmann, *loc. cit.*, and vol. I, p. 56. Along with the view that the soul is something exclusively spiritual, found in the sources cited at the beginning of this note, there is the primitive conception which regards it as a material substance endowed with some form. The latter view has been preserved in some passages, according to which the soul has the form of a bird, and it is perhaps for this reason that the Talmudim and Midrashim often speak of the flight of the soul; comp. Yerushalmi Mo'ed Katan 3, 82b; Yerushalmi Yebamot 15, 150; Ketubot 62b (פרח רוחה "expired"); BR 93. 8 and 100. 7; WR 18. 1. Comp. further the sources referred to by Malter, *J.Q.R.*, N.S., II, 476–478. See also Tehillim 11, 102, where it is said that the soul has the appearance of a חגב בעל כנפים. This is most likely influenced by the Greek conception, and this phrase is to be rendered by "butterfly" (literally, "winged grasshopper"). The assertion found in Tehillim, *loc. cit.*, that the soul is fastened to the spine is probably related to the old view, according to which a part of the spine (comp. note 44 on vol. I, p. 163, and Index, s. v. "Luz") is indestructible, and will, in the time of resurrection, furnish the material out of which the human body will be quickened. As has been previously stated, the soul enters the body at the time of conception; but Opinions differ as to the time the two inclinations, the good and the evil, enter it. According to some, the evil

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He said: "At which point shall I breathe the soul into him? Into the mouth? Nay, for he will use it to speak ill of his fellow-man. Into the eyes? With them he will wink lustfully. Into the ears? They will hearken to slander and blasphemy. I will breathe her into his nostrils; as they discern the unclean and reject it, and take in the fragrant, so the pious will shun sin, and will cleave to the words of the Torah."²⁶

inclination enters the body at the time of conception; according to others, at the time of the formation of the embryo (*i. e.*, forty days after conception; comp. Berakot 60a; Menahot 99b; note 97); a third view, which is the most prevalent, maintains that it enters the body at the time of birth. But the good inclination does not make its appearance before the completion of the thirteenth year (*i. e.*, at the time of puberty); comp. ARN 17, 63–64 (second version, 36); Sanhedrin 91b; Yerushalmi Berakot 3, 6d; BR 34. 10; Tan. Bereshit 7 (this is the only passage which states that the evil inclination enters the body at the tenth year); MHG I, 108–109; Koheleth 4. 13. Comp. note 14 on vol. I, p. 108.

²⁶. MHG I, 74. Comp. vol. I, p. 66. Koheleth 2. 12 reads: God took counsel with His court concerning every single limb of man. Comp. further the quotation from a Midrash by Shu'aib, 'Tazria' 61a, where it is pointed out that the number of the veins of the human body corresponds to the days of the solar year. On this number of the veins, see Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 1. 27. The remark that the wonderful mechanism of the human body shows God's skill as well as His solicitude for man occurs frequently in the Haggadah; comp. Berakot 10a; Niddah 31a; WR 14. 3–4 and 15. 2–3; Tan. B. III, 33–34, 35–36; IV, 98; Tan. Tazria' 2–3 and 6, as well as Hukkat 1; BaR 18. 22; Tehillim 103, 431–432, 434; Shemuel 5, 59–60; see also parallels cited by Buber, and comp. Mekilta RS, 67. Very instructive is WR 34. 3, where Hillel, pointing to the duty which man

The perfections of Adam's soul showed themselves {61} as soon as he received her, indeed, while he was still without life. In the hour that intervened between breathing a soul into the first man and his becoming alive, God revealed the whole history of mankind to him. He showed him each generation and its leaders; each generation and its prophets; each generation and its teachers; each generation and its scholars; each generation and its statesmen; each generation and its judges; each generation and its pious members; each generation and its average, commonplace members; and each generation and its impious members. The tale of their years, the number of their days, the reckoning of their hours, and the measure of their steps, all were made known unto him.²⁷

owes to his body, remarks: The officer in charge of the washing and cleaning of the king's statues at the theatre and circus is not only paid a salary, but occupies a high rank among the dignitaries of the kingdom; how much more is man bound to do honor to God's image! The passages in *Recognitiones*, 8. 28–33, on the human body are closely related in many respects to those of the Haggadah. For later literature one may refer to Shebet Musar I, where the purpose of the various component parts of the human body is minutely described.

²⁷. Seder 'Olam 30 (read חסידים for חכמים and בינוני for נביאי; otherwise the prophets and the sages would be mentioned twice); Sanhedrin 38b; 'Abodah Zarah 5a; BR 24. 2; ShR 40. 2–3; WR 26. 7; PR 23 (beginning); ARN 31, 91 (second version 8, 22); Tan. B. I, 21, 22; Tan. Ki-Tissa 12 (comp. on this passage Recanati on Gen. 2) and Emor 2; Tehillim 139, 530; Shemuel 24, 120; EZ 6, 183 (here all that is said in the older sources concerning Adam is transferred to Moses; comp. vol. III, pp. 36, 398, 443); Targum Ps. 139. 16. Most of these sources (comp. also Baba Mezi'a

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Of his own free will Adam relinquished seventy of his allotted years. His appointed span was to be a thousand years, one of the Lord's days. But he saw that only a single minute of life was apportioned to the great soul of David, and he made a gift of seventy years to her, reducing his own years to nine hundred and thirty.²⁸

85b, bottom) speak of a book which God showed to Adam, in which all future generations are recorded, and this is the Jewish form of the view prevalent among the Babylonians (comp. Jeremias, *Babylonisches im NT*, 69, seq.). At the same time this legend holds the view that the entire human race was potentially created in Adam, so that all future generations have been predestined at the time of the creation of Adam. Comp. note 19. Instead of the book of Adam, there appears in Zohar I, 90b, the "painted curtain" on which all souls are drawn, and which God showed him. Comp. note 19.

²⁸. BaR 14. 12; PRE 19; Tehillim 95, 408. There are numerous additions in the following later sources (God and Metatron as witnesses sign the deed of a gift to David); Bereshit Rabbeti 67–68 in Epstein's *Eldad*; Huppat Eliyyahu in Aggadat Bereshit, Introduction 37; Sikli in *Hazofeh*, III, 11; Yalkut I, 41. Comp. further Zohar I, 55a, 140a, 168a, 248b; II, 235a; vol. IV, p. 82. The Arabs also know of the legend (comp. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 63–74), but they missed the point concerning the "days of the Lord" (comp. note 72) because of their ignorance of the Bible. According to Yebamot 64b, it was only at the time of David that seventy years were fixed as the average age of man. Comp. also Herodotus I, 32, and Jub. 23. 9. Zohar I, 168a, blended the Adam-David legend with another, according to which Abraham and Jacob were supposed to live 180 years, exactly as Isaac, but their deducted years, that is five of Abraham's, twenty-eight of Jacob's, as well as thirty-seven of

The wisdom of Adam displayed itself to greatest advantage when he gave names to the animals. Then it appeared that God, in combating the arguments of the angels that opposed the creation of man, had spoken well, when He insisted that man would possess more wisdom than they themselves. When Adam was barely an hour old, God assembled the whole world of animals before him and the angels. The latter were called upon to name the different kinds, but they were not equal to the task. Adam, however, spoke without hesitation: “O Lord of the world! The proper name for this animal is ox, for this one horse, for this one lion, for {62} this one camel.” And so he called all in turn by name, suiting the name to the peculiarity of the animal. Then God asked him what his name was to be, and he said Adam, because he had been created out of Adamah, dust of the earth. Again, God asked him His own name, and he said: “Adonāi, Lord, because Thou art Lord over all creatures” — the very name God had given unto Himself, the name by which the angels call Him, the name that will remain immutable evermore.²⁹ But without the gift of the holy spirit, Adam could not have found names for all; he was in

Joseph’s (who should have lived, according to his father’s blessing, as long as he), were bestowed on David.

²⁹. BR 18. 4; PK 4, 34a; PR 14, 59b; Tan. B. IV, 110; Tan. Hukkat 6; BaR 19. 3; Koheleth 7. 23; PRE 13; Tehillim 8, 73-74; 2 ARN 8, 23. Comp. further note 34. Adam’s wisdom is praised in Wisdom 10. 1 and by Philo, who also points to the naming of animals, where Adam’s wisdom was displayed. PK 6, 62b, and 2I, 144a (this is the source of Makiri, Is. 42, 128) maintains that the Tetragrammaton is the name by which Adam called God; comp. also Midrash Aggada Lev. 11. 4, and Berakot 7b.

very truth a prophet, and his wisdom a prophetic quality.³⁰

The names of the animals were not the only inheritance handed down by Adam to the generations after him, for mankind owes all crafts to him, especially the art of writing, and he was the inventor of all the seventy languages.³¹ And still another task he

³⁰. Lekah, Gen. 2. 19. The older sources (comp. the preceding note), however, only speak of Adam's wisdom (not of his prophetic gift), by means of which he succeeded in naming the objects. Nevertheless Adam is known in the older sources as a prophet; comp. Seder 'Olam 21; Septuagint Gen. 2. 20 (against this explanation of תרדמה as prophetic ecstasy, which is also found in Seder 'Olam, comp. BR 16. 5 and 24. 17; Tan. B. I, 22, however, seems to accept the first view); Philo, *Quis Rer. Div. Haer.*, 52. This view occurs quite frequently in patristic literature; comp. Origen, *De Princ.*, I, 3. 7; Jerome, Gen. 2. 21; Aphraates, 354; Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, 11; Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, I. 21; Clementine *Homilies*, 3. 18. Comp. further Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraph.*, 6 and 12, as well as Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 35. Zohar I, 125a, reads: Every one of the forty-eight prophets (on this number comp. Index, s. v. "Prophets") received a drop from the water of paradise, but Adam received as much as all of them together. The metaphor of the "drops of prophecy" in Zohar is borrowed from Shir 4. 11; comp. further Al-Barceloni, 130 and note 21.

³¹. BR 24. 7; Tan. B. I, 4; Philo, *Quaestiones*, Gen. I. 21–22; Eusebius, 515c; Augustine, *Quaestiones*, Exod. 69. According to one version of the Book of Adam (comp. *Adamschriften*, 24), it was an angel who, after the expulsion from paradise, taught Adam smithcraft, brought the fire-tongs and hammer, and taught him how to use them. Moreover (*ibid.*, 33), this angel instructed him how to tame an ox and to train it to work the soil;

accomplished for his descendants. God showed Adam the whole earth, and Adam designated what places were to be settled later by men, and what places were to remain waste.³²

THE FALL OF SATAN

The extraordinary qualities with which Adam was blessed, physical and spiritual as well, aroused the envy of the angels. They attempted to consume him with fire, and he would have perished, had not the protecting hand of God rested upon him, and established peace between him and the heavenly host.³³ In particular, Satan was jealous of the first man, and his evil thoughts finally led to his fall. After Adam had been endowed with a soul, God invited all the angels to come and pay him reverence and homage. Satan, {63} the greatest of the angels in heaven, with twelve wings, instead of six like all the others, refused to pay heed to the behest of God, saying, "Thou didst create us angels from the splendor of the Shekinah, and now Thou dost command us to cast ourselves down before the creature which Thou didst fashion

he also showed him how to eat the produce of the ground and to satisfy his hunger with it. As to rabbinic parallels to these legends, comp. notes 96 and 99, and further note 91 on vol. I, p. 181. On the Arabic legends concerning a book of Adam, comp. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 66. Comp. note 11.

³². Berakot 31a; MHGI, 80 (with substantial variations). Comp. further note 37.

³³. ARN I, 8 (second version 8, 23). For the opposite view concerning the relation of the angels to Adam, comp. vol. I, p. 64 (bottom).

out of the dust of the ground!" God answered, "Yet this dust of the ground has more wisdom and understanding than thou." Satan demanded a trial of wit with Adam, and God assented thereto, saying: "I have created beasts, birds, and reptiles, I shall have them all come before thee and before Adam. If thou art able to give them names, I shall command Adam to show honor unto thee, and thou shalt rest next to the Shekinah of My glory. But if not, and Adam calls them by the names I have assigned to them, then thou wilt be subject to Adam, and he shall have a place in My garden, and cultivate it." Thus spake God, and He betook Himself to Paradise, Satan following Him. When Adam beheld God, he said to his wife, "O come, let us worship and bow down; let us kneel before the Lord our Maker." Now Satan attempted to assign names to the animals. He failed with the first two that presented themselves, the ox and the cow. God led two others before him, the camel and the donkey, with the same result. Then God turned to Adam, and questioned him regarding the names of the same animals, framing His questions in such wise that the first letter of the first word was the same as the first letter of the name of the animal standing before him. Thus Adam divined the proper name, and Satan was forced to acknowledge the superiority of the first man. Nevertheless he broke out in wild outcries that reached the {64} heavens, and he refused to do homage unto Adam as he had been bidden.³⁴ The host of angels led by him did likewise, in

³⁴ Bereshit Rabbeti (its source is Eldad; comp. Epstein, *Eldad*, 66, *seq.*). On Satan's twelve wings, comp. PRE 13, which was made use of by Eldad. See also note 55 on vol. I, p. 133. On the wings of the angels see

spite of the urgent representations of Michael, who was the first to prostrate himself before Adam in order to show a good example to the other angels. Michael addressed Satan: "Give adoration to the image of God! But if thou doest it not, then the Lord God will break out in wrath against thee." Satan replied: "If He breaks out in wrath against me, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God, I will be like the Most High!" At once God flung Satan and his host out of heaven, down to the earth, and from that moment dates the enmity between Satan and man.³⁵

Batte Midrashot IV, 5, as well as *Kimha Dabishuna* on the Piyyut אֲמִיץ שׁוֹחֲקִים in the Roman Mahzor for the Day of Atonement. Epstein, *loc. cit.*, as well as Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 68, *seq.*, and *Neue Beiträge*, 57, *seq.*, rightly assumes that Eldad's story of Satan's fall goes back to Mohammedan, and indirectly to Christian, sources. Incorrect, however, is their view that the legend of the fall of Satan came to the Jews from the Christians and Mohammedans. For, though it is true that the doctrine of the fall of the angels, as well as that of Satan, has, at a very early period, been opposed by the leaders of the Synagogue, the traces of that legend are nevertheless to be found in rabbinic and pseudepigraphic writings, and this shows that these ideas were popular among certain classes of people. Comp. the following note. — In *Eldad* the legend about Satan is connected with that of Adam's giving names to the animals. These two legends were originally independent. The anachronism of Adam's speaking to Eve concerning the naming of the animals, which is against the explicit statement of Gen. 2.19–22, leads one to assume that Eldad made use of a Mohammedan source. A midrashic source, in which the names of the various animals were explained by their characteristics, was made use of by R. Sa'adya Gaon (comp. his words quoted by R. Bahya, Gen. 2. 19, and *Tashlum* Abudirham, 75) and Ibn Sabba, Gen., *loc. cit.* Comp. further MHG I, 79, *Toledot Yizhak*, Gen., *loc. cit.*

³⁵ Vita Adae 14–16; Bereshit Rabbeti in *Pugio Fidei* 563. This assertion concerning the fall of Satan, whose jealousy brought about Adam's misfortune, is widely known; comp., e. g., Apocalypse of Sedrach 5; Questions of Bartholomew; Koran 2. 33. See Bousset, *Religion*, 386, and Epstein, *Eldad*, 75, seq. The oldest source, however, 2 Enoch 29. 4 and 5, which speaks of the fall of Satan, ascribes it to his jealousy of God. According to this source, Satan thought that he "would make his throne higher than the clouds of the earth, and would be equal in rank to God" (comp. Is. 14. 12–14, the reference to which Charles failed to recognize). It is for this reason that God cast down him and his angels from the heights. Satan was flying about continually in the air (on this point see Targum Job 28. 7, which reads: Sammael who flies like a bird in the air) above the abyss. According to this source, the fall of Satan and his hosts occurred at the beginning of creation (on the second day?), while 31 reads that "Satan wanted to create another world, because things were subservient to Adam on earth", to rule them and to have dominion over them. Thus we again have the idea that Satan's jealousy of Adam brought about his fall. The conception that everything, including the angel world, was created "in order to serve man" is genuinely Jewish (comp. note 8 and Index s. v. "Angels"), and is emphasized by Paul, Hebrews 1. 14. Moreover, it is quite probable that Hebrews 1. 6, goes back to Vita Adae, *loc. cit.*, and, in midrashic fashion, makes the angels worship the second Adam (=Jesus), instead of the first. Indeed the sources cited in notes 36 and 37 seem to be directed against the popular conception that Adam was worshipped by the angels. A description of the fall of Adam, somewhat similar to that of 2 Enoch, is found in Alphabetot 93–94, where the text was shortened by the copyist, because the contents appeared to him too daring. In the part retained it is said that Satan, on the last day, will endeavor to renew his rebellion against

WOMAN

When Adam opened his eyes the first time, and beheld the world about him, he broke into praise of God, "How great are Thy works, O Lord!" But his admiration for the world surrounding him did not exceed the admiration all creatures conceived for Adam. They took him to be their creator, and they all came to offer him adoration. But he spoke: "Why do you come to worship me? Nay, you and I together will acknowledge the majesty and the might of Him who hath created us all. 'The Lord reigneth,'" he continued, "'He is apparelled with majesty.'"³⁶

God, and will proclaim that he is of equal rank with God, and that he was God's "partner" (שׁוּפֶת) in creation, that God created heaven and he created hell. Nevertheless the fire of hell will destroy him, and put an end to his arrogant talk. The words וְהָיוּ כָל וְכו' in our text are the end of the missing description of the fall of Satan and his angels (מִלֵּאכֵי שָׁטָן occurs very rarely in rabbinic literature) at the beginning of creation. In Tehillim 82, 369 (comp. Buber who gives the better text of Rashi) Satan's fall is alluded to, although, according to Trypho's observation in Justin Martyr's *Dialogue*, 124, the Jewish scholars refused to accept the view that Ps. 82. 7 refers to Satan's fall or to that of the angels. According to PRE 14 and 27, Satan's fall was a punishment for his having misled Adam to sin. This apparently corresponds to Revelation 12. 9; whereas according to another source (ARN 164; comp. vol. II, p. 242), it was a punishment for his conduct toward Job. Comp. note 10 on vol. I, p. 150. There is, however, still another view, according to which Satan was wicked from the very beginning, or, as the Haggadah expresses it, "was created out of the fire of hell" (comp. vol. II, p. 470). On Satan's jealousy of Adam as the cause for seducing the latter to sin, comp. vol. I, p. 95; Ginzberg, *Haggada bei ben Kircheng.*, 44-45.

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And not alone the creatures on earth, even the angels thought Adam the lord of all, and they were about to salute him with “Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts,” when God caused sleep to fall upon him, and then the angels knew that he was but a human being.³⁷

The purpose of the sleep that enfolded Adam was to give {65} him a wife, so that the human race might develop, and all creatures recognize the difference between God and man. When the earth heard what God had resolved to do, it began to tremble and quake. “I have not the strength,” it said, “to provide food for the herd of Adam’s descendants.” But God pacified it with the words, “I and thou together, we will find food for the herd.”

³⁶. PRE II; Tan. Pekude 3 (end); MHG I, 56.

³⁷. BR 8. 10; Koheleth 6. 10; Koheleth Z., 107. Comp. also the sources quoted in the preceding note, as well as Zohar I, 38a. 2 Alphabet R. Akiba 59 (whence Yalkut I, 20, on Gen. 2. 19, without giving source) remarks that the angels, noticing Adam’s resemblance to God, said: “Are there two powers in this world?” Whereupon God reduced Adam’s size, which had formerly filled the entire universe (comp. note 22) to one thousand cubits; comp. notes 73 and 33. Hasidim 290 made use of the same source, and has the addition that the part taken from Adam’s body was transformed into earth, and it is only this part which became inhabited (comp. vol. I, p. 62), while the rest remained a desert. At this time the exact number of future generations was fixed, which shall not be complete until the original size of Adam’s body (גוף; comp. note 19) is restored in those of his descendants. — On sleep as a sign of mortality, comp. note 25. See further 12 Testaments, Reuben 3. 1, and Ginzberg, *Unbekannte Sekte*, 243–244.

Accordingly, time was divided between God and the earth; God took the night, and the earth took the day. Refreshing sleep nourishes and strengthens man, it affords him life and rest, while the earth brings forth produce with the help of God, who waters it. Yet man must work the earth to earn his food.³⁸

The Divine resolution to bestow a companion on Adam met the wishes of man, who had been overcome by a feeling of isolation when the animals came to him in pairs to be named.³⁹ To

³⁸. PRE 3. In this as well as in the preceding legend an answer is offered to the question why Eve was not created at the same time as Adam. BR 17. 4 reads as follows: God foresaw that Adam would complain against Eve's creation (comp. vol. I, pp. 76—77); she was therefore not given to him until he asked God for her. Theophilus, 2 gives the following reason: If two human beings, Adam and Eve, had been created at the same time, people would have declared that there were two gods. Quite similar is the statement in Mishnah Sanhedrin 4. 5 and Tosefta 8. 4—5, with reference to the question why only one man was created; comp. Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 25. These rabbinic sources also give ethical reasons why only one man was created (*i. e.*, one "human pair"): If there were more than one pair, it would be said that the pious are the descendants of the first pious pair and the wicked are descendants of the first wicked pair. In order that families should not boast of their ancestors, all mankind is descended from one pair. Moreover, if thieves and robbers molest their fellow-men now, how much more obnoxious would they have been, had they been of different descent. Finally the creation of only one man exhibits God's power, who, by means of one mould, is able to produce various kinds of types. Adam is the progenitor of all mankind, and how different men are from one another!

³⁹. BR 17. 4. According to MHG I, 80-81 and 83, Adam became conscious of the sexual instinct only when he saw Eve before him. A

banish his loneliness, Lilith was first given to Adam as wife. Like him she had been created out of the dust of the ground. But she remained with him only a short time, because she insisted upon enjoying full equality with her husband. She derived her rights from their identical origin. With the help of the Ineffable Name, which she pronounced, Lilith flew away from Adam, and vanished in the air. Adam complained before God that the wife He had given him had deserted him, and God sent forth three angels to capture her. They found her in the Red Sea, and they sought to make her go back with the threat that, unless she went, she would lose a hundred of her demon children daily by death. But Lilith preferred this punishment to living with Adam. She takes her revenge by injuring babes — baby boys during the first night of their life, while baby {66} girls are exposed to her wicked designs until they are twenty days old. The only way to ward off the evil is to attach an amulet bearing the names of her three angel captors to the children, for such had been the agreement between them.⁴⁰

different view is given in Yebamot 63a, where it is stated that Adam had unnatural relations with the animals before Eve was created. This passage was, at an early period, explained figuratively (comp. Lekah, Gen. 2. 23). On the question whether sexual intercourse had taken place before the fall of Adam and Eve or not, comp. note 4 on vol. I, p. 106.

^{40.} 2 Alphabet of Ben Sira 23a–23b and 33a–33b. The text is corrupt, and can only partly be restored with certainty (read in 23a, 1. 5: אמר להם הקב"ה אמרו לה"), but its main purport cannot be misunderstood. On Lilith's abode in Egypt, comp. Tobit 8. 3; Revelation 9. 14; Müller, *Beiträge ... Tobias*, 22. Egypt as the seat of witchcraft and the home of demons is

The woman destined to become the true companion of man

frequently mentioned in the Kabbalah; hence the name of this country (מצרים) is explained as the place of oppressors (מצרים), i. e., demons; comp. Yalkut Reubeni, Deut. 26. 2. The view that it was the Red Sea in Egypt where Lilith remained is based on the conception that water is the abode of demons; comp. the assertion of Aristides, *Apologia*, 4: Wind ministers to God, fire to the angels (comp. note 63 on vol. I, p. 16, bottom), and water to the demons. This accounts for the warning given in Pesahim 112a, with reference to the drinking of the water, in order that one might not be exposed to injury by the demons found therein. The conception of Lilith as a wind spirit, now known from Babylonian sources, was retained by the Jews as late as the thirteenth century; comp. Parhon, s. v. ליל. It is, however, true that generally she was conceived as a "Lamia", so that she was even identified with the Babylonian Labartu. Comp. Ginzberg's communication to Perles in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XVIII, 179-80, and the latter's remark against Lévi (*R.E.J.* LXVIII, 13), who considers the part ascribed to Lilith, in Alphabet of Ben Sira and in medieval literature, as a later development. Comp. further Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 94, 100, and vol. III, 280; vol. IV, 5. The assertion in Zohar I, 19b 34b, and III, 19a, concerning Lilith as Adam's first wife is based on Alphabet, *loc. cit.* But old sources speak already of "the first Eve", though they do not identify her with Lilith; comp. BR 22. 7, and Augustine, *Contra Adversarium Legis*, 2. 5. See also on this point Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 60, note 3, and more fully note 47 on vol. I, p. 118. The confusing of the Babylonian wind spirit Lilith

with the "Liliths", night spirits, is already found in 'Erubin 18b. The statement of Hasidim, 354, that these "Liliths" (ליליות) assemble under certain trees belongs to German popular beliefs. On Lilith in the Talmud, comp. Kohut, *Angelologie*, 86-89, whose statements are not tenable. Attention should be drawn to the sentence in Shabbat 151a: Whoever

was taken from Adam's body, for "only when like is joined unto like the union is indissoluble."⁴¹ The creation of woman from man was possible because Adam originally had two faces, which were separated at the birth of Eve.⁴²

sleeps alone in a house (or, whoever sleeps in an isolated house?) is seized by לילית. This very likely has nothing to do with the she-devil. אָחוּז "seized" is employed in the Talmud only with respect to diseases; when referring to demons, the form מוּזֵק or נִזְק is used.

^{41.} MHG I, 83. The proverb "only when, etc." is frequently quoted in the Talmud; comp., e. g., 'Abodah Zarah 73a, where our text reads נִיעוּר; the reading of MHG, is נִעֵר ("closed tightly", from עֵר = לִיעֵר). Philo, *Quaestiones*, I, 20, gives more reasons why Eve was not created at the same time as Adam. One of the reasons is that woman should not claim equality with man (comp. vol. I, 65). Concerning Lilith's insubordination comp. vol. I, p. 65.

^{42.} BR 8.1 and 17.6; Berakot 61a; 'Erubin 18a; WR 14 (beginning); Tan. B. III, 33; Tan. Tazria' 2; Tehillim 139, 529. In all these sources a second view is cited, according to which Adam was created as "androgynus", and was subsequently separated into man and woman. The relation of this view to that of Plato, *Symposium*, 189d, 190d, was already noticed by Eusebius, 585c–585d, and in recent times by Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien*, I, 69. Jeremias (*Altes Testament im Lichte des Orients*, index, s. v., "Androgynos"), however, has shown that this view is already found among the Babylonians. The Rabbis were particularly concerned with explaining the contradiction between Gen. 1. 27 and 2. 7, seq., and since in the first passage the rather unusual expression זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה occurs, it was quite natural for them to take it to denote "androgynus." Philo, *De M. Opif.*, 24, 46, and in many other passages (comp. the references given by Gfrörer, *Philo*, I, 267, seq., and 407, seq.), solves this exegetical

When God was on the point of making Eve, He said: "I will not make her from the head of man, lest she carry her head high in arrogant pride; not from the eye, lest she be wanton-eyed; not from the ear, lest she be an eavesdropper not from the neck, lest

difficulty in a philosophic manner. The first account of the creation speaks of the idea of man, which is incorporeal, hence neither masculine nor feminine, whereas the second account treats of the material creation of man, which has a definite form, either man or woman. It is worth noticing that in the first passage Philo speaks of the double sex of the "ideal man", but as of no sex in the second passage. However, one may easily see that the mythological conception of the "androgynus" is still discernible in his philosophical interpretation. Justin Martyr, *Cohortatio ad Gent.*, 30, and Clemens Alexandrinus, *Instructor*, 3, follow Philo almost literally in their explanation of the biblical double account of the creation of man; but the interpretation of Tertullian, *Adversus Hermogenem*, 26, and of Hippolytus, Gen. 1. 27, is in agreement with the Baraita 32 Middot, No. 12, according to which the Bible first gives a general account, and then a detailed one. Comp. also BR 17. 4; Philo, *Quaestiones*, 1. 19. On the question whether Philo knew of the myth concerning the "androgynus Adam", comp. Bousset, *Religion*, 406. It is, however, frequently found among the Gnostics; comp. Hippolytus, V, 1 and 3; VI, 1. It is noteworthy that Celsus, in Origen, *Contra Cels.*, 4. 38, observes that Jews as well as Christians consider the account of the creation of Eve out of Adam's rib to be an allegory. In the earlier rabbinic literature now extant no such allegory is known; comp., in addition to the sources cited at the beginning of this note, ARN 1, 8 (second version 8, 23), as well as 2 Alphabet of R. Akiba 59; Zohar II, 55a; III, 44b. Even Philo does not know such an allegory, and accordingly Celsus probably refers to oral communications which were imparted to him by enlightened Jews. Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 2. 21 (comp. further BR 17. 6) remarks: Eve was formed out of the third rib of the right side.

she be insolent; not from the mouth, lest she be a tattler; not from the heart, lest she be inclined to envy; not from the hand, lest she be a meddler; not from the foot, lest she be a gadabout. I will form her from a chaste portion of the body,” and to every limb and organ as He formed it, God said, “Be chaste! Be chaste!”

Nevertheless, in spite of the great caution used, woman has all the faults God tried to obviate. The daughters of Zion were haughty and walked with stretched forth necks and wanton eyes; Sarah was an eavesdropper in her own tent, when the angel spoke with Abraham; Miriam was a tale-bearer, accusing Moses; Rachel was envious of her sister Leah; Eve put out her hand to take the forbidden fruit, and Dinah was a gadabout.⁴³

The physical formation of woman is far more complicated than that of man, as it must be for the function of childbearing, {⁶⁷} and likewise the intelligence of woman matures more quickly than the intelligence of man.⁴⁴ Many of the physical and psychical differences between the two sexes must be attributed to the fact that man was formed from the ground and woman from bone.

⁴³ BR 8. 2 (מוקרת ראש) is the contrast of the expression הקל ראש which occurs very frequently) and 45. 5; DR 6. 11; Tan. B. I, 172; Tan. Wa-Yesheb 6; 2 ARN 45, 126; MHG I, 83. Comp. vol. I, p. 60 (bottom), and Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 58–59.

⁴⁴ BR 18. 3; Berakot 61a; Niddah 45b. In the last passage, as well as BR 18. 1, a different view is cited, according to which a man's intelligence matures sooner than that of a woman, since the former has the opportunity to develop his mind in school, which opportunity is denied the latter.

Women need perfumes, while men do not; dust of the ground remains the same no matter how long it is kept; flesh, however, requires salt to keep it in good condition. The voice of women is shrill, not so the voice of men; when soft viands are cooked, no sound is heard, but let a bone be put in a pot, and at once it crackles. A man is easily placated, not so a woman; a few drops of water suffice to soften a clod of earth; a bone stays hard, and if it were to soak in water for days. The man must ask the woman to be his wife, and not the woman the man to be her husband, because it is man who has sustained the loss of his rib, and he sallies forth to make good his loss again. The very differences between the sexes in garb and social forms go back to the origin of man and woman for their reasons. Woman covers her hair in token of Eve's having brought sin into the world; she tries to hide her shame; and women precede men in a funeral cortege, because it was woman who brought death into the world. And the religious commands addressed to women alone are connected with the history of Eve. Adam was the heave offering of the world, and Eve defiled it. As expiation, all women are commanded to separate a heave offering from the dough. And because woman extinguished the light of man's soul, she is bidden to kindle the Sabbath light.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ BR 18. 8; 2 ARN 9, 24–25; Kiddushin 2b; Yelammedenu in *'Aruk*, s. v. למד. On the three precepts (besides the two mentioned in the text, there is a third one in connection with menstruation), the observance of which is particularly enjoined upon women, comp. Shabbat 31b–32a; Yerushalmi 2, 5b; Tan. B. I, 28, and III, 53; Tan. Noah 1 and Mezora' 9. Philo, *De Sacr. Abel. et Caini*, 32, is in agreement with the view of the

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Adam was first made to fall into a deep sleep before the rib for Eve was taken from his side. For, had he watched {68} her creation, she would not have awakened love in him. To this day it is true that men do not appreciate the charms of women whom they have known and observed from childhood up. Indeed, God had created a wife for Adam before Eve, but he would not have her, because she had been made in his presence. Knowing well all the details of her formation, he was repelled by her.⁴⁶ But when he roused himself from his profound sleep, and saw Eve before him in all her surprising beauty and grace, he exclaimed, "This is she who caused my heart to throb many a night!" Yet he discerned at once what the nature of woman was. She would, he knew, seek to carry her point with man either by entreaties and tears, or flattery and caresses. He said, therefore, "This is my never-silent bell!"⁴⁷

last-mentioned rabbinic sources, which speak of Adam as the dough which God kneaded. Concerning the covering of a woman's head, comp. also 2 ARN 42, 117; 1 Timothy 2. 15; 1 Cor. 11.10; Tertullian, *De Habitu Muliebri*, 1; *Adversus Marcionem*, 5. 8; *De Oratione*, 22. The statement made by Tertullian, in the last-named passage, that the unmarried Jewish women cover their heads, contradicts the assertions of the Jewish sources, according to which married women only covered their heads; comp., e.g., Ketubot 2. 1; Yebamot 114b. See, however, Nedarim 3. 8; Sifre N., 11; Berakot 24a. The idea that the covering of a woman's head is a punishment for Eve's sin is also found among later Christian authors; comp. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 58-59.

⁴⁶ BR 18. 7; 2 ARN 8, 24; Sanhedrin 39a. On Adam's first wife comp. note 40, and note 47 on vol. I, p. 118.

⁴⁷ BR 18. 4 (on the expression הקיש בזוג comp. Mekilta Beshallah 1,

The wedding of the first couple was celebrated with pomp never repeated in the whole course of history since. God Himself, before presenting her to Adam, attired and adorned Eve as a bride. Yea, He appealed to the angels, saying: “Come, let us perform services of friendship for Adam and his helpmate, for the world rests upon friendly services, and they are more pleasing in My sight than the sacrifices Israel will offer upon the altar.” The angels accordingly surrounded the marriage canopy, and God pronounced the blessings upon the bridal couple, as the Ḥazan does under the Huppah. The angels then danced and played upon musical instruments before Adam and Eve in their ten bridal chambers of gold, pearls, and precious stones, which God had prepared for them.

Adam called his wife Ishah, and himself he called Ish, abandoning the name Adam, which he had borne before the {69} creation of Eve, for the reason that God added His own name Yah to the names of the man and the woman — Yod to Ish and He to Ishah — to indicate that as long as they walked in the ways of God and observed His commandments, His name would shield them against all harm. But if they went astray, His name would be withdrawn, and instead of Ish there would remain Esh, fire, a fire issuing from each and consuming the other.⁴⁸

26b, and Tehillim 106, 456). On Eve’s beauty see note 24 and Irenaeus, I, 30, 7. See further Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 79-80. In view of the fact that Eve was taken from Adam’s body, Yebamot 62b and Ephes. 5. 33 say: “One should love his wife as oneself.” The Talmud adds: “And honor even more than oneself”.

^{48.} PRE 12 (אמר fell out before אם; the correct reading is found 111' MIIG I, 82, and in the commentary on Job by R. Isaac ha-Kohen 31. 40), essentially based on older sources; comp. BR 18. 1; Shabbat 95a; Yerushalmi 10, 12c; Tan. B. I, 83 and 86; Tan. Wa-Yera 1; Koheleth 7. 2 and 8. 1; Tehillim 25, 213–214; ARN 4, 19 (second version 8, 22); Kallah Rabbeti 1; ShR 1. 5; Shir 4. 11; WR 12. 2; PK 4, 37a; PR 14, 62a; Baba Batra 75a; Targum Yerushalmi Deut. 34. 6, and the second version, Gen. 35. 9; 2 Alphabet R. Akiba 60 (the description of the splendor of the first wedding is more elaborate here than in any other source); Baraita 32 Middot, No. 17. In many of the sources just cited it is mentioned that in the beginning, middle (not to be taken literally), and conclusion of the Pentateuch examples are given of God's loving-kindness which man is to emulate. God adorned the bride (Eve), visited the sick (Abraham, Gen. 18. 1), and attended to Moses' burial. — The etymology of the names of "man" and "woman", which is ascribed in Sotah 17a to R. Akiba, was also known to Eusebius; comp. *Praeparatio Evang.*, 517b. Depending on Theodotion, Gen. 2. 23, Origen, *Ad Afric.*, 12, and Jerome, Gen. *loc. cit.*, connect אשה "wife" with נשא "took"; *Vocabitur assumptio quia ex viro sumpta est*, says Jerome. Many explanations are also offered of the name חוה "Eve". It might signify חויה "serpent", because she was the serpent, *i. e.*, the seducer of Adam, or the "speaker" (from חוה "declared"), because she was the only one besides the serpent who understood the language of the animals (comp. note 58), and it was from her that Adam learned it; comp. BR 20, 11, 22. 2, and further 18. 6; Lekah and Imre No'am on Gen. 20, as well as *Ha-dar*, 11.21 (מ"ה = מלאך המות, and והמבין והמ"י = יבין); comp. Baba Batra 16a, and Philo, *Quaestiones*, 1. 52.

ADAM AND EVE IN PARADISE

The Garden of Eden was the abode of the first man and woman, and the souls of all men must pass through it after death, before they reach their final destination. For the souls of the departed must go through seven portals before they arrive in the heaven 'Arabot. There the souls of the pious are transformed into angels, and there they remain forever, praising God and feasting their sight upon the glory of the Shekinah. The first portal is the Cave of Machpelah, in the vicinity of Paradise, which is under the care and supervision of Adam. If the soul that presents herself at the portal is worthy, he calls out, "Make room! Thou art welcome!" The soul then proceeds until she arrives at the gate of Paradise guarded by the cherubim and the flaming sword. If she is not found worthy, she is consumed by the sword; otherwise she receives a pass-bill, which admits her to the terrestrial Paradise. Therein is a pillar of smoke and light extending from Paradise to the gate of heaven, and it depends upon the character of the soul whether she can climb upward on it and reach heaven. The third portal, Zebul, is at the entrance of heaven. If the {70} soul is worthy, the guard opens the portal and admits her to the heavenly Temple. Michael presents her to God, and conducts her to the seventh portal, 'Arabot, within which the souls of the pious, changed to angels, praise the Lord, and feed on the glory of the Shekinah.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Zohar Hadash (beginning of Noah); Recanati, Gen. 3. 24. On the Machpelah as the entrance to pa'radise, comp. Index, s. v. On the view that all the souls of the dead are presented to Adam, see vol. I, p. 102.

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In Paradise stand the tree of life and the tree of knowledge, the latter forming a hedge about the former. Only he who has cleared a path for himself through the tree of knowledge can come close to the tree of life, which is so huge that it would take a man five hundred years to traverse a distance equal to the diameter of the trunk, and no less vast is the space shaded by its crown of branches. From beneath it flows forth the water that irrigates the whole earth,⁵⁰ parting thence into four streams, the Ganges, the

The pillars of paradise are really identical with the celestial ladder of Konen 28, and are also known in Christian legend; comp. Bonwetsch in the *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1900, and James, *Lost Apocrypha*, 96 seq. Comp. also note 22 on vol. I, p. 10.

^{50.} *Imre No'am* and *Hadar* on Gen. 3. 22. The huge size of the tree is already alluded to in older sources: comp. BR 15. 6; Yerushalmi Berakot 1. 2c; Shir 6. 9; Aggadat Shir 1, 13 and 55; Tehillim 1, 18; ER 2, 10; 2 ARN 43, 119 (below). Comp. further R. Bahya on Gen. 2. 9, who remarks: The tree of knowledge and the tree of life were both in the centre of the Garden, for they formed one tree at the bottom, and branched out into two when they reached a certain height. Philo, thinking the literal interpretation of the paradise narrative absurd (*De Plant. Noe* 8; comp. also *Leg. Alleg.*, 1. 30), is the only one who explains it allegorically, but the Rabbis, Josephus, and the pseudepigraphic writers (the Books of Enoch, Jub., etc.) take this biblical narrative literally. Not until we reach the Arabic period, when the philosophic studies influenced Jewish thought, do we find the allegorical interpretation of the paradise narrative in rabbinic circles. See Gabirol in *Peletat Soferim*, 45, seq. and Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed*, II, 30. Although the Kabbalah does not deny the existence of an earthly paradise, it nevertheless interprets the paradise account in an allegoric-mystical manner. MHG I, 76, goes back to a

Nile, the Tigris, and the Euphrates.⁵¹ But it was only during the days of creation that the realm of plants looked to the waters of the earth for nourishment. Later on God made the plants dependent upon the rain, the upper waters. The clouds rise from earth to

medieval source influenced by philosophical speculations. A timid attempt at allegorization of the paradise account is already found in PRE 21.

^{51.} Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 13. The etymologies given by him for the Hebrew names of these rivers correspond partly to BR 16. 1–4. Comp. further Philo, *Quaestiones*, Gen. 1. 12–13, whose statements (comp. especially his remark on the Euphrates) go back to the Palestinian Haggadah found in BR *loc. cit.* Jerome's remarks on Gen. 2. 12 are based on oral communications from his Palestinian teacher, and not on Josephus. He says: "*Fison... Gangem putant*"; in the extant midrashic sources Pishon is identified with the Nile; comp. BR, *loc. cit.*; Theodor, *ad loc.*, as well as Targum Yerushalmi, *loc. cit.*, where הינדיק is not Indian, but, as Epstein, *Eldad*, 33, *seq.*, proves, signifies southern Ethiopia. With respect to Gen. 15. 18, נילוס (the Nile) is explained as נינוס: "small"; in contrast to the Euphrates, the "great" river, the Nile is the small one; comp. *Pa'aneah* and Midrash Aggada on Num. 1. 7. To the cycle of legends concerning the rivers of paradise, belongs the stream of life, which plays an important part in the Alexander legend, a stream which, according to Tamid 32b, flows out of paradise. The view held by some writers (comp. Friedlaender, *Chadhirlegende*, 47) that this feature of the Alexander legend is not Jewish, because the Jewish legend does not know of the "stream of life," is based on an error. "Living waters" is mentioned in Enoch 17. 4; Revelation 22. 17, and, among the Gnostics, by Hippolytus, 5. 2, as well as 5. 22. Zimmern, *Keilinschriften und AT*, 524, *seq.*, and 562, has pointed out that this view is found among the Babylonians.

heaven, where water is poured into them as from a conduit.⁵² The plants began to feel the effect of the water only after Adam was created. Although they had been brought forth on the third day, God did not permit them to sprout and appear above the surface of the earth, until Adam prayed to Him to give food unto them, for God longs for the prayers of the pious.⁵³

Paradise being such as it was, it was, naturally, not necessary for Adam to work the land. True, the Lord God put the man into the Garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it, but that only means he is to study the Torah there and fulfil the commandments of God.⁵⁴ There were especially six {71} commandments which every human being is expected to heed: man should not worship idols; nor blaspheme God nor commit murder, nor incest, nor theft and robbery; and all generations have the duty of instituting measures

⁵². BR 13. 9 and the parallels cited by Theodor, as well as Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 2. 6 and Greek Baruch 2. 2. The theories of the ancient Rabbis concerning rain, clouds, etc., are given by Hirschensohn, *Sheba' Hokmot*, 6–8 and 9–11.

⁵³. Hullin 60b.

⁵⁴. Sifre D., 41; Midrash Tannaim 22; BR 16. 5; PRE 12; 2 ARN 21, 44 (the literal and haggadic meanings of Gen. 2. 15 are found next to one another); 2 Enoch 30; Theophilus, 2. 19; Ephraim I, 23E; Lactantius, *Institutiones*, 2. 13, Philo, *Quaestiones*, Gen. 1. 14. A different view is given in ARN 11, 45 (second version, *loc. cit.*): Adam was commanded to work in order that his descendants should know the value of work. Mekilta RS, 107, and (the statement of R. Jose) ARN, *loc. cit.* read: Adam died only after he had ceased working; comp. also Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 58.

of law and order.⁵⁵ One more such command there was, but it was a temporary injunction. Adam was to eat only the green things of

⁵⁵ Seder 'Olam S; Sanhedrin 56a; Tosefta 'Abodah Zarah 8. 4, *seq.*, and Babli 64b; Sifre N., III; BR 16. 6, 24. 5, 26. 1, and 34. 8; PK 12, 100b; ShR 30. 9; BaR 14. 12; DR 1. 21 and 2. 25; Shir 1. 2; Koheleth 3. 11; Tehillim 1, 10–11, and 2, 26; Mishle 21, 110, Tan. B. II, 69; Tan. Yitro 3. Comp. also the interesting passage in Sekel 1, 108 and Lekah, Gen. 1. 15. In the rabbinic sources these commandments are known as the “seven Noachian commandments” (besides the six mentioned, the seventh commandment is the one enjoined upon Noah not to eat the meat of a living animal; comp. Gen. 9. 4), which, in contrast to the other biblical precepts obligatory upon Israelites alone, must be accepted by all men. In some passages, however, thirty Noachian commandments are mentioned, which the children of Noah accepted, but did not fulfil. The fulfilment of those will only take place in Messianic times; comp. Yerushalmi 'Abodah Zarah 2, 40c; Hullin 92a; BR 98. 9; Tehillim 2, 26 (read שלשים instead of שלש) and 31, 177. It is not stated what these thirty commandments are; comp. R. Bezalel Ronsburg's marginal glosses on Hullin, *loc. cit.*, and Joel in *Graetz-Jubelschrift*, 174, note 1. In Sanhedrin and Tosefta, *loc. cit.*, the opinions of some scholars are cited which add a few more to the Noachian commandments, as, e. g., the prohibition of witchcraft; but even with these the number thirty is not yet reached. Tertullian, *Adversus Judaeos*, 2, tries to prove that in the prohibition of fruit enjoined upon Adam the entire decalogue is contained. A similar statement is found in Zohar 1, 36a; comp. also Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 177. Anti-Christian is the remark (BR 16. 5) that Adam received the commandments concerning the observance of the Sabbath and the daily sacrifice. The inferiority of the ceremonial laws, as e. g., the observance of the Sabbath and the sacrifices, is proved by Christian apologists from the fact that Adam, the creation of God's own hands, was not enjoined to observe them.

the field. But the prohibition against the use of animals for food was revoked in Noah's time, after the deluge. Nevertheless, Adam was not cut off from the enjoyment of meat dishes. Though he was not permitted to slaughter animals for the appeasing of his appetite, the angels brought him meat and wine, serving him like attendants.⁵⁶ And as the angels ministered to his wants, so also the animals. They were wholly under his dominion, and their food they took out of his hand and out of Eve's.⁵⁷ In all respects, the animal world had a different relation to Adam from their relation to his descendants. Not only did they know the language of man,⁵⁸ but they respected the image of God, and they feared the

⁵⁶. Sanhedrin 59b; ARN 1, 5; Zohar I, 38a. The attendance on the part of the angels caused the jealousy of the serpent (Satan?; comp. note 35) against Adam; comp. note 60. That Adam was not permitted to eat meat is asserted by some of the Church Fathers; comp. Theophilus, 2. 18 (there were no carnivorous animals before Adam's fall); Novatian, *De Cibis Judaicis* 2. For details see note 56 on vol. I, p. 167.

⁵⁷. Apocalypse of Moses 15. It seems to follow from BR 19. 5 that Eve alone took care of the animals; comp. Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 53–54; see also *Imre No'am* and *Hadar* on Gen. 3. 20. In the last two sources the name of Eve is brought into relation with this idea; comp. note 48. On the entertainment of Adam in paradise by the angels, see the preceding note, and the Revelation of Ezra (beginning). 2 Enoch 31. 2, on the contrary, reads: I made the heavens for him open, that he should perceive the angels sing the song of triumph.

⁵⁸. Jub. 3. 28; Josephus, *Antiqui.* I, 1. 4; Philo, *Quaestiones*, Gen. 1. 22; the Christian chronologists Syncellus, Cedrenus, and Zonaros; comp. Charles on Jub., *loc. cit.* The older rabbinic literature does not know of

first human couple, all of which changed into the opposite after the fall of man.⁵⁹

THE FALL OF MAN

Among the animals the serpent was notable. Of all of them he had the most excellent qualities, in some of which he resembled man. Like man he stood upright upon two feet, and in height he was equal to the camel. Had it not been for the fall of man, which brought misfortune to them, too, one pair of serpents would have sufficed to perform all the work man has to do, and, besides, they

the original language spoken by man and the animals, and even Lekah, Gen. 3. 1, maintains that only the serpent spoke Hebrew (*i. e.*, the original speech of man; comp. note 91 on vol. 1, p. 181), whereas the rest of the animals spoke their own languages, which, however, Adam understood (comp. note 48). This is also the view of Hasidim 454. On the different languages of animals see Index, s. v. "Animals, Language of". It may be noted that Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, 1. 21, also declares that animals have a language which they use among themselves. Rationalistic explanations of the biblical passages presupposing the language of animals (the serpent and Balaam's ass) are found in geonic literature; comp. Ibn Ezra on Gen. 3, and the responsum of R. Hai Gaon in *Kohélet Shelomoh*, 13. Philo, *De Conf. Ling.*, 3, ridicules the Greek fable concerning the original language of animals. Comp., on the other hand, his observations in *Quaestiones*, 1. 32, where he concedes the possibility that animals were able to speak before the fall. Comp. note 113.

⁵⁹ Apocalypse of Moses 11; for further details concerning this subject comp. note 113.

would have supplied him with silver, gold, gems, and pearls. As a matter {72} of fact, it was the very ability of the serpent that led to the ruin of man and his own ruin. His superior mental gifts caused him to become an infidel. It likewise explains his envy of man, especially of his conjugal relations. Envy made him meditate ways and means of bringing about the death of Adam.⁶⁰ He was too well acquainted with the character of the man to attempt to exercise tricks of persuasion upon him, and he approached the woman, knowing that women are beguiled easily. The conversation with Eve was cunningly planned, she could not but be caught in a trap. The serpent began, "Is it true that God hath

^{60.} BR 19. 19; Koheleth 1. 18; Shemuel 7, 66; Sanhedrin 59b; ARN 1, 5 (both versions); Philo, *Quaestiones*, Gen. 1. 32. Comp. also Jerome on Gen. 3. 1 and Yerushalmi Kiddushin 4, 65c (מעשה חיי); Zohar I, 79a and 191. The idea that jealousy caused the serpent's hatred occurs already in the Septuagint, Gen. 2. 24, and 2 Enoch 31. 3, as well as in John 8. 44, and in the different versions of Vita Adae; comp. Preuschen, *Adamschriften*, 27 and 54, as well as note 35, with regard to jealousy as the cause of Satan's fall. Comp. also note 131. In pseudepigraphic literature (comp. note 116), instead of the serpent, it is Satan who is the real seducer; comp. Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 42–45. In rabbinic literature (Sotah 9b; Sanhedrin 29a; Sifre D., 323) the serpent is described as הקדמוני, which apparently corresponds to ὁ φῖς ὁ ἀρχαῖος of Revelation 20. 2. But the use of הקדמוני with reference to Adam (comp. note 21) shows that this description of the serpent by the Rabbis is entirely different from that of Revelation. On the bodily similarity of man to the serpent comp. MHG I, 87, where the observation is made that man can only deceive another who resembles him. On the serpent as the possessor of gold and silver, comp. vol. IV, p. 135 (top).

said, Ye shall not eat of every tree in the garden?” “We may,” rejoined Eve, “eat of the fruit of all the trees in the garden, except that which is in the midst of the garden, and that we may not even touch, lest we be stricken with death.” She spoke thus, because in his zeal to guard her against the transgressing of the Divine command, Adam had forbidden Eve to touch the tree, though God had mentioned only the eating of the fruit. It remains a truth, what the proverb says, “Better a wall ten hands high that stands, than a wall a hundred ells high that cannot stand.” It was Adam’s exaggeration that afforded the serpent the possibility of persuading Eve to taste of the forbidden fruit. The serpent pushed Eve against the tree, and said: “Thou seest that touching the tree has not caused thy death. As little will it hurt thee to eat the fruit of the tree. Naught but malevolence has prompted the prohibition, for as soon as ye eat thereof, ye shall be as God. As He creates and destroys worlds, so will ye have the power to create and destroy. As He doth slay and revive, so will ye have the power to slay and revive.”⁶¹ {73} He Himself ate first of the fruit of the tree, and then He created the world. Therefore doth He forbid you to eat thereof, lest you create other worlds. Everyone knows that ‘artisans of the same guild hate one another.’ Furthermore, have ye not observed that every creature hath dominion over the creature fashioned

⁶¹. PRE 13; BR 19. 3–4; ARN (both versions) 1, 4–5 and 151; Sanhedrin 29a. Comp. further the sources cited in the preceding note, as well as Philo, *Quaestiones*, Gen. 1. 33–34, and Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 1. 4. Lekah, Gen. 3. 1, remarks that God announced this prohibition respecting the fruit of paradise in the presence of the serpent, so that he knew everything about it.

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before itself? The heavens were made on the first day, and they are kept in place by the firmament made on the second day. The firmament, in turn, is ruled by the plants, the creation of the third day, for they take up all the water of the firmament. The sun and the other celestial bodies, which were created on the fourth day, have power over the world of plants. They can ripen their fruits and flourish only through their influence. The creation of the fifth day, the animal world, rules over the celestial spheres. Witness the ziz, which can darken the sun with its pinions. But ye are masters of the whole of creation, because ye were the last to be created. Hasten now and eat of the fruit of the tree in the midst of the garden, and become independent of God, lest He bring forth still other creatures to bear rule over you.”⁶²

To give due weight to these words, the serpent began to shake the tree violently and bring down its fruit. He ate thereof, saying: “As I do not die of eating the fruit, so wilt thou not die.” Now Eve could not but say to herself, “All that my master” — so she called Adam — “commanded me is but lies,” and she determined to follow the advice of the serpent.⁶³ Yet she could not bring herself

^{62.} BR 19. 4. The serpent’s slandering of God is frequently mentioned in the Haggadah; comp. Tan. B. III, 47; Tan. Bereshit 8; DR 5. 10; ShR 3. 12; Tehillim 1, 9–10; 2 ARN 1, 6; Apocalypse of Moses 18; comp. vol. I, p. 96. The view that the creation of the six days was of a progressive order occurs also in 2 ARN 43, 120; comp. also Philo, *De M. Opif.*, 21 and 14.

^{63.} ARN 1, 4. In the second version, 1, 5, a view is cited, according to which the tree, as the serpent wanted to touch it, exclaimed, saying: “Let not the foot of pride come against me, and let not the hand of the wicked

to disobey the command of God utterly. She made a compromise with her conscience. First she ate only the outside skin of the fruit, and then, seeing that death did not fell her, she ate the fruit {74} itself.⁶⁴ Scarce had she finished, when she saw the Angel of Death before her. Expecting her end to come immediately, she resolved to make Adam eat of the forbidden fruit, too, lest he espouse another wife after her death.⁶⁵ It required tears and lamentations on her part to prevail upon Adam to take the baleful step. Not yet satisfied, she gave of the fruit to all other living beings, that they, too, might be subject to death.⁶⁶ All ate, and they all are mortal, with the exception of the bird malham, who refused the fruit, with the words “Is it not enough that ye have sinned against God, and have brought death to others? Must ye still come to me and seek to persuade me into disobeying God’s command, that I may eat and die thereof? I will not do your bidding.” A heavenly voice was heard then to say to Adam and Eve: “To you was the command given. Ye did not heed it; ye did transgress it, and ye did seek to persuade the bird malham. He was steadfast, and he feared Me, although I gave him no command. Therefore he shall never taste of death, neither he nor his descendants —

remove me” (P’s. 36. 12); comp. further ARN 157, concerning Satan’s attempt to enter paradise. See also vol. I, p. 96, as well as PRE 11, where the two different versions of ARN are blended together into one.

⁶⁴. Ibn Sabba, Gen. 3. 6.; very likely dependent upon a lost Midrash.

⁶⁵. 2 ARN 1, 6; PRE 11; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 3. 6 (where after **ואכלת** the sentence **והמת** to **ורחילת** should be read). Comp. the sources cited in the next note, as well as vol. I, pp. 96–97.

⁶⁶. BR 19. 5; Tan. Introduction 155; Shemuel 12, 81. Comp. vol. I, p. 97.

they all shall live forever in Paradise.”⁶⁷

⁶⁷. 2 Alphabet of Ben Sira 28b, 29a-29b, and 36a (the last passage reads מלחם unlike Yerahmeel 48, which associates the name of the immortal bird with חמל and not its synonym חס), and Bereshit Rabbeti in BHM VI, 12 (introduction), where the bird is named מלחם. This legend is, of course, only a different version of the widespread phoenix legend; comp. vol. I, p. 32 and note 151 appertaining thereto. Besides this bird and its descendants, there are mentioned in 2 Alphabet of Ben Sira 28b eleven persons (the meaningless ויש אומרים obviously resulted from an incorrect reading of the abbreviation וי"א, which = וואחד עשר) who entered paradise during their life-time. These are: Enoch, Serah the daughter of Asher, Bithiah the daughter of Pharaoh, Hiram the King of Tyre, Eliezer Abraham's servant, Elijah (missing in the printed text; comp. manuscript reading on 36a), Jabez, Ebedmelech the Ethiopian, Jonadab the Rechabite as well as his descendants, and of post-biblical times, R. Judah ha-Nasi's slave and R. Joshua b. Levi. A similar list of immortals is to be found in Derek Erez Z., 1 (end); PRK (Grünhut's edition, 83); Aguddat Aggadot

(Carmoly's edition, 12), and the sources cited by Tawrogi on Derek Erez Z. The greatest number of immortals is to be found in Yalkut

II, 367, where Methuselah (this is of Christian origin; comp. note 62 on vol. I, p. 142) and the three sons of Korah are included in the list. Comp. Index under the names enumerated above as well as s. v. "Paradise", "Entering Alive", "Moses", "Bithiah", "Hiram", "Ba- ruch", "Ezra". The men "who were taken up to heaven without tasting death" (לא טעמו טעם) (מיתה; comp. BR 21. S, where this expression is employed with respect to Elijah, whereas the usual term for the immortals is "those who entered paradise during their life-time") are already mentioned in 4 Ezra 6. 26. The following are known as such in pseudepigraphic literature: Enoch

Adam spoke to Eve: “Didst thou give me of the tree of which I forbade thee to eat? Thou didst give me thereof, for my eyes are opened, and the teeth in my mouth are set on edge.” Eve made answer, “As my teeth were set on edge, so may the teeth of all living beings be set on edge.”⁶⁸ The first result was that Adam and Eve became naked. Before, their bodies had been overlaid with a horny skin, and enveloped with the cloud of glory. No sooner had they violated the command given them than the cloud of glory and the horny skin dropped from them, and they stood there {75} in their nakedness, and ashamed.⁶⁹ Adam tried to gather leaves from

(Books of Enoch), Moses (Assumption of Moses 106–107); Jeremiah (2 Maccabees 2. 1); Baruch (Apocalypse of Baruch 77. 2), and Ezra (4 Ezra, end). Comp. Box on 4 Ezra 6. 26. Nothing is to be found in the Jewish sources concerning the association of these immortals with the Messiah. The part ascribed in the Midrash (comp, e. g., DR 10. 1 and vol. II, p. 373, as well as vol. III, end) and in the New Testament to Moses as the forerunner or assistant of the Messiah does not presuppose Moses’ immortality, but his resurrection at the very beginning of the Messianic time. In case 4 Ezra 14. 9 is not a Christian interpolation, this passage does not suppose a pre-existing Messiah but only implies that the Messiah entered paradise alive after having completed his earthly career, as is explicitly stated in Derek Erez Z., *loc. cit.*, and parallel passages. In conclusion it may be remarked that the list of the immortals is found only in late writings (hardly earlier than the end of the tenth century C. E.), at the time when Enoch came to be honored again. The older rabbinic literature is not particularly favorably inclined toward Enoch; comp. note 58 on vol. I, p. 130. On Elijah as the companion of the Messiah in paradise, see vol. I, p. 22—23.

⁶⁸. ARN 1, 6 (read *אמר לה* instead of *אמר לו*); PRE 13.

⁶⁹. PRE 14; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 3. 7 and 21. The older Haggadah

the trees to cover part of their bodies, but he heard one tree after the other say: "There is the thief that deceived his Creator. Nay, the foot of pride shall not come against me, nor the hand of the wicked touch me. Hence, and take no leaves from me!" Only the fig-tree granted him permission to take of its leaves. That was because the fig was the forbidden fruit itself. Adam had the same experience as that prince who seduced one of the maid-servants in the palace. When the king, his father, chased him out, he vainly sought a refuge with the other maid-servants, but only she who had caused his disgrace would grant him assistance.⁷⁰

speaks of "garments of light", which the first "pair" wore before the fall of man, as bestowed upon them by God, in accordance with Gen. 3. 21, where עור ("skin") is explained as though it were written אור ("light"). This verse is said to refer to the state before the fall; comp. BR 18. 56, as well as 20. 12, and the remarks of Theodor on these passages. See further Zohar I, 36b (this is the source of Recanati, quoted by Theodor!), and for details comp. notes 93 and 104. The later Haggadah retains the legend about the light which shone on the first "human pair", but explains עור (Gen., *loc. cit.*) literally; hence the assertion of PRE and Targum Yerushalmi, *loc. cit.* Comp. note 123 on vol. I. p. 27.

⁷⁰. BR 15. 7. The forbidden fruit is identified, respectively, with the fig, grape, apple of paradise (*Etrog*), wheat (which grew on stalks as tall as the cedars of Lebanon), and the nut; comp. BR, *loc. cit.* and 19. 5; Berakot 40a; Sanhedrin 70a; PK 20, 142a; PR 43, 175a; WR 12. 1; BaR 10. 2 and 8; Esther 2. 1; Targum Song of Songs 7. 9 (read, with R. Tam, in *Sefer ha-Yashar*, 217: רִיחַ אֶתְרוּגָא דִּגְן עֵדֶן; Greek Apocalypse of Baruch 4. 8; Apocalypse of Abraham 23; Enoch 32. 4 (which reads: The tree of knowledge is in height like a fir, and its leaves like those of the carob,

and its fruit like the clusters of a vine); Apocalypse of Moses 21; Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, 2.2; Methodius, *Symposium*, 2; Origen, Gen. 9.20; Epiphanius, *Haer.* 45 (has grapes, according to the view of the Gnostics); Moses bar Cepha, 36 E. The oldest and most prevalent view identifies the forbidden fruit with the grape, which goes back to an old mythological idea that wine is the beverage of the gods. The fig owes its distinction to the incident that the first "pair" took hold of the fig leaves after the fall, and this identification is not only found in rabbinic sources, but also in the Apocalypse of Moses and in Tertullian, *loc. cit.* Purely midrashic is the identification with the wheat which is only found in rabbinic sources and accepted by Moses bar Cepha. This is based on the play on the words חטה ("wheat") and חטא ("sin"). The identification with the apple of paradise is due to a similar play on words, the אחרוג being derived from רגג "he desired"; comp. Nahmanides on Lev. 23. 40. The carob likewise owes its distinction to its name which signifies destruction. "Adam's apple", widely known all over Europe (it is met for the first time in ps.-Tertullian, Gen. 85), is perhaps the result of the inaccurate rendering of the Hebrew תפוח, which in the Bible denotes "apple", but in later literature signifies also the apple of paradise, i. e., the Ethrog; comp. Shabbat 88a, and the remark of R. Tam, *loc. cit.* The benediction mentioned in geonic sources אשר צג אגוז (comp. Seder R. Amram, Frumkin's edition, II, 406) is based on the assumption that the tree of knowledge, whose fruit produced sexual desire, was a nut-tree; comp. note 3 on vol. I, p. 105. Comp. also ps.-Tertullian, Gen. 86; Commodianus, *Instructiones*, 3, though he speaks of the palm-tree, which misled Adam, describes, at the same time, the fruit as the apple. On this point comp. Hippolytus, 6. 22, who remarks: The palm-tree is the symbol of battle and slaughter (the gnostic view cited by the same author 7. 1 concerning God as a seed of fig-tree probably bears a close relation to the fig as the fruit of the tree of knowledge). Ps.-Matthew 21 and the

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As long as Adam stood naked, casting about for means of escape from his embarrassment, God did not appear unto him, for one should not "strive to see a man in the hour of his disgrace." He waited until Adam and Eve had covered themselves with fig leaves.⁷¹ But even before God spoke to him, Adam knew what was impending. He heard the angels announce, "God betaketh Himself unto those that dwell in Paradise." He heard

Passing of Mary 7 speak of the palm of paradise; comp. further BR 15. 7, where מִחְמָרוֹת ("shoot up as a palm tree") is used in connection with the forbidden fruit. On the grape as the forbidden fruit, comp. also vol. I, p. 167; Sifre D., 323; note 79 on vol I, p. 20. The legend discussed in the last passage concerning the wine of paradise preserved for the pious is probably related to the view that the fruit which brought sin into the world will become "a healing" in the world to come; comp. WR 12 (end), and the Christological form of this legend in the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch and in Moses bar Cepha, *loc. cit.* The fig leaves with which Adam and Eve covered themselves are explained by Irenaeus III, 23. 5, as a sign of repentance, because they were leaves which hurt the body. The statement of R. Met in 'Erubin 18b (זֵרֵי תַּאֲנִים) has the same meaning. It may further be noted that in the rabbinic sources mentioned above (comp. also Tan. B. I, 105) a view is cited according to which Scripture purposely refrains from mentioning the forbidden fruit, in order that men should not hate it afterwards for having caused death. On the exact determination of the tree of life, comp. note 113. See further Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 64-65, and Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 38-42.

⁷¹ Yelammedenu in MHG I, 91 and in Yalkut I, 744; Likkutim, IV, 31b. Comp. note 870 on vol. III, p. 417.

more, too. He heard what the angels were saying to one another about his fall, and what they were saying to God. In astonishment the angels exclaimed “What ! He still walks about in Paradise? He is not yet dead?” Whereupon God: “I said to him, ‘In the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die.’ Now, ye know not what manner of day I meant—one of My days of a thousand years, or one of your days. I will give him one of {76} My days. He shall have nine hundred and thirty years to live, and seventy to leave to his descendants.”⁷²

When Adam and Eve heard God approaching, they hid among the trees—which would not have been possible before the fall. Before he committed his trespass, Adam’s height was from the

⁷². BR 19. 8; PR 40, 167a; Jub. 4. 30; Justin Martyr, *Dialogue*, 81; Irenaeus, V, 22. 2; Comp. further Charles on Jub., *loc. cit.*, and Theodor on BR 8.2, as well as the sources cited in note 28. Many reasons are given why Adam did not die on the day he sinned, as God had threatened. Comp. Symmachus, Jonathan, and Jerome on Gen. 2. 17, as well as Philo, *De M. Opif.* 40 (were it not for God’s mercy, he would have died immediately; so also Tan. B. IV, 68; Tan. Mass’e 8; comp. also PR, *loc. cit.*); *De Leg. Aleg.*, 33; *De Profug.*, 21; *Quaestiones*, Gen. 1. 16. The view found in the last three passages of Philo that the sinner, even when alive, is already regarded as dead, whereas the righteous continue to live also after their death (comp. also Wisdom 1. 2 and 16), occurs frequently in rabbinic Haggadah; comp. note 287 on vol. III, p. 134; note 54 on vol. I, p. 218, and also Aphraates, 168. The rationalistic explanation of the prolonged life of the ante-diluvians (according to some, their years are to be considered as lunar ones) is only met with in medieval Jewish literature; comp., e. g., Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed*, II, 47. But Lactantius, *Institutiones*, 2. 13, shows that such attempts are very old.

heavens to the earth, but afterward it was reduced to one hundred ells.⁷³ Another consequence of his sin was the fear Adam felt when he heard the voice of God; before his fall it had not disquieted him in the least.⁷⁴ Hence it was that when Adam said, "I heard Thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid," God replied, "Aforetime thou wert not afraid, and now thou art afraid?"⁷⁵

God refrained from reproaches at first. Standing at the gate of Paradise, He but asked, "Where art thou, Adam?" Thus did God desire to teach man a rule of polite behavior, never to enter the house of another without announcing himself.⁷⁶ It cannot be denied, the words "Where art thou?" were pregnant with meaning. They were intended to bring home to Adam the vast difference between his latter and his former state—between his

⁷³ BR 12. 6; and 19. 8; BaR 13. 2; Shir 3. 7; PK 1, 1b; PR 15, 68b; Tan. B. Introduction, 156; Hagigah 12a (comp. Rabbinovicz, *ad loc.*). See details in notes 22, 137 and 37 on Adam's original size, and further Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 30-31. On the different explanations of לרווח היום (Gen. 3. 8) comp. Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion cited by Jerome, *ad loc.*, as well as BR 19. 8 and ps.-Tertullian Gen. 113.

⁷⁴ PK 5, 44b; PR 15, 68b; Shir 3. 7; BaR 11. 3; Tan. (introduction) 156; Shemuel 18, 97. Comp. note 113.

⁷⁵ MHG I, 93 (top) and Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 3. 9. In these sources it is further stated that when Adam wanted to hide himself from God, the latter said to him: "Dost thou want to hide thyself from Me? Can anyone hide himself that I shall not see him?" (Jer. 23. 24). Comp. note 97.

⁷⁶ Derek Erez R., 3; Yalkut I, 28; 2 Alphabet of R. Akiba 51.

supernatural size then and his shrunken size now; between the lordship of God over him then and the lordship of the serpent over him now.⁷⁷ At the same time, God wanted to give Adam the opportunity of repenting of his sin, and he would have received Divine forgiveness for it. But so far from repenting of it, Adam slandered God, and uttered blasphemies against Him.⁷⁸ When God asked him, “Hast thou eaten of the tree whereof I commanded thee thou shouldst not eat?” he did not confess his sin, but excused himself with the words: “O Lord of the world ! As long as I was alone, I did not fall into fall into {77} sin, but as soon as this woman came to me, she tempted me.” God replied: “I gave

⁷⁷. BR 19. 9; PK 15, 119a; Ekah (in'troduction) 5. This Haggadah endeavors to eliminate the anthropomorphic expression of Gen. 3. 9, and similar solutions are found in Philo, *Quaestiones*, Gen. 1. 45; *De Decalogo*, 3. 17; Justin Martyr, 99; Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, 2. 24; Theophilus, 2. 26 and 29; Ephraim, 1, 23 C; Aphraates, 138. Comp. further note 20 on vol. I, p. 110. Another attempt to explain this anthropomorphism is found in the sources cited in note 75.

⁷⁸. Tan. B. III, 39; Tan. Tazria' 9. Adam's wickedness and persistence in sinning are frequently referred to in the Haggadah; comp. Sanhedrin 38b, where he is declared to have been a heretic (רִי; see also Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, 2. 2: Who will hesitate to declare that Adam's great sin was heresy?), and that he denied God. It is further stated that, like the wicked sinners Esau and Achan (comp. Sanhedrin 44a and Tan. B. I, 127), he removed the mark of circumcision. Here it is presupposed that Adam was created bearing the sign of the covenant, as is explicitly stated in ARN 2, 2, and parallel passages (comp. note 318 on vol. I, p. 306). As to Adam's wickedness, comp. also BR 19. 12; Tan. B. I, 18; PR 7, 26b; BaR 13. 3; Apocalypse of Moses 21.

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her unto thee as a help, and thou art ungrateful when thou accusest her, saying, 'She gave me of the tree.' Thou shouldst not have obeyed her, for thou art the head, and not she."⁷⁹ God, who knows all things, had foreseen exactly this, and He had not created Eve until Adam had asked Him for a helpmate, so that he might not have apparently good reason for reproaching God with having created woman.⁸⁰

As Adam tried to shift the blame for his misdeed from himself, so also Eve. She, like her husband, did not confess her transgression and pray for pardon, which would have been granted to her.⁸¹ Gracious as God is, He did not pronounce the doom upon Adam and Eve until they showed themselves stiff-necked. Not so with the serpent. God inflicted the curse upon the serpent without hearing his defense; for the serpent is a villain, and the wicked are good debaters. If God had questioned him, the

⁷⁹. PRE 14 (complete text is only found in MHG I, 93). Comp. further PK 17, 13ob; Ekah 3, 39; Aggadat Bereshit 61, 125, concerning Adam, Jacob, and the people of Israel, who instead of being grateful for the benefits God had bestowed upon them, complained about them.

⁸⁰. BR 17. 4; 2 ARN 8, 23.

⁸¹. Tan. B. III, 39; Tan. Tazria' 9; MHG I, 93. Zohar Hadash Bereshit 24a (3. 1). The quotation from Targum by Sabba, 7a, accordm'g to which Gen. 3. 7 should be rendered: And they uttered grumbling words, is taken from Zohar Hadash. Yelammedenu in Yalkut I, 47, and Hizkuni, Gen. 3. 16, remark that Eve was punished because she was still a part of Adam's body when God commanded him not to eat of the forbidden fruit and decreed death as a penalty.

serpent would have answered: "Thou didst give them a command, and I did contradict it. Why did they obey me, and not Thee?"⁸² Therefore God did not enter into an argument with the serpent, but straightway decreed the following ten punishments: The mouth of the serpent was closed, and his power of speech taken away; his hands and feet were hacked off; the earth was given him as food; he must suffer great pain in sloughing his skin; enmity is to exist between him and man; if he eats the choicest viands, or drinks the sweetest beverages, they all change into dust in his mouth; the pregnancy of the female serpent lasts seven years; men shall seek to kill him as soon as they catch sight of him; even in {78} the future world, where all beings will be blessed, he will not escape the punishment decreed for him; he will vanish from out of the Holy Land if Israel walks in the ways of God.⁸³

^{82.} Tan. B. III, 39; Tan. Tazria' 9; BR 20. 2; BaR 19. 11; Sanhedrin 29a. Philo, too, attempts to explain why God did not afford the serpent the opportunity to plead his case; comp. *Leg. Alleg.*, 21. Philo and the Rabbis also explain why the serpent was first cursed; comp. *Quaestiones*, Gen. I. 94 (top); BR 20. 3; Berakot 61a; Ta'anit 15b; Sifra 10. 6; MHG I, 94 (top); comp. further ARN 1, 7 (below). The Midrash (Tan. B. III, 40; Tan. Tazria' 9) lays stress upon the fact that God's name is not mentioned in the curse pronounced against Adam and Eve, because He did not allow His name to be associated with evil. On this view which occurs in the Haggadah as well as in Philo, comp. note 9 on vol. I, p. 5, and note 176 on vol. II, p. 70.

^{83.} 2 ARN 42, 117. Other sources (PRE 14; MHG I, 96; comp. Ginzberg's note on this point in *Ha-Zofeh* IV, 31-32) enumerate nine penalties for each of the three sinners, and one, death, for all of them. PRE gives the downfall of Sammael and his host as the first penalty of

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Furthermore, God spake to the serpent: "I created thee to be king over all animals, cattle and the beasts of the field alike; but thou wast not satisfied. Therefore thou shalt be cursed above all cattle and above every beast of the field. I created thee of upright posture; but thou wast not satisfied. Therefore thou shalt go upon thy belly. I created thee to eat the same food as man; but thou wast not satisfied. Therefore thou shalt eat dust all the days of thy life. Thou didst seek to cause the death of Adam in order to espouse his wife. Therefore I will put enmity between thee and the woman." How true it is—he who lusts after what is not his due, not only does he not attain his desire, but he also loses what he has!

the serpent, in agreement with the view of this Midrash, according to which the real seducer was Satan (=Sammael), who made use of the serpent; comp. note 116. Tadshe 8 gives six penalties for the serpent and five each for Adam and Eve. The leprosy of the serpent is also mentioned in BR 20. 4; Tan. B. II, 53, well as III, 42 and 47; Tan. Mezora' 2; ShR 3. 13; ps.-Epiphanius, *Hexaemeron*, 251. The statement made in Tan. that in the last judgment Edom's guardian angel (*i. e.* Sammael) will be afflicted with leprosy is partly connected with the identification of the serpent with Sammael. On the loss of the serpent's feet, comp. the following note. On the loss of the serpent's language, see note 58, where it is shown that rabbinic sources do not know of any primitive animal language; this is confirmed by the above-mentioned sources, which speak of the language which only the serpent possessed before his fall. Among European peoples, however, legends concerning animals becoming dumb are widespread; comp. Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, I, 219—223.

As angels had been present when the doom was pronounced upon the serpent—for God had convoked a Sanhedrin of seventy-one angels when He sat in judgment upon him—so the execution of the decree against him was entrusted to angels. They descended from heaven, and chopped off his hands and feet. His suffering was so great that his agonized cries could be heard from one end of the world to the other.⁸⁴

The verdict against Eve also consisted of ten curses, the effect of which is noticeable to this day in the physical, spiritual, and social state of woman.⁸⁵ It was not God Himself who announced

^{84.} BR 20. 4–5; ARN 1, 5; Baraita 32 Middot, No. 12; Koheleth 10. 11; Tosefta Sotah 4. 18; Babli 9b. Comp. further note 183 on vol. I, p. 39. The cutting off of the serpent's feet is also mentioned (on the erectness of his stature comp. vol. I, p. 71) in Aphraates, 245. Comp. further Yelammedenu in Yalkut II, 961 (Prov. 26), which practically agrees with BR, *loc. cit.*, and note 124. According to 2 Alphabet R. Akiba 61, God split the tongue of the serpent as a punishment for the "evil tongue" he employed. Comp. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 59–60.

^{85.} 'Erubin 100b; ARN 1, 4 (second version 42, 117; read מתפרסמת "shows herself in public"); BR 20. 6–7; Tadshe 7. On the various views concerning the penalties, comp. Ginzberg's remarks in *Ha-Zofeh*, IV, 31–32. In all the sources menstruation is regarded as a penalty for Eve's sin, and since sexual desire is considered as the result of the eating of the forbidden fruit, the Gnostics, as well as the Kabbalists, maintain that menstruation came to Eve with the enjoyment of the fruit. Comp. note 3 on vol. I, p. 105; Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, I, 211, is to be corrected accordingly. 2 Enoch 31. 7–8 remarks that it was only the serpent (here, Satan) and the wicked deeds of man that were really cursed, "but these (Adam and Eve), whom I had previously blessed, I did not curse". On

her fate to Eve. The only woman with whom God ever spoke was Sarah. In the case of Eve, He made use of the services of an interpreter.⁸⁶ {79}

Finally, also the punishment of Adam was tenfold: he lost his celestial clothing—God stripped it off him; in sorrow he was to earn his daily bread; the food he ate was to be turned from good into bad; his children were to wander from land to land; his body was to exude sweat; he was to have an evil inclination; in death his body was to be a prey of the worms; animals were to have power over him, in that they could slay him; his days were to be few and full of trouble; in the end he was to render account of all his doings on earth.⁸⁷

this peculiar conception, comp. note 82 (end), and further note 60 on vol. I, p. 169, as well as PRK 31a (Schönblum's edition), which reads: Three were cursed, and their curses were beyond any limit, namely, the serpent, the woman (Eve), and the slave (Canaan). But Adam is not included among the cursed ones. In all the sources (BR 20. 5 and 95. 1; 2 ARN 42, 117; Tan. B. III, 47; Tan. Mezora' 2) it is especially stated that in the "future" every one shall be cured except the serpent, who will remain cursed for ever.

⁸⁶. BR 20. 6; Yerushalmi Sotah 8 (beginning); Tehillim 9, 86.

⁸⁷. ARN 42, 116–117. Quite different is the view of PRE 14 concerning the punishments inflicted on Adam; comp. Ginzberg in *Ha-Zofeh*, IV, 31. On the "garments of light", comp. notes 69 and 93 (with respect to the "horny skin" mentioned vol. I, p. 74, as well as in the first passage, comp. Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, I, index, s. v. "Mensch"; *Orehot Hayyim*, I, 68C); on the second punishment comp. Philo, *De M. Opif.*, 24 and 40. Whether death is the consequence of the sin committed or not, see note

These three sinners were not the only ones to have punishment dealt out to them. The earth fared no better, for it had been guilty of various misdemeanors. In the first place, it had not entirely heeded the command of God given on the third day, to bring forth "tree of fruit." What God had desired was a tree the wood of which was to be as pleasant to the taste as the fruit thereof. The earth, however, produced a tree bearing fruit, the tree itself not being edible.⁸⁸ Again, the earth did not do its whole duty in connection with the sin of Adam. God had appointed the sun and the earth witnesses to testify against Adam in case he committed a trespass. The sun, accordingly, had grown dark the instant Adam became guilty of disobedience, but the earth, not knowing how to take notice of Adam's fall, disregarded it altogether.⁸⁹ The earth also had to suffer a tenfold punishment:

142. All animals were tame before the fall of man, and will become tame again in Messianic times; comp. Tan. B. III, 47; Tan. Mezora' 2; BR 20. 5. Comp. further notes 59 and 113. On the curses which were pronounced against Adam, comp. also vol. I, pp. 97-98, and the notes appertaining to them. According to 2 ARN 34, 74, the years of man's life have been shortened, but not those of the animals.

⁸⁸. BR 5. 9; Yerushalmi Kil'ayim I, 27b; comp. vol. I, p. 19.

⁸⁹. Zohar Hadash Bereshit 24b on Gen. 3. 15, where two views are cited as to how long the curse lasted over the earth; according to one, it lasted to the birth of Noah (comp. vol. I, pp. 146-147); according to another, to the birth of Abraham. The idea that the sun and the earth are witnesses for and against man, is already found in the older sources; comp. Sifre D., 306; note 105 on vol. I, p. 25. On the eclipse of the sun at the time of the fall of man, comp. the account given in Matthew 27. 45 of the eclipse

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independent before, she was hereafter to wait to be watered by the rain from above; sometimes the fruits of the earth fail; the grain she brings forth is stricken with blasting and mildew; she must produce all sorts of noxious vermin; thenceforth she was to be divided into valleys {80} and mountains; she must grow barren trees, bearing no fruit; thorns and thistles sprout from her; much is sown in the earth, but little is harvested; in time to come the earth will have to disclose her blood, and shall no more cover her slain; and, finally, she shall, one day, “wax old like a garment.”⁹⁰

When Adam heard the words, “Thorns and thistles shall it bring forth,” concerning the ground, a sweat broke out on his face, and he said: “What! Shall I and my cattle eat from the same manger?” The Lord had mercy upon him, and spoke, “In view of the sweat of thy face, thou shalt eat bread.”⁹¹

The earth is not the only thing created that was made to suffer

of the sun at the time of the crucifixion of Jesus; see further Sukkah 29a and note 113.

^{90.} 2 ARN 42, 117; PRE 14; comp. Luria’s note, *ad loc.*, and Ginzberg in *Ha-Zofeh*, IV, 31. On vermin as a consequence of the fall of man, see also BR 5. 9 and 20. 8, as well as the Christian legends; comp. Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, I, 216. Another view declares that whatever God created has its value; comp. vol. I, p. 42, and the note appertaining to it. On the origin of the mountains, comp. note 31 on vol. I, pp. 112–113; on the disclosing of the absorbed blood by the earth, comp. vol. I, p. 112, as well as vol. III, pp. 31 and 91. On the curse of the earth comp. 2 Alphabet R. Akiba, 61.

^{91.} BR 20. 10; ARN I, 6–7; Pesahim 118a; ER 31, 164.

through the sin of Adam. The same fate overtook the moon. When the serpent seduced Adam and Eve, and exposed their nakedness, they wept bitterly, and with them wept the heavens, and the sun and the stars, and all created beings and things up to the throne of God. The very angels and the celestial beings were grieved by the transgression of Adam. The moon alone laughed, wherefore God grew wroth, and obscured her light. Instead of shining steadily like the sun, all the length of the day, she grows old quickly, and must be born and reborn, again and again.⁹² The callous conduct of the moon offended God, not only by way of contrast with the compassion of all other creatures, but because He Himself was full of pity for Adam and his wife. He made clothes for them out of the skin stripped from the serpent.⁹³ He

⁹². Slavonic Apocalypse of Baruch 9; the Greek version of the apocalypse reads: The moon did not hide at the time of the fall, although it found itself near to Sammael when he seduced Eve. On the eclipse of the sun during the fall, see vol. I, p. 79 (below).

⁹³. PRE 20; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 3. 21. Against this later view the older sources maintain that the garments mentioned in Gen., *loc. cit.*, were given to Adam and Eve by God before the fall, and that they really were not “garments of skin”, but of light; comp. BR 20. 12, citing R. Meir’s statement (the explanation given there שְׂדוּמִין לַפְּנִים is a later rationalistic addition), and note 69. The view that the garments were made of the skin of Leviathan (*Hadar, Da’at*, and Hizkuni on Gen., *loc. cit.*, very likely quoted the same source) wishes to retain עוֹר (“skin”) in the biblical text, without losing the “light”, since the skin of Leviathan has a shining lustre; comp. vol. I, pp. 27 and 28. The Church Fathers Irenaeus, III, 23. 5, and Tertullian, *De Pudicitia*, 9, and *De Resurrectione*, 7, speak of the celestial garments of Adam and Eve. Origen, *Contra*

would have done even more. He would have permitted them to

Celsus, 4. 40 (based very likely on Philo, *Quaestiones*, Gen. 1. 53), remarks: They received garments of skin at the time of the fall; *i. e.*, bodies, since before the fall they were spiritual beings. A similar statement is found in *Zo-har* I, 36b, which reads: Before the fall they were dressed in garments of light" (= *כתנות אור*), after the fall in "garments of skin" (= *כתנות עור*), which were useful only for the body, not for the soul. A very important part is played by Adam and Eve's "garments of light" in the various versions of the *Vita Adae*; comp. *Adamschriften*, 52–53. However, we must not, without any further proof, connect the garments of light with the splendor of the light which shone over Adam before the fall (comp. note 105). But we shall not go astray if we identify them with the celestial garments of the pious, frequently mentioned in pseudepigraphic literature, and in early Christian as well as in kabbalistic writings; comp. *Enoch* 62. 16; 2 *Enoch* 22. 8–10; *Ascension of Isaiah* 4. 16, and the parallel passages cited by Charles. See further *Zohar* II, 150, and the lengthy discourse by Vital, *Sha'are Kedushah* (beginning). But also those who assert that Adam and Eve received their garments from God after the fall maintain that these clothes were of a superior and unusual kind. God created these garments at the twilight of the first Friday, hence it belongs to the primordial creations, on account of which both Adam and his descendants wore them as priestly garments at the time of the offering of the sacrifices. Furthermore they were not only of extraordinary brilliance and splendor, but had also supernatural qualities; comp. *Sifre D.*, 355; *Mekilta Wa-Yassa'* 5, 51a; *Pesahim* 54b (top); 2 *ARN* 37, 95 (read *העור*, with respect to *כתנות עור*); *BR* 20. 2; *Tan. B. I*, 17–18 and 33. See further vol. I, pp. 177, 319, and 332. Identifying Adam's priestly garments, which he received after the fall, with the garment of light, Abkir has the following statement (*Yalkut* I, 34): God made high-priestly garments for Adam

remain in Paradise, if only they had been penitent. But they refused to repent, and {81} they had to leave, lest their godlike understanding urge them to ravage the tree of life, and they learn to live forever. As it was, when God dismissed them from Paradise, He did not allow the Divine quality of justice to prevail entirely. He associated mercy with it. As they left, He said: “O what a pity that Adam was not able to observe the command laid upon him for even a brief span of time!”

To guard the entrance to Paradise, God appointed the cherubim, called also the ever-turning sword of flames, because angels can turn themselves from one shape into another at need.⁹⁴

which were like those of the angels; but when he sinned, God took them away from him. In 2 ARN 42, 116, it is stated briefly: Adam wore splendid garments, which were removed from him after the commission of the sin. That the garments of Adam and Eve belonged to the primordial creations is also asserted in Christian sources; comp. ps.-Justinian, *Quaestiones, ... ad Orthodoxes*, VI, 1293; Jacob Sarug, cited by Moses bar Cepha, *De Paradiso*, 84A; comp. further Theodoretus, Gen. 3. 27. The latter cannot admit that God killed certain animals in order to furnish Adam and Eve with clothes. The same objection to the literal interpretation of כְּתָנוּת עוֹר is very likely the basis of the statement in Sotah 14a and ER 20.12 that the garments of Adam and Eve were made of wool, or, according to others, of linen.

⁹⁴ BR 21. 5–9; Philo, *De M. Opif.*, 60. The cherubim as a definite group of angels are already mentioned in the Book of Enoch (comp. Enoch 61. 10; 2 Enoch 19. 6), and are even considered as the “angels of destruction”, for which reason Enoch 20. 7 mentions them alongside with the serpents, and in ShR 9. 11 they are explicitly described as such. Later sources (*Paʿaneah*, Gen. 3. 24 and *Hinnuk*, precept 62) insert שָׂרִים

Instead of the tree of life, God gave Adam the Torah, which likewise is a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her, and he was permitted to take up his abode in the vicinity of Paradise in the east.⁹⁵

m'stead of מלאכי חבלה (Rashi on Gen., *loc. cit.*, employs the latter, more accurate expression), which is not exactly correct, because the "angels of destruction" are not devils. The statement of Hadar, Gen., *loc. cit.*, that the cherubim have the form of steers is perhaps due to the confusion of שורים = שרים) "oxen" with שדים "devils". However their name is explained in this source from the Aramaic כרב "he ploughed". This view concerning the form of the cherubim would be very interesting if it should contain a reminiscence of the winged bulls. Comp. Index, s. v. "Cherubim".

⁹⁵ MHG I, 106 (based on two different sources); ER I (beginning); Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 3. 24. Comp. also BR 21 (end), and Philo, *Quaestiones*, Gen. 1, 57. On the flaming sword which is found in front of paradise, comp. vol. I, p. 174, and the note appertaining to it, as well as *Hemat ha-Hemdak* 14a. In the last passage it is said (based on Sa'adya Gaon's remarks in his *Polemic against Hiwi*, 37.3, where הליכתו means the road to paradise) that God, after Adam's expulsion from paradise, did not cause him to forget the way back to paradise; on the contrary, He always made him look at it, in order that he should ever bear in mind his transgression, which deprived him of his blissful habitation. The author then quotes the following narrative from a non-Jewish chronicle. There was a king in ancient times who wished to ascertain the exact situation of paradise. He betook himself to a neighboring district, at the mountain called Lebiah (= "lioness?"). At the top of this mountain one could hear the sound of swords turning about, which resounded from the other side of the river. He let some of his men down by means of poles, but none of

Sentence pronounced upon Adam and Eve and the serpent, the Lord commanded the angels to turn the man and the woman out of Paradise. They began to weep and supplicate bitterly, and the angels took pity upon them and left the Divine command unfulfilled, until they could petition God to mitigate His severe verdict. But the Lord was inexorable, saying, "Was it I that committed a trespass, or did I pronounce a false judgment?" Also Adam's prayer, to be given of the fruit of the tree of life, was turned aside, with the promise, however, that if he would lead a pious life, he would be given of the fruit on the day of resurrection, and he would then live forever.

Seeing that God had resolved unalterably, Adam began to weep again and implore the angels to grant him at least permission to take sweet-scented spices with him out of Paradise, that outside, too, he might be able to bring offerings {⁸²} unto God, and his prayers be accepted before the Lord. Thereupon the angels came before God, and spake: "King unto everlasting, command Thou us to give Adam sweet-scented spices of Paradise," and God heard

them returned. The author, R. Shet b. Yefet, adds thereupon that this story confirms the view of those who take the biblical account of paradise literally. Comp. note 50 concerning the allegorical conception of the description of paradise. The sources quoted in the beginning of this note belong to the oldest group of rabbinic literature, which makes a serious attempt to give a figurative explanation of the biblical passages concerning paradise. The view found in Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 3. 24 that the flaming sword stands for Gehenna is also found in Lactantius, *Institutiones*, 12. 13. Comp. further Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 55-56.

their prayer. Thus Adam gathered saffron, nard, calamus, and cinnamon, and all sorts of seeds besides for his sustenance. Laden with these, Adam and Eve left Paradise, and came upon earth.⁹⁶ They had enjoyed the splendors of Paradise but a brief span of

⁹⁶ Apocalypse of Moses 27-29; Vita Adae 25. 4; Armenian Book of Adam in *Adamschriften*, 16. The tree of life is preserved for the pious in the world to come; Enoch 25. 4; 4 Ezra 7. 52; Revelation 2. 7 and 22. 14. Philo's remark, *De M. Opif.*, 54, seems to be directed against such a view. To the older rabbinic literature such a view is quite alien, but is well known to later authors; comp. MHG I, 127, where, in agreement with Revelation 22. 2, the "wholesome fruit" (Ezek. 47. 12) is identified with the tree of life. See further Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 3. 24, which, along with the old view, offers also the later interpretation of this verse. With respect to the spices which Adam brought from paradise, the following may be noted. Originally this legend wishes to convey that the various kinds of spices used in the temple came from paradise, which also furnished wood for the tabernacle (Shu'aib, end of Terumah). Subsequently, however, this was connected with another legend, according to which the civilization of the world goes back to Adam (comp. notes 31-32; Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, I, index, 3. 22. "Adam"; Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 66), and therefore he had to be the one who brought for mankind, from paradise, the seeds necessary for the cultivation of the soil. Some rabbinic passages (Tehillim 104, 445; comp. the manuscript reading quoted by Buber, note 66; the midrashic quotation by Duran, *Hofes Matmonim*, 90; 2 Alphabet of Ben Sira 21b) speak of thirty kinds of trees (based on a Persian legend; comp. Bundelesh, Justi's edition, 37, and Schorr in *He-Haluz*, VIII, 24), which Adam took with him from paradise; comp. note 74 on vol. I, p. 19; Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, 2, and Ginzberg in *Zeitschrift für Hebraische Bibliographie*, XI, 126.

time—but a few hours. It was in the first hour of the sixth day of creation that God conceived the idea of creating man; in the second hour, He took counsel with the angels; in the third, He gathered the dust for the body of man; in the fourth, He formed Adam; in the fifth, He clothed him with skin; in the sixth, the soulless shape was complete, so that it could stand upright; in the seventh, a soul was breathed into it; in the eighth, man was led into Paradise; in the ninth, the Divine command prohibiting the fruit of the tree in the midst of the garden was issued to him; in the tenth, he transgressed the command; in the eleventh, he was judged; and in the twelfth hour of the day, he was cast out of Paradise, in atonement for his sin.

This eventful day was the first of the month of Tishri. Therefore God spoke to Adam: “Thou shalt be the prototype of thy children. As thou hast been judged by Me on this day and absolved, so thy children Israel shall be judged by Me on this New Year’s Day, and they shall be absolved.”⁹⁷

⁹⁷ PK 23, 150b; PR 46, 177b; Sanhedrin 38b; WR 19. 1, Tan. B. III, 31; Tan. Shemini 8; ARN 1, 5, 6, 8 (both versions); Tehillim 92, 403; PRE 11. Although according to the Jewish calendar, the day follows the night, nevertheless the twelve hours mentioned in the different versions of the legend are to be understood as a part of the sixth day (the sources quoted do not correspond, in all details, to one another; comp. also note 3 on vol. I, p. 105), since nothing was created at night; comp. BR 12, 14. The Church Fathers likewise assert that Adam sinned on the very first day of his creation. Some of the Christian sources divide this eventful day in a manner similar to that of the Rabbis, and they even find a Christological meaning in this division; comp. Irenaeus, V, 22. 2; Victorinus of Pettau,

De Fabrica Mundi; Aphraates, 168; Ephraim, I, 19 C and in Moses bar Cepha, *De Paradiso*, 90A; *Schatzhöhle*, 7. Comp. further the passages cited in Ginzberg's *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 48-49, as well as Malan in his notes on the book of Adam, 209-210. Quite different is the view concerning the time of the fall found in Jub. 3. 4, according to which Adam and Eve, who had both been created outside of paradise (this is also presupposed in the sources cited at the beginning of the note), did not enter it simultaneously, that is, Adam entered paradise when he was forty days old, while Eve did not arrive there until she was eighty days old, *i. e.* when Adam was already eighty-seven days of age (he was seven days older than Eve). They stayed seven days and forty years in paradise, whence they were expelled on the first of Tammuz, seventy days after the fall, which took place on the seventeenth of Iyar. The Melchizedekite fragment (comp. 2 Enoch 90) seems to be the only source which, like the Book of Jub., speaks of seven years' sojourn in paradise. Philo, *Quaestiones*, Gen. 1. 25, observes that the formation of the female embryo (so is this passage to be understood) takes eighty days, that of the male only forty days. There can be no doubt that this observation wishes to explain the law of Lev. 12. 4, *seq.*, as may be seen from Niddah 3. 7. Comp. vol. I, p. 163, and Roscher, *Die Zahl* 40, p. 103, *seq.* The connection of this law with the creation of Adam and Eve is, however, only found in Jub. This book also differs from the view current in the later Haggadah with regard to the date of the creation of the world. Jub. and Philo (*De Spec. Leg.*, 19; *Quaestiones*, Exod., 1. 1), as well as some rabbinic authorities of the first century C. E. (Rosh ha-Shanah 10b), are of the opinion that the world (the same view is held by the Stoics; comp. Arnim, *Stoic. Vet. Fragm.*, II, 584) was created in spring, or, to be more accurate, in the month of Nisan. A different view prevalent among the later Rabbis is that the world was created in autumn, in the month of

Each day of creation brought forth three things: the first, heaven, earth, and light; the second, the firmament, Gehenna, and the angels; the third, trees, herbs, and Paradise; {83} the fourth, sun, moon, and stars; and the fifth, fishes, birds, and leviathan. As God intended to rest on the seventh day, the Sabbath, the sixth day had to do double duty. It brought forth six creations: Adam, Eve, cattle, reptiles, the beasts of the field, and demons. The demons were made shortly before the Sabbath came in, and they are, therefore, incorporeal spirits—the Lord had no time to create bodies for them.⁹⁸

Tishri; comp. Rosh ha-Shanah, *loc. cit.*, where R. Eliezer (about 100 C. E.) already maintains this view. The Jewish legend which considers that all first things were created in a fully developed form (comp. note 21) decided in favor of the opinion which fixes autumn, the “season of ripeness”, as the time of creation. For the sake of accuracy, the legend maintains that it was the first day of autumn, the Jewish New Year, on which Adam was created, the same day on which he was expelled from paradise. Comp. PK 23, 150b; PR 46, 186b. Ephraim I, 15 A, and Theodoretus, Exod. 72, assume that the world was created in Nisan; see Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 31–32. Medieval authors point out that the letters of the word בראשית, with which the account of creation begins, may be rearranged to read א' בתשרי, that is, “on the first day of Tishri”; comp. *Pa'aneah*, Gen. I. I.

⁹⁸ Tan. B. I, 12; BR II. 9 מריאים as a name for the demons is only found here, and may be explained either as a derivative of מרה “he rebelled”, and accordingly, these demons were originally classed with the rebellious angels, or as derivative of מרא “master”, = שד; comp. below); PR 46, 187b. Another classification of primordial creations is that of Jub. 3. 2, *seq.*, and (based on it) Tadshe 6, according to which the number of

creations amounted to twenty-two, corresponding to the number of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, the number of the books of the Bible (counting Lamentations as a part of Jeremiah and Ezra-Nehemiah as one), and the generations from Adam to Jacob. On the first day the following things were created: The heavens, earth, water, darkness, wind, abyss, and light; on the second day, the firmament; on the third day, the gathering of the waters, grass, trees, and paradise (in view of the doctrine of the pre-existence of paradise, Tadshe has springs, instead of paradise, as the fourth creation of the third day); on the fourth day, the sun, the moon, the stars; on the fifth day, the sea-monsters, birds, and worms; on the sixth day, wild and domestic animals, creeping things, and Adam. Comp. the detailed account of the creations of each day in vol. I, pp. 8–30, and further Tan. Hayye Sarah 3. A Haggadah quoted by medieval authors (Pardes 56a; Mahzor Vitry, 108; *Shibbole ha-Leket*, 96; *Kimha Dabishuna*, on the dirge *עֵצָה אֵיכָה*), from a Sefer Yezirah (not in ours), endeavors to demonstrate in an elaborate manner why the world was created in seven days: Each two days of creation form a pair of witnesses on the unity of God, the uniqueness of Israel, and the singular sanctity of the Sabbath. Furthermore, Israel and the Sabbath testify to the unity of God; God and the Sabbath testify to the uniqueness of Israel; God and Israel testify to the singular sanctity of the Sabbath.—The demons, in accordance with their origin, are between angels and men. They have wings like the former, and move about from one end of the earth to the other, and know what will come to pass; but, like the latter, they eat and drink, propagate their kind, and die. They also have this much in common with angels that they assume any form they please, and that they can see man without being seen by him. See Hagigah 16a; Tan. B. I, 12 (there is a statement here also concerning the sexual relations between men and demons; comp. vol. I, p. 118); Berakot 6a; PR 6, 24a

In the twilight, between the sixth day and the Sabbath, ten creations were, brought forth: the rainbow, invisible until Noah's time; the manna; watersprings, whence Israel drew water for his thirst in the desert; the writing upon the two tables of stone given at Sinai; the pen with which the writing was written; the two

(the angels can see the demons, but the demons cannot see the angels); 2 ARN 37, 109; Kisse we-Ippodromin, 35; PRK (Schönblum's edition, 15b); Ma'aseh Torah, 98 (where it is said: They live with one another, like angels, without hatred or envy); Mahzor Vitry, 507. The assertion that demons do not cast a shadow (Gittin 60a, and Yerushalmi 6, 48b) is very likely connected with the conception that the shadow is that soul which reflects the body (comp. note 18 on polypsychism), and since demons have no bodies, they have no shadows. On the countless numbers of demons, comp. Berakot 6a; Gittin 68a (שדה עצמה means: this female demon which is mentioned in Eccl. 2. 8, cannot be accurately determined, since there are so many of them); Tehillim 91, 398. As to the view found in pseudepigraphic literature, and prevalent among the Church Fathers (comp. Bousset, *Religion*, 382, *seq.*), according to which the demons are the descendants of the fallen angels, from their union with the daughters of man, nothing but a slight trace thereof remains in rabbinic literature (comp. Index, s. v. "Angels, the Fallen"). The doctrine connected with this view concerning the demons as seducers to idolatry and other transgressions does not occur at all in rabbinic literature. The view found in Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, VII, 6. 3, as well as in Philo, *De Gigant.*, 6–8, and *De Somn.*, 1. 133–136, that demons are the souls of the wicked reappears again in the Kabbalah (comp. Zohar III, 70a), where it is borrowed from Christian sources, while it is entirely unknown to the earlier Rabbis; comp., however, note 88 on vol. I, p. 180. The mortal nature of the demons is also known to Eusebius, 206, who quotes Plutarch as his authority.

tables themselves; the mouth of Balaam's she-ass; the grave of Moses; the cave in which Moses and Elijah dwelt; and the rod of Aaron, with its blossoms and its ripe almonds.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Abot 5. 9; Mekilta Wa-Yassa' 5, 51a; Sifre D., 355; Midrash Tannaim 219; Pesahim 54a; PRE 19 (comp. Luria, *ad loc.*); PRK (Schönblum's edition, 40a; Grünhut's edition, 85); 2 ARN 27, 95; Targum Yerushalmi Num. 22. 18; Seder Rabba di-Bereshit 7. No two of the sources cited exactly correspond with one another in the enumeration of the things which lie on the boundary-line between the primordial things and those developed out of them, comp. Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.* 50. 'Aknin's assertion, in his commentary on Abot, *loc. cit.*, that these things were created in the twilights of the first six days is untenable. Besides the things enumerated in the text, others are also mentioned: The first pair of tongs (on this point comp. Tosefta 'Erubin, end, and Hagigah I, end, as well as *Adamschriften*, 54), without which no other instrument could be made; Moses' staff; the Shamir; the garments of Adam and Eve (comp. note 93); fire (without which no civilization would have been possible) comp., however, note 104; the mule (comp. vol. I, p. 424, on the origin of the mule, and further vol. IV, p. 125); the pillars of fire and of cloud, which moved before Israel in the wilderness, as well as the clouds of glory which surrounded them (ARN, *loc. cit.*, it is thus to be explained according to Targum Yerushalmi and Seder Rabba di-Bereshit, *loc. cit.*); the vessel in which the manna has been preserved in the holy of holies; the demons (comp. the preceding note); the ram which Abraham sacrificed in place of Isaac. Comp. also note 31, according to which כתב ומכתב in the above-mentioned passages refer perhaps to the use of "writing" and "stylus", and not to the material which was employed for the tables; see Mahzor Vitry, *ad loc.*; Rashi on Pesahim, *loc. cit.*; Responsa of the Geonim (Harkavy's edition, 11-12); Nahmias, commentary on Abot, *loc. cit.* See further note 258 on vol. III, p. 119; comp. also vol. III,

SABBATH IN HEAVEN

Before the world was created, there was none to praise God and know Him. Therefore He created the angels and the holy Ḥayyot, the heavens and their host, and Adam as well. They all were to praise and glorify their Creator. During the week of creation, however, there was no suitable time to proclaim the splendor and praise of the Lord. Only on the Sabbath, when all creation rested, the beings on earth and in heaven, all together, broke into song and adoration when God ascended His throne and sate upon it.¹⁰⁰ It was the Throne of Joy upon which He sate, and He had all the angels pass before Him—the angel of the water, the angel of the rivers, the angel of the mountains, the angel of the {84} hills, the angel of the abysses, the angel of the deserts, the angel of the sun, the angel of the moon, the angel of the Pleiades, the angel of Orion, the angel of the herbs, the angel of Paradise, the angel of Gehenna, the angel of the trees, the angel of the reptiles, the angel of the wild beasts, the angel of the domestic animals, the angel of the fishes, the angel of the locusts, the angel of the birds, the chief angel of the angels, the angel of each heaven, the chief angel of each division of the heavenly

pp. 362, 477.

^{100.} Zohar Hadash, Gen. 2. 4, 22a. The conception that the entire universe chants a continuous song to God is widely known; comp. Alphabet of R. Akiba 12, and the details given in note 194 on vol. I, p. 46. On the song of the heavenly bodies on the first Sabbath, comp. the following note.

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hosts, the chief angel of the holy Ḥayyot, the chief angel of the cherubim, the chief angel of the ofanim, and all the other splendid, terrible, and mighty angel chiefs. They all appeared before God with great joy, laved in a stream of joy, and they rejoiced and danced and sang, and extolled the Lord with many praises and many instruments. The ministering angels began, "Let the glory of the Lord endure forever!" And the rest of the angels took up the song with the words, "Let the Lord rejoice in His works!" 'Arabot, the seventh heaven, was filled with joy and glory, splendor and strength, power and might and pride and magnificence and grandeur, praise and jubilation, song and gladness, steadfastness and righteousness, honor and adoration.

Then God bade the Angel of the Sabbath seat himself upon a throne of glory, and He brought before him the chiefs of the angels of all the heavens and all the abysses, and bade them dance and rejoice, saying, "Sabbath it is unto the Lord!" and the exalted princes of the heavens responded, "Unto the Lord it is Sabbath!" Even Adam was permitted to ascend to the highest heaven, to take part in the rejoicing over the Sabbath. {85}

By bestowing Sabbath joy upon all beings, not excepting Adam, thus did the Lord dedicate His creation. Seeing the majesty of the Sabbath, its honor and greatness, and the joy it conferred upon all, being the fount of all joy, Adam intoned a song of praise for the Sabbath day. Then God said to him, "Thou singest a song of praise to the Sabbath day, and singest none to Me, the God of the Sabbath?" Thereupon the Sabbath rose from his seat, and prostrated himself before God, saying, "It is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord," and the whole of creation added, "And to

sing praises unto Thy Name, O Most High!”¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹. Seder Rabba di-Bereshit 7–8, where at the end the following reading is to be adopted, with *Kimha Dabishuna* (on אל ברוב עצוה in the morm'ng prayer of the Day of Atonement): אמר הב"ה לאדם לשבת אתה אומר ולי אין אתה. This Midrash is the source, direct or indirect, of the statement of the medieval authors concerning the song chanted by the Sabbath. Comp. Hasidim 126; *ha-Mahkim* 133; *Orehot Hayyim* I, 64d–65a; *Tola'at Jacob* (סוד השבת ברוך שאמר); Yalkut Reubeni, Gen. 2. 3, and in the supplement of this work *Shikhat Leket* (שבת No. 4); Treves' commentary on the Prayer Book (לא אל אשר שבת); ps.-Rashi on BR 14 (end); Bereshit Rabbeti, according to the manuscript quotation thereof in *Ha-Hoker*, II, 1. Many medieval writers quote from BR, or rather Yerushalmi (comp. Buber *Yerushalayim ha-Benuyah*, note 90, and further *Orehot Hayyim* I, 36c; Abudirham ג'סעודות; Tosafot Ketubot 7b, below; *Sefer Mizvot Gadol*, precept 48), the following sentence: On the arrival of the Sabbath God said to all created things: “Come and chant a song; a guest, Sabbath, is come.” Comp. also the quotation, from the Midrash, in *Or Zarua'* II, 180 and 47a; *ha-Mahkim*, 136: Angels have six wings, one for each day of the week with which they chant their song; but they remain silent on the Sabbath, for it is Israel (Sabbath?) who then chants a hymn to God. On this point comp. Ginzberg, *Geonica*, II, 48. All these legends about the songs on the Sabbath, or rather of the Sabbath (on this conception among the Mohammedans, comp. Goldziher in the *Kaufmann-Gedenkbuch*, 87) are later developments of the legend mentioned in note 103. The personification of the Sabbath reaches its utmost limits among the Falashas; comp. *Teezaza Sanbat* 12b seq., on the angel Sabbath, God's favorite, whom all the other angels adore and to whom they chant a song. On the various angels who participate in the glorification of God and the joy of the Sabbath, comp. *Tehillim* 104, 440, which reads: There is nothing below which does not have one appointed over it above, corresponding to it. *Recognitiones*, I, 45, says: When God created the

This was the first Sabbath, and this its celebration in heaven by God and the angels. The angels were informed at the same time that in days to come Israel would hallow the day in similar manner. God told them: "I will set aside for Myself a people from among all the peoples. This people will observe the Sabbath, and I will sanctify it to be My people, and I will be God unto it. From all that I have seen, I have chosen the seed of Israel wholly, and I have inscribed him as My first-born son, and I sanctified him unto Myself unto all eternity, him and the Sabbath, that he keep the Sabbath and hallow it from all work."¹⁰²

world, ... he appointed chiefs over the several creatures, even over the trees and the mountains, over the fountains and the rivers, and over all the things He had made. BR 9. 6 reads: There is not a blade of grass which does not have its star in heaven, urging it, saying: "Grow." Comp. Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed*, II, 10; Zohar (addition from *Sifre Otiyyot*, I, 15a), where instead of the star (מזל) the reading ממונה of Tehillim, *loc. cit.*, is found. Comp. note 60 on vol. I, p. 137.

¹⁰². Jub. 2. 17-20. That the angels rest on the Sabbath is also mentioned in Tikkunim 48, 86a. Comp, on the contrary, PR 23, 120, which records the witty answer of R. Akiba to Tinaeus Rufus on the question why God allows the powers of nature to work on the Sabbath (comp. John 5. 17), when everything rests. That nature, however, is not exactly the same on the Sabbath as on week-days may be seen from the state of rest of the river Sambation (comp. Index, s. v.) and from the failure of the necromancers on that day (on this point comp. also Sanhedrin 65b). In connection with the Sabbath rest, rabbinic literature in many places emphasizes the doctrine that the creation must not be taken as a direct act of God, but as the word of God. It is further emphasized that even

For Adam the Sabbath had a peculiar significance. When he was made to depart out of Paradise in the twilight of the Sabbath eve, the angels called after him, "Adam did not abide in his glory overnight!" Then the Sabbath appeared before God as Adam's defender, and he spoke: "O Lord of the world! During the six working days no creature was slain. If Thou wilt begin now by

after the completion of creation God's activity continues in the deeds of the pious, as well as of the wicked, by means of which they create for themselves their portions in the world to come. Comp. Mekilta Bahodesh 7, 69b, and Shabbat 104b; Mekilta RS, 109 and 162; Midrash Tannaim 22-23; BR 10. 9 and 11. 5-6, 9; PR 23, 120, and 41, 174a; Tan. Ki-Tissa 33. The above-mentioned passages contain many expressions about the great significance of the Sabbath (comp. also Tehillim 19, 162, and 92, 201-202). It may be noted, however, that nowhere in the old rabbinic literature is there to be found a trace of the mystical conception of the Sabbath occurring in Philo (*Moses*, 2 [3]. 33), according to which this distinguished day dates not only since the world was created, but from the time when the heaven and all the perceptible universe were still uncreated. It is only in PRE 3 that the Sabbath is counted among the things which existed in the thought of God prior to the creation of the world; comp. Excursus I. On the eternal Sabbath in the world to come, see note 140. The Sabbath must not be understood as a cessation from the work of creation, but as a creation in itself; everything was created in six days except rest, which was created on the Sabbath; hence Scripture speaks of the completion of creation on the Sabbath (Gen. 2. 2); comp. BR 10. 9, and the parallels cited by Theodor, where several explanations of the peculiar wording of this biblical verse are offered, and where it is further stated that the elders who translated the Torah for Talmi (=Ptolemy) did not give a literal rendering of Gen. 2. 2, but translated: "And God completed on the sixth day." Comp. note 140.

slaying Adam, what will become of the sanctity and the blessing of the Sabbath?" {86} In this way Adam was rescued from the fires of hell, the meet punishment for his sins, and in gratitude he composed a psalm in honor of the Sabbath, which David later embodied in his Psalter.¹⁰³

Still another opportunity was given to Adam to learn and appreciate the value of the Sabbath. The celestial light, whereby Adam could survey the world from end to end, should properly have been made to disappear immediately after his sin. But out of consideration for the Sabbath, God had let this light continue to shine, and the angels, at sundown on the sixth day, intoned a song of praise and thanksgiving to God, for the radiant light shining

¹⁰³ PRE 19; Tehillim 92, 404, and 5, 22; PR 46, 187b. The older sources (BR 22. 13; PK 22, 160b; Tan. B. I, 19; WR 10. 4; Baba Batra 14b; Shir 4.4) know only that Adam composed Psalm 92 on the glorification of repentance (תְּשׁוּבָה = השבת) in accordance with the method of the Haggadah), when he repented of his sins; comp. vol. I, p. 112. In ARN 1, 7 (whence it was borrowed by Alphabet R. Akiba 15), on the contrary, it is stated that Adam and the angels equally shared in the composition of this Psalm, which they sang in honor of the Sabbath, to the accompaniment of music, on the first day after the expulsion from paradise, which occurred in the twilight of the first Sabbath. Comp. also Targum on Ps. 92. 1, and note 101. The statement frequently made in later sources (comp, however, Sanhedrin 65b and BR 11. S) that the wicked in hell rest on the Sabbath is closely related to this legend, according to which Adam was delivered from the suffering from hell by the Sabbath: comp. PR 23, 120a; Tan. Ki-Tissa 33; Seder Gan 'Eden 43; Recanati on Gen. 3. 24; R. Bahya on Exod. 20. 8.

through the night. Only with the going out of the Sabbath day the celestial light ceased, to the consternation of Adam, who feared that the serpent would attack him in the dark. But God illumined his understanding, and he learned to rub two stones against each other and produce light for his needs.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴. BR 11. 1 and 12. 6 (in both passages טרדו מנ"ע is a later gloss, which is due to a misunderstanding; the difference of Opinion of the scholars quoted there turns about the question whether Adam was allowed to retain the heavenly hg'ht on the first day after the expulsion, but not on the question whether he spent a night in paradise or not; comp. the sources cited in note 97, all of which agree that Adam left paradise before night); Mekilta RS, 109 (this is the source for BR, 100. cit. יומי = יומי); Mekilta Bahodesh 7, 69b; PR 23, 118a–118b and 46, 186b–187a (at the same time the significance of New Year is here emphasized; comp. note 97); Yerushalmi Berakot 8, 12b; Pesahim 54a; PRE 20; Tehillim 92, 402. In most of the sources the primordial light is already identified with the splendor of Adam's countenance, whereas originally a different view had been entertained. The former belongs to a widespread cosmological speculation, according to which creation was made possible by the advance of the primordial light into the darkness of chaos; this is connected with Gen. 1. 3. Comp. also note 19 on vol. I, p. 9. See also vol. I, pp. 262, 388; vol. IV, p. 234. This light appears in Philo, *De M. Opif.*, 8 and 18, as the invisible and ideal, as the image of God's wisdom. On the other hand, the splendor of Adam's countenance is the concrete expression of the legend of the divine nature of man before his fall, and belongs to the view concerning the light of the pious in the world to come, which is prevalent in Jewish, as well as in Christian, eschatology; comp. Bousset, *Religion*, 318, for the references to this view in pseudepigraphic and ancient rabbinic literature. See further Sifre D., 10; Midrash Tannaim 6; WR 30. 2; ER 3, 14; Yerushalmi Hagigah 2, 77a

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The celestial light was but one of the seven precious gifts enjoyed by Adam before the fall and to be granted to man again only in the Messianic time. The others are the resplendence of his countenance; life eternal; his tall stature; the fruits of the soil; the fruits of the tree; and the luminaries of the sky, the sun and the moon, for in the world to come the light of the moon shall be as

(below), where the sentence of Sifre, *loc. cit.*, (שבוע כתות), appears in abbreviated form. Comp. also note 93 with regard to the "garments of light" of Adam and Eve. See further Preuschen, *Adamschriften*, 52, as well as notes 24 and 69. A rationalistic explanation of Adam's splendor is found in BR, *loc. cit.*, and parallel passages, where it is said that man's face is brighter on the Sabbath than on week-days because of the rest and the pleasure he enjoys. Reference may also be made here to the statement found in the Talmud (Bezah 16a, and parallel passages) that upon the arrival of the Sabbath, man (*i. e.*, the Jew) receives an "additional soul", which stays with him until the expiration of the Sabbath; comp. Berliner, *Jahrbuch für jüd. Geschichte und Literatur*, 1910, 205.—The part of Prometheus, which is ascribed to Adam, who, endowed with God-like wisdom, brought down fire and light (comp. on this point Jellinek, *Einleitung* to BHM V, 48), is connected with the cycle of legends, in which the beginnings of culture were traced back to Adam; comp. notes 31 and 99. The stones which he used in bringing down the light are more accurately described in Tehillim 92, 404; one was the stone of darkness, the other the stone of dimness; comp. Job 28. 3, and vol. I, p. 8 (below), with regard to these stones of the abyss. In *Orehot Hayyim* I, 68c, the legend of the "horny skin" is connected with the one which treats of the bringing down of the fire, and states that Adam brought down the light by means of his finger-nails (comp. vol. I, p. 74 and note 69).

the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ BR 12. 6; Tan. B. I, 13; Tan. Bereshit 6; BaR 13. 12; comp. further Sifra 26. 4–13; ShR 30. 3. Another version is preserved in PRK (Schönblum's edition, 43b); Kebod Huppah 19–21; MHG I, 126–130. In these sources twenty-two or twenty-four blessings are enumerated which God had bestowed on Adam, of which man was gradually deprived after the fall of Adam and the sins of the following generations, and which mankind will receive again in Messianic times. On account of his sins Adam forfeited the so-called image of God (*i. e.*, the God-like Splendor), tall stature, paradise and the tree of life. The generation of the deluge in consequence of its sins, lost its gigantic strength, its longevity, the multitude of children, and peace. The generation of the Tower of Babel lost the unity of speech, that is, the Hebrew language. The generation of the sinful cities (Sodom and Gomorrah) lost riches and fertility of the soil. The generation of the wilderness lost its heavenly blessings: the manna, the well which followed them in their wanderings, the pillars of cloud and fire, the knowledge of the Ineffable Name, and the presence of the Shekinah. With the exile of the ten tribes real joy passed out of existence. Upon the destruction of Jerusalem the Davidic dynasty, the dignity of the high priest, the Holy Spirit, the Jewish courts of justice (Synhedrion), the temple, and the abundance of the water of Gihon passed away. This stream used to water Palestine, but Hezekiah stopped up its springs, so that the heathens should not in their envy take possession of Jerusalem, and expel Israel therefrom. Comp. the passages cited by Horowitz in *Kebod Huppah*, and parallels cited by Schechter on MHG, I, *loc. cit.* See further MHG I, 103 (top; this passage, which is closely related to the sources cited in note 90 concerning the ten curses of Adam, states that Adam became a “fugitive and a wanderer” after the fall), and Index, under the twenty-four objects given above. On the fertility of the soil in Messianic times, comp. note 30 on vol. I, p. 112, and Yerushalmi Kil'ayim 4, 35c. On the beauty of man in Messianic times,

ADAM'S REPENTANCE

Cast out of Paradise, Adam and Eve built a hut for themselves, and for seven days they sat in it in great distress, mourning and lamenting. At the end of the seven days, tormented {87} by hunger, they came forth and sought food. For seven other days, Adam journeyed up and down in the land, looking for such dainties as he had enjoyed in Paradise. In vain; he found nothing. Then Eve spoke to her husband: "My lord, if it please thee, slay me. Mayhap God will then take thee back into Paradise, for the Lord God became wroth with thee only on account of me." But Adam rejected her plan with abhorrence, and both went forth again on the search for food. Nine days passed, and still they found naught resembling what they had had in Paradise. They saw only food fit for cattle and beasts. Then Adam proposed: "Let us do penance, mayhap the Lord God will forgive us and have pity on us, and give us something to sustain our life." Knowing that Eve was not vigorous enough to undergo the mortification of the flesh which he purposed to inflict upon himself, he prescribed a penance for her different from his own. He said to her: "Arise, and go to the Tigris, take a stone and stand upon it in the deepest part of the river, where the water will reach as high as thy neck. And let no speech issue forth from thy mouth, for we are unworthy to supplicate God, our lips are unclean by reason of the forbidden fruit of the tree. Remain in the water for thirty-seven days."

comp. Zohar I, 113b.

For himself Adam ordained forty days of fasting, while he stood in the river Jordan in the same way as Eve was to take up her stand in the waters of the Tigris. After he had adjusted the stone in the middle of the Jordan, and mounted it, with the waters surging up to his neck, he said: "I adjure thee, O thou water of the Jordan! Afflict thyself with me, and gather unto me all swimming creatures that {88} live in thee. Let them surround me and sorrow with me, and let them not beat their own breasts with grief, but let them beat me. Not they have sinned, only I alone!" Very soon they all came, the dwellers in the Jordan, and they encompassed him, and from that moment the water of the Jordan stood still and ceased from flowing.

The penance which Adam and Eve laid upon themselves awakened misgivings in Satan. He feared God might forgive their sin, and therefore essayed to hinder Eve in her purpose. After a lapse of eighteen days he appeared unto her in the guise of an angel. As though in distress on account of her, he began to cry, saying: "Step up out of the river, and weep no longer. The Lord God hath heard your mourning, and your penitence hath been accepted by Him. All the angels supplicated the Lord in your behalf, and He hath sent me to fetch you out of the water and give you the sustenance that you enjoyed in Paradise, and for which you have been mourning." Enfeebled as she was by her penances and mortifications, Eve yielded to the solicitations of Satan, and he led her to where her husband was. Adam recognized him at once, and amid tears he cried out: "O Eve, Eve, where now is thy penitence? How couldst thou let our adversary seduce thee again — him who robbed us of our sojourn in Paradise and all spiritual joy?" Thereupon Eve, too, began to weep and cry out:

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“Woe unto thee, O Satan! Why strivest thou against us without any reason? What have we done unto thee that thou shouldst pursue us so craftily?” With a deep-fetched sigh, Satan told them how that Adam, of whom he had been jealous, had been the real reason of his fall. Having lost his glory through him, he had intrigued to have him driven from Paradise. {89}

When Adam heard the confession of Satan, he prayed to God: “O Lord my God! In Thy hands is my life. Remove from me this adversary, who seeks to deliver my soul to destruction, and grant me the glory he has forfeited.” Satan disappeared forthwith, but Adam continued his penance, standing in the waters of the Jordan for forty days.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶. Vita Adae 1–17. The Slavonic version of this pseudepigraph offers essential variants, but they are very likely of Christian origin, and the same remark applies to the Armenian additions to the Vita in Preuschen, *Adamschriften*, 30 and 41. The description of Adam’s repentance in Vita is also found in rabbinic sources (PRE 20). On the first Sunday after his expulsion from paradise, it is said in this Midrash (Zohar I, 55b, is based on PRE, and is not an independent source), Adam betook himself to the waters of the upper Gihon (a play on the words of the root גָּחַן “he bent down”, i. e., repented, and נָחִין “the creeper” = “the serpent”, comp. BR 16. 4), where he stayed, without food, up to his neck in the water, for seven weeks continually, until his body became perforated like a sponge. He then prayed to God, saying: “Pardon my sins and accept my repentance, so that all future generations may know that repentance is efficacious, and that Thou forgivest those who return to Thee.” Whereupon God stretched out His right hand, forgave Adam’s sins, and accepted his repentance. On the relation of PRE to the Vita, comp. Israel

While Adam stood in the river, he noticed that the days were

Lévi, *R.E.J.*, XVIII, 86, *seq.*, and his treatise *Le Péché Original*, 24, *seq.*; Epstein in *Magazin*, XX, 252–253; Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 61, *seq.* All these writers are of the opinion that PRE goes back to the Vita, and this latter work they consider as Christian. Comp., on the other hand, Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Antiqui.* 51, *seq.*, and *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s. v.). “Adam, Book of”, as well as Charles, *Pseudepigraphs*, 123, *seq.*, with reference to the Jewish character of the Vita and the independence of PRE from Christian sources. The following remarks may be made here. Vita reads (6) that Adam commanded Eve to stand up to her neck in water (*usque ad callum*), corresponding to עַד צוֹאֲרוֹ (PRE, *loc. cit.*). This shows that both sources go back to the old Halakah (comp. Yoma 87a), according to which a ritual bath can only purify when it reaches one’s neck; but this does not prove the dependence of PRE on Vita, as is asserted by Epstein, *loc. cit.* Vita (10) remarks that Eve’s body became like grass, because of her long stay in the water. This becomes intelligible only when we compare it with the Hebrew of PRE which reads: עַד שְׁנַעֲשָׂה נֹפֹו כְּמִין יְרוֹקְנָה (the Epstein manuscript and Makiri on Ps. 32, 206, have the correct text, whereas כְּבֵרָה is the result of a learned “emendation”, based on Ta’anit 22b; Yalkut I, 34, reads כְּלָבוּ), which is meaningless, and is certainly a corruption of כְּלָהוּ = גּוֹמֵר, the passage in the Yalkut is shortened from PRE), 13. e., his body became like a sponge (on יְרוֹקָה comp. Löw, *Pflanzennamen*; Ginzberg, *Geonica*, II, 321). The translator of the Vita from the Hebrew did not understand this rare word, and thought that it meant a “herb” (like יֶרֶק). Adam’s repentance is alluded to in a statement by R. Meir (about 150 C. E.), who remarks that Adam was very pious (חָסִיד has often the meaning of ascetic), and when he saw that death was decreed against him and the human race, he separated himself from his wife for one hundred and thirty years, during which time he was covered with leaves of a fig-tree (they sting the body; comp. Irenaeus III, 23. 5, and note 70). See ‘Erubin 18b; BR 20. 11 and

growing shorter, and he feared the world might be darkened on account of his sin, and go under soon. To avert the doom, he spent eight days in prayer and fasting. But after the winter solstice, when he saw that the days grew longer again, he spent eight days in rejoicing, and in the following year he celebrated both periods, the one before and the one after the solstice. This is why the heathen celebrate the calends and the saturnalia in honor of their gods, though Adam had consecrated those days to the honor of God.¹⁰⁷

24. 6; Tan. B. I, 20; BaR14. 12. According to another legend, if Adam had repented immediately after his fall, he would have been spared the punishment (comp. note 78). But he resolved to repent after he had learned that God forgave Cain's sin through repentance. Comp. BR 32 (end), and the passages cited in note 28 on vol. I, p. 112. Only Mishle 9, 64, speaks of Eve's repentance. The very old legend (comp. note 265 on vol. I, p. 289) that Adam and Eve shared the same sepulchre with the three patriarchs presupposes the idea that they had repented of their sins and died as "saints", otherwise it would have been against the Jewish sentiment to have the "pious" patriarchs buried together with the sinners; comp. Mishnah Sanhedrin 6. 6; Tosefta 9. 9; Tehillim 26, 219 (Abrabanel, *Ma'ylene ha-Yeshuah*, 6. 1, cites this passage of Midrash Tehillim from the Tosefta, which is due to the inaccurate quotation in Yalkut II, 704:); Sanhedrin 47a. On a combination of 'Erubin, *loc. cit.*, with PRE, *loc. cit.*, are based the statements concerning Adam's repentance in Hasidim 23 and Zohar Hadash Ruth 97ב (ר' נחמיה פתח). Comp. further *Ha-Kaneh*, 103d. On Adam's repentance in Arabic literature, comp. Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 511, and *Neue Beiträge*, 65. See also note 138.

¹⁰⁷. 'Abodah Zarah 8a, where, though it is not explicitly stated, it is to be

The first time Adam witnessed the sinking of the sun he was also seized with anxious fears. It happened at the conclusion of the Sabbath, and Adam said, “Woe is me! For my sake, because I sinned, the world is darkened, and it will again become void and without form. Thus will be executed the punishment of death which God has pronounced against me!” All the night he spent in tears, and Eve, too, wept as she sat opposite to him. When day began to dawn, he understood that what he had deplored was but the course of nature, and he brought an offering unto God, a unicorn whose horn was created before his hoofs,¹⁰⁸ and he

understood that Adam noticed the increasing night during the time of his repentance; comp. Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 51–62. Concerning Adam’s fear of darkness see further vol. I, p. 86, and the following note. In Yerushalmi 1, 39c, the term *Calandae* (accusative *Calendas*) is explained as καλὸν “beautiful” and *dies*, “day” (comp. *Eshkol* III, 116, and R. Hananel on Babli *loc. cit.*), and it is remarked that when Adam observed the increasing day, he exclaimed: “Beautiful day”, for his fear of darkness vanished on this account. In the same passage a Hebrew etymology is given of *Saturnalia*, which is said to mean “hatred and revenge”, namely, of Esau (= Rome) against Israel. It may be worth while to cite the statement of Yerushalmi that when Adam saw the increasing darkness, he became possessed of fear that the serpent might attack him.

¹⁰⁸. ‘Abodah Zarah 8a; ARN 1, 7. A similar statement is found in some of the versions of the Adam Book (comp. Preuschen, *Adamschriften*, 30, 541). On this legend and the others related to it, in which the mythological conception of the serpent (comp. the preceding note and vol. 1, p. 86) which swallowed the sun is easily recognisable, comp. Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 130–143.—The wonderful one-horned ox, which Adam offered as a sacrifice is frequently alluded to. In addition to the passages cited, comp. Shabbat 28b and Yerushalmi 2, 4d; PR 33,

sacrificed it on the spot on which later the altar was to stand in Jerusalem.¹⁰⁹ {90}

154a; Koheleth 1. 9; Tehillim 39, 256. It has absolutely nothing to do with the fabulous ox of the Persians (gajomarth) with which it is identified by Kohut, Z.D.M.G. XXV, 78. Comp. also note 146 on vol. I, p. 31; ARN, *loc. cit.*, reads further: The ox which Adam offered, the bullock which Noah offered (upon leaving the ark), and the ram which Abraham sacrificed (instead of Isaac) got their horns prior to their hoofs. The idea implied is that these animals belong to primordial creations, that they came to the world completely developed (comp. note 21), so that when these animals came forth from the earth, they put out their heads first, with their horns on them.

¹⁰⁹. BR 24. 9; PRE 23 and 31; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 8. 20. Adam's house of prayer, alluded to in the Apocalypse of Moses 5 and Vita Adae 30, is perhaps nothing more than the Christian substitute for the altar at Jerusalem given in the Jewish original of these writings. That Adam erected an altar on mount Moriah cannot be considered strange, since not only was the dust, used for the formation of his body, taken from the same place (comp. note 16), but it was also this mountain on which he landed after the expulsion from paradise, because the gate of Moriah is found in the proximity of paradise. Comp. PRE 20; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 3. 23. It is hard to tell whether the midrashic view of Gen, *loc. cit.*, according to which Adam settled in the east of paradise, after his expulsion (comp. Septuagint, *ad loc.*; BR 22, 9; Tan. B. V, 16; Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 55), is connected with Adam's stay in Jerusalem or not. Comp. Luria on PRE. The statement in 2 Enoch 68. 5 that, after Enoch's translation, his sons erected an altar in the place called Ahuzan, is also related to the account of Adam's stay in Jerusalem, where he erected an altar. That this Ahuzan (*i. e.* אַחֻזָּה; comp. the description of Jerusalem as אַחֻזָּה in Ezek. 48. 20, *seq.*) is no other place

THE BOOK OF RAZIEL

After Adam's expulsion from Paradise, he prayed to God in these words: "O God, Lord of the world! Thou didst create the whole world unto the honor and glory of the Mighty One, and Thou didst as was pleasing unto Thee. Thy kingdom is unto all eternity, and Thy reign unto all generations. Naught is hidden from Thee, and naught is concealed from Thine eyes. Thou didst create me as Thy handiwork, and didst make me the ruler over Thy creatures, that I might be the chief of Thy works. But the cunning, accursed serpent seduced me with the tree of desire and lusts, yea, he seduced the wife of my bosom. But Thou didst not make known unto me what shall befall my children and the generations after me. I know well that no human being can be righteous in Thine eyes, and what is my strength that I should step before Thee with an impudent face? I have no mouth

than Jerusalem may be seen from the Melchizedek fragments 3. 35, where Melchizedek declares that he, "king and priest shall be in the place Ahuzan, that is to say, in the middle of the earth where Adam was created". Jerusalem is the centre of the earth (vol. I, p. 12), and Melchizedek was both king and priest of Jerusalem (vol. I, p. 233). On the connection of the Golgotha legend with this cycle of legends, comp. note 137. On the idea that paradise is in the proximity of Jerusalem, comp. also the Armenian version of *Vita Adae* in Preuschen, *Adamschriften*, 27, where Jerusalem is designated as the city of the fallen angels. This is not due, as Preuschen believes, to an anti-Jewish tendency, but because the holy city is both the gate of paradise, as well as of Gehenna (see note 55 on vol. I, p. 15, and Index, s. v. "Gehenna"), where the fallen undergo their punishment.

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wherewith to speak and no eye wherewith to see, for I did sin and commit a trespass, and, by reason of my sins, I was driven forth from Paradise. I must plough the earth whence I was taken, and the other inhabitants of the earth, the beasts, no longer, as once, stand in awe and fear of me. From the time I ate of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, wisdom departed from me, and I am a fool that knoweth naught, an ignorant man that understandeth not. Now, O merciful and gracious God, I pray to Thee to turn again Thy compassion to the head of Thy works, to the spirit which Thou didst instil into him, and the soul Thou didst breathe into him. Meet me with Thy grace, for Thou art gracious, slow to anger, and full of love. O that my prayer would reach unto the throne of {91} Thy glory, and my supplication unto the throne of Thy mercy, and Thou wouldst incline to me with lovingkindness. May the words of my mouth be acceptable, that Thou turn not away from my petition. Thou wert from everlasting, and Thou wilt be unto everlasting; Thou wert king, and Thou wilt ever be king. Now, have Thou mercy upon the work of Thy hands. Grant me knowledge and understanding, that I may know what shall befall me, and my posterity, and all the generations that come after me, and what shall befall me on every day and in every month, and mayest Thou not withhold from me the help of Thy servants and of Thy angels.”

On the third day after he had offered up this prayer, while he was sitting on the banks of the river that flows forth out of Paradise, there appeared to him, in the heat of the day, the angel Raziel, bearing a book in his hand. The angel addressed Adam thus: “O Adam, why art thou so fainthearted? Why art thou

distressed and anxious? Thy words were heard at the moment when thou didst utter thy supplication and entreaties, and I have received the charge to teach thee pure words and deep understanding, to make thee wise through the contents of the sacred book in my hand, to know what will happen to thee until the day of thy death. And all thy descendants and all the later generations, if they will but read this book in purity, with a devout heart and an humble mind, and obey its precepts, will become like unto thee. They, too, will foreknow what things shall happen, and in what month and on what day or in what night. All will be manifest to them—they will know and understand whether a calamity will come, a famine or wild {92} beasts, floods or drought; whether there will be abundance of grain or dearth; whether the wicked will rule the world; whether locusts will devastate the land; whether the fruits will drop from the trees unripe; whether boils will afflict men; whether wars will prevail, or diseases or plagues among men and cattle; whether good is resolved upon in heaven, or evil; whether blood will flow, and the death-rattle of the slain be heard in the city. And now, Adam, come and give heed unto what I shall tell thee regarding the manner of this book and its holiness.”

Raziel, the angel, then read from the book, and when Adam heard the words of the holy volume as they issued from the mouth of the angel, he fell down affrighted. But the angel encouraged him. “Arise, Adam,” he said, “be of good courage, be not afraid, take the book from me and keep it, for thou wilt draw knowledge from it thyself and become wise, and thou wilt also teach its contents to all those who shall be found worthy of knowing what it

contains.”

In the moment when Adam took the book, a flame of fire shot up from near the river, and the angel rose heavenward with it. Then Adam knew that he who had spoken to him was an angel of God, and it was from the Holy King Himself that the book had come, and he used it in holiness and purity. It is the book out of which all things worth knowing can be learnt, and all mysteries, and it teaches also how to call upon the angels and make them appear before men, and answer all their questions. But not all alike can use the book, only he who is wise and God-fearing, and resorts to it in holiness. Such an one is secure against all wicked counsels, his life is serene, and when death takes him from {93} this world, he finds repose in a place where there are neither demons nor evil spirits, and out of the hands of the wicked he is quickly rescued.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰. Sefer Raziel (beginning). This book which came down to us in its present form from the thirteenth century, and is probably the work of R. Eleazar of Worms, contains, in its many parts, old geonic mysticism. Another version of the legend how the Book of Raziel was given to Adam is found in Zohar I, 55b. According to this version, God caused a book to come to Adam through the angel Raziel (Raz, “secret”; El, “God”), while he was still in paradise, by means of which he was able to master all the seventy-two kinds of wisdom, as well as the heavenly mysteries which were unknown even to the angels. The angel Hadarniel, accordingly, remarked to Adam: “Thou art in possession of thy Master’s treasures, with whose contents not even the dwellers of heaven are acquainted.” After the fall (this is the only passage in rabbinic literature which speaks

THE SICKNESS OF ADAM

of Adam's stay in paradise for a longer time; comp. note 97), this book disappeared from Adam's presence, and he received it back from Raphael's hands only after he had repented (comp. note 106; read עבדין גופיה חולדין, according to Yerushalmi Shebi'it 9, 39d; BR 79. 6; Koheleth 10. 8; PK 10, 88b; Tehillim 18, 134; Esther R 1. 9). When Adam died the book came into the possession of Seth, and afterwards it was handed over to Noah and Abraham. Comp. also Zohar I, 37b, and 118a. On the different versions of the legend concerning the mysterious book of Adam, comp. vol. I, pp. 154–157, and the notes appertaining to them. It is noteworthy that the older rabbinic literature knows nothing of such a book belonging to Adam or composed by him. The statement in Baba Mezi'a 85b (below; comp. the sources cited in note 27) concerning the book which God had shown to Adam implies only that God revealed to Adam all the future generations of mankind and has no reference to a book composed by him or given to him. It is interesting to note that R. Hai Gaon (about 1000) never heard of any Adam book; comp. his remarks on Baba Mezi'a, *loc. cit.*, in Responsa of the Geonim (Harkavy's edition, 103), Müller, *Responsen Lehrer des Ostens*, No. 31, and Horowitz, *Toratan Shel Rishonim* II, Nos. 1 and 3 (this passage has מוזיא instead of the incorrect מהויא). 2 Enoch 33. 9–10 mentions, together with the Enoch writings, also those of Adam, Seth, Kainan, Mahalalel, and Jared, which writings God gave to two angels to take care of.—On the statement of Sefer Raziel that the fear with which Adam had inspired the animals disappeared after his fall, see note 113. Concerning the assertion made in the same source that wisdom abandoned Adam as a consequence of his having eaten the forbidden fruit, comp. PRK (Schönblum's edition, 43b), where among the blessings Adam forfeited as a result of his sin (comp. note 105), wisdom and knowledge (דעה וחכמה) are enumerated. The forbidden fruit gave him human knowledge and discernment, but he lost true knowledge and God-like wisdom through it.

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When Adam had lived to be nine hundred and thirty years old, a sickness seized him, and he felt that his days were drawing to an end. He summoned all his descendants, and assembled them before the door of the house of worship in which he had always offered his prayers to God, to give them his last blessing. His family were astonished to find him stretched out on the bed of sickness, for they did not know what pain and suffering were.¹¹¹ They thought he was overcome with longing after the fruits of Paradise, and for lack of them was depressed. Seth announced his willingness to go to the gates of Paradise and beg God to let one of His angels give him of its fruits. But Adam explained to them what sickness and pain are, and that God had inflicted them upon him as a punishment for his sin.¹¹² Adam suffered violently; tears and groans were wrung from him. Eve sobbed, and said, "Adam, my lord, give me the half of thy sickness, I will gladly bear it. Is it not on account of me that this hath come upon thee? On account of me thou undergoest pain and anguish."

¹¹¹. Vita Adae 30; Apocalypse of Moses 5–6. Here it is presupposed that in Adam's time illness came only as the immediate forerunner of death. Comp. on. this point vol. II, p. 131, and vol. IV, pp. 274–275. In connection with the antediluvian generations, BR 26. 5 observes that they spent their lives without suffering any pain or disease. On Adam's place of prayer see note 109.

¹¹². Vita Adae 31; Apocalypse of Moses 6. In rabbinic sources illness is not regarded as the direct consequence of the fall, very likely because it is considered as the beginning of death; comp. the preceding note. On the number of diseases comp. note 129.

Adam bade Eve go with Seth to the gates of Paradise and entreat God to have mercy upon him, and send His angel to catch up some of the oil of life flowing from the tree of His mercy and give it to his messengers. The ointment would bring him rest, and banish the pain consuming him. On his way to Paradise, Seth was attacked by a wild beast. {94} Eve called out to the assailant, "How durst thou lay hand on the image of God?" The ready answer came: "It is thine own fault. Hadst thou not opened thy mouth to eat of the forbidden fruit, my mouth would not be opened now to destroy a human being." But Seth remonstrated: "Hold thy tongue! Desist from the image of God until the day of judgment." And the beast gave way, saying, "See, I refrain myself from the image of God," and it slunk away to its covert.¹¹³

¹¹³ Apocalypse of Moses 9–12; Vita Adae 24–39. The tree of life is identified in these, as well as in other Jewish and Christian writings, and also among the Gnostics, with the olive-tree; comp. 2 Enoch 8. 7 and 22. 8, as well as 66. 2; 5 Ezra 2. 12; *Evang. Nicod.* 18; *Descent of Christ* 3; *Recognitiones*, 1. 45; Hippolytus 5. 2; Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 6. 27, where the words of Celsus certainly go back to Ophitic writings. As has already been observed in note 70, no definite determination of the tree of life can be found in rabbinic literature, nor does it know of the life-giving oil. The resurrection of the dead, according to the statements found in this literature, will be brought about through the "dew of light" (Is. 26. 19); comp. Hagigah 12b; PRE 35 Yerushalmi Berakot 1, 9b; Apocalypse of Baruch 29. 7 and 73. 2. Comp. further note 12 on vol. IV, p. 197; vol. IV, pp. 333 and 360. In 2 Enoch 25 the view of the Rabbis is cominded with that of the Apocalyptic writers about the life-giving oil; hence the following description of this oil: "The appearance of that oil was more than a great light, and its anointing was excellent dew." On the "dew of

Arrived at the gates of Paradise, Eve and Seth began to cry

light" among the Gnostics, comp. Preuschen, *Adamschriften*, 63. On the tree of life comp. also Enoch 24. 4, where it is identified with the palm. Comp. also BR 69. 8 and PRE 35, concerning the oil which came down from heaven for Jacob's sake, with which he anointed the site of Luz, whose inhabitants live forever; comp. vol. IV, p. 30.—In the legend concerning the meeting of Seth with the wild beasts the idea implied is that Adam lost his power over animals through his sin; hence the pious need not fear them. Moreover, in Messianic times (comp. note 105) the old relations between men and animals will be restored. Reference may be made here to the numerous parallels to these views from rabbinic sources: Sifre N., 1 (end) and Sifre D., 50; Sifra 26.6: Tosefta Shabbat (end); Babli 151a; Yerushalmi 14, 14b and 14c; Tosefta Berakot 3. 20; Yerushalmi 5, 9a; Babli 33a; PK 5, 44b; PR 15, 68b; Shemuel 18, 97; Midrash Shir 29a; Koheleth 5. 10; Aggadat Bereshit 15, 32; DR 4. 4; 2 ARN 45, 117; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 3. 15. Comp. further vol. I, p. 71 (end of section); vol. I, pp. 90, 98 (top); vol. II, pp. 204, 221; note 104 on vol. IV, p. 334. Philo, *De M. Opif.*, 28, observes, with respect to the conditions before the fall: And all those who were very wild by nature became meek and submissive... for everything that is mortal He subjected to him. Philo thus agrees with the Rabbis who do not consider the wildness of animals as the consequence of the fall of man (as do the pseudepigraphic writings referred to at the beginning of this note), but is due to the fact that they cease to be submissive to man. BR 34. 12 reads: The animals' fear and terror of man came back after the flood, but not man's dominion over them. The latter came back in the time of Solomon. While the old rabbinic literature (in agreement with Sibylline Oracles 3, 788, *seq.*) maintains that the wildness of the animals will disappear in Messianic times (basing the view on Lev. 26, 6), the medieval philosophers do not support this view. Comp. Ginzberg,

bitterly, and they besought God with many lamentations to give them oil from the tree of His mercy. For hours they prayed thus. At last the archangel Michael appeared, and informed them that he came as the messenger of God to tell them that their petition could not be granted. Adam would die in a few days, and as he was subject to death, so would be all his descendants. Only at the time of the resurrection, and then only to the pious, the oil of life would be dispensed, together with all the bliss and all the delights of Paradise.¹¹⁴ Returned to Adam, they reported what had happened, and he said to Eve: "What misfortune didst thou bring upon us when thou didst arouse great wrath! See, death is the portion of all our race! Call hither our children and our children's children, and tell them the manner of our sinning." And while Adam lay prostrate upon the bed of pain, Eve told them the story of their fall.¹¹⁵

Compte Rendu 34=R.E.J., 68, 148. The instinctive shyness of certain animals in the presence of a living man (but not of a dead one; comp. BR, *loc. cit.*, and parallel passages) is ascribed to the fact that man has his star (*i. e.*, guardian angel; comp. notes 20 and 101); see Baba Kamma 2b, 41a, and Meir's remarks in *Shita Mekubbezet* on the first passage. The view that even wild animals fear and obey the saints, etc., occurs quite frequently in Jewish as well as in Christian legends; comp. Günter, *Christliche Legende*, index, s. v. "Tiere". Comp. Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 80–81.

¹¹⁴ Apocalypse of Moses 13; Vita Adae 40–42. On the distribution of the food of the tree of life in the world to come, comp. the sources cited in note 96. See further Enoch 25. 4–5; 12 Testaments, Levi 18. 11; Lekah, Gen. 2. 9.

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EVE'S STORY OF THE FALL

After I was created, God divided Paradise and all the animals therein between Adam and me. The east and {95} the north were assigned to Adam, together with the male animals. I was mistress of the west and the south and all the female animals. Satan, smarting under the disgrace of having been dismissed from the heavenly host,¹¹⁵ resolved to bring about our ruin and avenge

¹¹⁵. Apocalypse of Moses 14; Vita Adae 44. On the number and names of the sons and daughters of Adam, comp. ps.-Philo (beginning); Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 2. 3.

¹¹⁶. Apocalypse of Moses 15–30. Vita Adae, which is closely related to this source, does not contain any details on the fall of Adam, while, on the other hand, the former, but not the latter, has a description of the fall of Satan; comp. note 35. It may be remarked here that PRE 14, which some scholars consider dependent on Vita (comp. note 106), puts the fall of Satan after the fall of Adam, or more accurately, makes the former a consequence of the latter; but in Vita, on the other hand, the relation is reversed. The fact that in PRE Sammael appears as the seducer instead of Satan is, of course, no variant, since in rabbinic literature these two were regarded as identical in quite early times. The etymology of Sammael as the “blind one” (סומא), who does not see the pious, is found in the *Acts of Andrew and Matthias* (towards the end), as well as in kabbalistic sources. Comp. *‘Erke ha-Kinuyim*, s. v.). סומא, where = ס"א, סיטרא אחרא i. e., Sammael. In Enoch 69. 6 it is the fallen angel Gadriel “who showed the children of men all the blows of death, and who led Eve astray, and showed all the weapons of death to the children of men.” Gadriel very likely stands for Katriel, and is connected with Aramaic קטר “he intrigued”, “revolted.”

himself upon the cause of his discomfiture. He won the serpent over to his side, and pointed out to him that before the creation of Adam the animals could enjoy all that grew in Paradise, and now they were restricted to the weeds. To drive Adam from Paradise would therefore be for the good of all. The serpent demurred, for he stood in awe of the wrath of God. But Satan calmed his fears, and said, "Do thou but become my vessel,"¹¹⁷ and I shall speak a word through thy mouth wherewith thou wilt succeed in seducing man."

The serpent thereupon suspended himself from the wall surrounding Paradise, to carry on his conversation with me from without. And this happened at the very moment when my two guardian angels had betaken themselves to heaven to supplicate the Lord. I was quite alone therefore, and when Satan assumed the appearance of an angel, bent over the wall of Paradise, and intoned seraphic songs of praise, I was deceived, and thought him an angel. A conversation was held between us, Satan speaking through the mouth of the serpent:

¹¹⁷. Apocalypse of Moses 16. "Became a vessel" is a Hebraism = כלי לדהרות ; comp. Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, 26; Ginzberg, *Unbekannte Sekte*, 39. The view prevalent in this source that Satan was the real seducer, but employed the cunning serpent as his servant, represents the transition from the older literal conception of the biblical report concerning the fall (comp. note 50) to the allegorical interpretation which identifies the serpent with Satan; comp., e. g., Revelation 12. 9; note 83, and index, 3. v. "Serpent", and "Dragon". Origen, *De Princ.*, 3. 21, and PRE 13 practically agree with the harmonizing view of the Apocalypse of Moses. Comp. note 119.

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“Art thou Eve?”

“Yes, it is I.”

“What art thou doing in Paradise?”

“The Lord has put us here to cultivate it and eat of its fruits.”

“That is good. Yet you eat not of all the trees.” {96}

“That we do, excepting a single one, the tree that stands in the midst of Paradise. Concerning it alone, God has forbidden us to eat of it, else, the Lord said, ye will die.”

The serpent made every effort to persuade me that I had naught to fear—that God knew that in the day that Adam and I ate of the fruit of the tree, we should be as He Himself. It was jealousy that had made Him say,¹¹⁸ “Ye shall not eat of it.” In spite of all his urging, I remained steadfast and refused to touch the tree. Then the serpent engaged to pluck the fruit for me. Thereupon I opened the gate of Paradise, and he slipped in. Scarcely was he within, when he said to me, “I repent of my words, I would rather not give thee of the fruit of the forbidden tree.” It was but a cunning device to tempt me more. He consented to give me of the fruit only after I swore to make my husband eat of it, too. This is the oath he made me take: “By the throne of God, by the cherubim, and by the tree of life, I shall give

¹¹⁸. Apocalypse of Moses 17–18. The transformation of Satan into an angel is alluded to in 2 Cor. 11. 4. On the serpent’s slanderous accusations against God, comp. the rabbinic parallels in vol. I, pp. 72–73, and notes appertaining thereto.

my husband of this fruit, that he may eat, too.” Thereupon the serpent ascended the tree and injected his poison, the poison of the evil inclination, into the fruit,¹¹⁹ and bent the branch on which it grew to the ground. I took hold of it, but I knew at once that I was stripped of the righteousness in which I had been clothed.¹²⁰ I began to weep, because of it and because of the oath the serpent had forced from me.

The serpent disappeared from the tree, while I sought leaves wherewith to cover my nakedness, but all the trees within my reach had cast off their leaves at the moment when I ate of the forbidden fruit.¹²¹ There was only one that retained its leaves, the

¹¹⁹. Apocalypse of Moses 19. The three sacred objects by which she swears certainly belong to the pre-existing things, and when we consider the fact that the tree of life is the same as paradise (comp., e. g., PRK, 43b, where only paradise is mentioned, while MHG I, 126, reads paradise and the tree of life), the view of this writing concerning pre-existing things agrees with that of the Rabbis. Comp. Excursus I. That the serpent climbed up the tree of knowledge, and plucked the fruit for Eve is also found in ARN 1 (both versions). Comp. note 63 and ps.-Tertullian, *Adversus Omnes Haereses*, 2. On the view that the serpent injected the evil inclination (= sexual desire) into Eve, see note 131 and notes 3–4 on vol. I, pp. 105–106.

¹²⁰. Apocalypse of Moses 20. The haggadic interpretation of ערומים (Gen. 3. 7 and 10) is: “And they became aware that they were bare of good deeds.” This Hebrew idiom occurs frequently in the Talmud; comp., c. g., Shabbat 14a; Megillah 323. (end). Comp. BR 19. 6; PRE 14; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 3. 10 (a different interpretation of ערום, 3. 7); MHG I, 93. Preuschen, *Adamschriften*, 54, note 1, is to be corrected accordingly.

¹²¹. Apocalypse of Moses 21. On the withering of the leaves of all trees,

fig-tree, the very tree the fruit of which {97} had been forbidden to me.¹²² I summoned Adam, and by means of blasphemous words I prevailed upon him to eat of the fruit. As soon as it had passed his lips, he knew his true condition, and he exclaimed against me: "Thou wicked woman, what hast thou brought down upon me? Thou hast removed me from the glory of God."

At the same time Adam and I heard the archangel Michael¹²³ blow his trumpet, and all the angels cried out: "Thus saith the Lord, Come ye with Me to Paradise and hearken unto the sentence which I will pronounce upon Adam."¹²⁴

We hid ourselves because we feared the judgment of God. Sitting in his chariot drawn by cherubim, the Lord, accompanied by angels uttering His praise, appeared in Paradise. At His coming the bare trees again put forth leaves.¹²⁵ His throne was

see note 125 and vol. III, p. 163; note 50 on vol. II, p. 236. See further the remarks in note 82 concerning the eclipse of the sun at the time of the fall. BR 15. 7 states that the trees refused to give their leaves to the transgressors. Comp. vol. I, p. 75.

^{122.} On the identification of the forbidden fruit with the fig. comp. note 70.

^{123.} Concerning this function of Michael, comp. note 246 on vol. I, p. 283.

^{124.} The rabbinic sources (BR 20. 4; BaR 14. 12; Tadshe 10; comp. also the quotation from Yerushalmi in *Imre No'am*, end of Mishpatim) speak of the heavenly court Consisting of seventy-one members (this number corresponds to that of the Great Synhedrion; comp. Sanhedrin 1. 6) which God appointed to judge the serpent. Comp. also note 84.

erected by the tree of life, and God addressed Adam: “Adam, where dost thou keep thyself in hiding? Thinkest thou I cannot find thee? Can a house conceal itself from its architect?”¹²⁶

Adam tried to put the blame on me, who had promised to hold him harmless before God. And I in turn accused the serpent. But God dealt out justice to all three of us. To Adam He said: “Because thou didst not obey My commands, but didst hearken unto the voice of thy wife, cursed is the ground in spite of thy work. When thou dost cultivate it, it will not yield thee its strength. Thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to thee, and in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread. Thou wilt suffer many a hardship, thou wilt grow weary, and yet find no rest. Bitterly oppressed, thou shalt never taste of any sweetness. Thou shalt be scourged {98} by heat, and yet pinched by cold. Thou shalt toil greatly, and yet not gain wealth. Thou shalt grow fat, and yet cease to live. And the animals over which thou art the master will rise up against thee, because thou didst not keep my command.”¹²⁷

^{125.} Comp. note 121, and further Yoma 39b, which reads: The trees of the temple withered when the heathen entered the sanctuary, but they will bloom again in Messianic times. Comp. also Apocalypse of Moses 38.

^{126.} Apocalypse of Moses 23. That God’s residence is under the tree of life is also stated in 2 Enoch 8. 3. In kabbalistic writings the same statement is made with regard to the Shekinah; comp. vol. I, p. 123. God’s speech to Adam is almost literally identical with the one found in rabbinic sources; comp. note 76.

^{127.} Apocalypse of Moses 24. This source appears to count the ten curses

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Upon me God pronounced this sentence: "Thou shalt suffer anguish in childbirth and grievous torture. In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children, and in the hour of travail, when thou art near to lose thy life, thou wilt confess and cry, 'Lord, Lord, save me this time, and I will never again indulge in carnal pleasure,' and yet thy desire shall ever and ever be unto thy husband."¹²⁸

At the same time all sorts of diseases were decreed upon us. God said to Adam: "Because thou didst turn aside from My covenant, I will inflict seventy plagues upon thy flesh. The pain of the first plague shall lay hold on thy eyes; the pain of the second plague upon thy hearing, and one after the other all the plagues shall come upon thee."¹²⁹ The serpent God addressed thus:

which God pronounced against Adam; comp. vol. I, p. 79, and the note appertaining to it. On the loss of the dominion over the animal world, comp. note 113.

¹²⁸. Apocalypse of Moses 25. On the text comp. Ginzberg's remarks in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* I, 70, where reference is made to the almost literal parallel passages in BR 20. 7 and Niddah 31b. The text of the Hebrew original very likely read: ובשעה שתכרע ללד תסכן נפשך מרוב צעד ויסורים ותשבע ותאמר לא אזקק עוד לאישי הצילני אך הפעם ואל אישך תשובי והוא ימשל בך. The expression זקק לאישה is a frequently used euphemism for conjugal relations, but the translator erroneously read לפשעי instead of לאישי. Comp. note 131 (end).

¹²⁹. Vita Adae 34; Apocalypse of Moses 8. The number of diseases which came upon man in consequence of the fall amounts to seventy or seventy-two (the rivalry of these two numbers is of frequent occurrence; comp. Index under these numbers); comp. Nega'im 1. 4; Sifra 13.4; ER 5. 25; midrashic citation by Ibn Sabba 53b on Gen. 43. 16. A sentence

“Because thou becamest the vessel of the Evil One,¹³⁰ deceiving the innocent, cursed art thou above all cattle and above every beast of the field. Thou shalt be robbed of the food thou wast wont to eat, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life. Upon thy breast and thy belly shalt thou go, and of thy hands and thy feet thou shalt be deprived. Thou shalt not remain in possession of thy ears, nor of thy wings, nor of any of thy limbs wherewith thou didst seduce the woman and her husband, bringing them to such a pass that they must be driven forth from Paradise. And I will put enmity between thee and the seed of man. It shall bruise thy head, and, thou shalt bruise his heel until the day of judgment.”¹³¹ {99}

employed in amulets reads: “And mayest Thou, O God, protect him against the seventy-two kinds of diseases, which afflict this world”; comp. Midrash Talpiyyot, s. v. חלאים. See also the seventy kinds of deaths in Testament of Abraham 20 (longer recension), and Ginzberg’s remarks on it in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, I, 95. Other views with regard to the number of diseases are found in Berakot 8a, according to which there are 903 kinds of deaths (*i. e.*, diseases which cause death), and in Baba Mezi’a 107b, where it is said that the bile, when it is in a diseased condition, may cause 83 kinds of death.

¹³⁰. Apocalypse of Moses 26. On the expression “vessel of...” comp. note 117. The designation of Satan as ἀχάριστος, literally “the ugly one”, corresponds with his nickname in rabbinic writings, in which he is known as מנוול, “the ugly one”; comp. e. g. Kiddushin 30b. It is hard to say whether we should take it in its literal meaning, in accordance with the legend which ascribes an ugly form to the angel of death (who is identical with Satan; comp. vol. I, p. 306), or in a figurative sense.

¹³¹. Apocalypse of Moses 26. A tenfold punishment of the serpent seems to be presupposed here. Comp. vol. I, pp. 77-78, where (see also the

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sources cited in note 83) the ten punishments are enumerated, in partial agreement with the account given in the Apocalypse. The first sentence “until the day of judgment” corresponds with the paraphrase of Gen. 3. 15 in Targum Yerushalmi. This Targum, as well as the Apocalypse, identifies the punishment decreed against the serpent with that against Satan; comp. notes 116 and 120. Besides the sources cited in these two notes, comp. further Enoch 69, 6 (where it is said that the fallen angel Gadriel seduced Eve, comp. note 119); 2 Enoch 21.4 (where Satanel, i. e. Satan, caused the fall), and similarly Wisdom 2.24 (where death is ascribed to the jealousy of the devil). The serpent is not mentioned in any of these three writings. The Apocalypse of Abraham 23 describes Azazel as being like a serpent in appearance, having hands and feet like a man, and twelve wings. Here the serpent is identified with Satan (in this pseudepigraph Azazel is employed instead of the latter), not in the allegorical sense, but it ascribes the form of the serpent to Satan. As far as this form is concerned, it is almost identical with that of the serpent in paradise as described in rabbinic sources; comp. vol. I, pp. 71-72. Concerning the wings see vol. I, p. 63, as well as Apocalypse of Moses, *loc. cit.*, which speaks of the wings of the serpent. The description of Satan in the Greek Baruch 4. 8 is closely related to the one in the Apocalypse of Abraham. We may thus trace the development of the conception of the “old serpent”: 1) The serpent resembled man both in mind and body, before the fall, and being jealous, it resorted to corruption (this is the view of the old rabbinic literature; comp. note 60). 2) The fall was brought about not by the serpent, but by Satan, who made use of the cunning serpent (Apocalypse of Moses; PRE). 3) Satan, who had the appearance of a serpent, was the cause of the fall (Apocalypse of Abraham and Greek Baruch). 4) Satan, or some other fallen angel, brought about the fall (Books of Enoch). 5) The view of the

On the last day of Adam's life, Eve said to him, "Why should I go on living, when thou art no more? How long shall I have to linger on after thy death? Tell me this!" Adam assured her she would not tarry long. They would die together, and be buried together in the same place. He commanded her not to touch his corpse until an angel from God had made provision regarding it, and she was to begin at once to pray to God until his soul escaped from his body.

While Eve was on her knees in prayer, an angel came,¹³² and

allegorists (Philo, Revelation, medieval Jewish philosophers), according to whom it was the sensual desire which seduced man. It may be noted further that the sentence *καὶ διὰ τοῦτο... λόγον σου* in the Apocalypse of Moses 25 is misplaced; it belongs to the end of 26, where God says to the serpent that He will put enmity between him and man, because "I will judge thee according to thy actions (*על דברתך*), a Hebraism, which the Greek translator incorrectly rendered by *λόγον σου*), on account of the enmity which the enemy (=Satan; comp. Sukkah 52a) had injected into thee. Satan sowed enmity in the heart of the serpent against man (comp. Apocalypse of Moses 16), and as a punishment for this, eternal enmity shall reign henceforth between thee and them (*i. e.*, Adam and Eve)". Comp. the similar idea in Tosefta Sotah 4. 18; BR 20. 5; Sotah 9b; ARN 1, 5.

^{132.} Apocalypse of Moses 31~32. This angel is described as "the angel of mankind", or "the angel of the Lord resembling man in appearance". The Hebrew very likely read: *מלאך אחד מן האישים* *i. e.* one of the order of the angels called *אישים* (= "men"). On this class of angels comp. Maimonides, *Yad ha-Hazakah*, *Yesode ha-Torah*, 2. 7, and Masseket Azilut (beginning); comp. also Mishle 8, 58. Adam's words ("pray to God..., we do not know when we shall appear before our Creator, whether He will pour out His wrath on us, or He will turn to us in mercy") remind one of

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bade her rise. "Eve, arise from thy penance," he commanded. "Behold, thy husband hath left his mortal coil. Arise, and see his spirit go up to his Creator, to appear before Him." And, lo, she beheld a chariot of light, drawn by four shining eagles, and preceded by angels. In this chariot lay the soul of Adam, which the angels were taking to heaven. Arrived there, they burnt incense until the clouds of smoke enveloped the heavens. Then they prayed to God to have mercy upon His image and the work of His holy hands. In her awe and fright, Eve summoned Seth, and she bade him look upon the vision and explain the celestial sights beyond her understanding. She asked, "Who may the two Ethiopians be, who are adding their prayers to thy father's?" Seth told her, they were the sun and the moon, turned so black because they could not shine in the face of the Father of light.¹³³ Scarcely had he spoken, when an angel blew a trumpet, and all the angels cried out with awful voices, "Blessed be the glory of the Lord by His creatures, for He has shown mercy unto Adam, the work of His hands!" A seraph then seized Adam, and {100} carried him off to the river Acheron, washed him three times, and brought him before the presence of God, who sat upon His throne, and, stretching out His hand, lifted Adam up and gave him over to the

the last words of Rabban Johanan b. Zaccai (Berakot 28b; ARN 25, 79).

¹³³ Apocalypse of Moses 33-36. On the eclipse of the heavenly bodies in God's proximity, comp. vol. I, p. 25, and note 105 appertaining to it. Different is the reading in Vita Adae 26, according to which the sun, moon, and stars did not shine for seven days as a sign of mourning for Adam's death. Comp. Sukkah 29a; note 89.

archangel Michael, with the words, “Raise him to the Paradise of the third heaven, and there thou shalt leave him until the great and fearful day ordained by Me.” Michael executed the Divine behest, and all the angels sang a song of praise, extolling God for the pardon He had accorded Adam.

Michael now entreated God to let him attend to the preparation of Adam’s body for the grave. Permission being given, Michael repaired to earth, accompanied by all the angels. When they entered the terrestrial Paradise, all the trees blossomed forth, and the perfume wafted thence lulled all men into slumber except Seth alone. Then God said to Adam, as his body lay on the ground: “If thou hadst kept My commandment, they would not rejoice who brought thee hither. But I tell thee, I will turn the joy of Satan and his consorts into sorrow, and thy sorrow shall be turned into joy. I will restore thee to thy dominion, and thou shalt sit upon the throne of thy seducer, while he shall be damned, with those who hearken unto him.”¹³⁴

¹³⁴ Apocalypse of Moses 37–39; Vita Adae 46–47. The bathing of the soul in the stream of fire is most likely of Greek origin (comp. Fuchs and Wells, *ad loc.*). But it is also found in the later midrashic literature and in the Kabbalah; comp. Elleh Ezkerah (end), where it is said that the souls bathe in the waters of the Shiloah, whereas according to the Kabbalists (Zohar III, 16b, below; Zohar Hadash, Balak, 66a, אַמֶּךְ הָאֵלֶּם ; ‘*Emek ha-Melek*, 117a), all souls must pass through the river of fire (comp. note 69 on vol. I, p. 17, and Index, s. v. “Dinur”); the pious are purified in this manner, while the wicked are judged there. Another view is given in Konen 29, which reads: The souls of the pious bathe, before entering paradise, in 248 rivers of balsam—a river for each member of the

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Thereupon, at the bidding of God, the three great archangels¹³⁵ covered the body of Adam with linen, and poured sweet-smelling oil upon it. With it they interred also the body of Abel, which had lain unburied since Cain had slain him, for all the murderer's efforts to hide it had been in vain. The corpse again and again sprang forth from the earth, and a voice issued thence, proclaiming, "No creature shall rest in the earth until the first one of all has returned the {101} dust to me of which it was formed."¹³⁶ The angels carried the two bodies to Paradise, Adam's and

human body.

¹³⁵ Apocalypse of Moses 40; comp. also 42. In *Vita Adae* 48 it is Michael and Uriel who inter Adam (Gabriel probably fell out). The older tradition knows of an hierarchy consisting of three angels (comp. note 13), and hence only three angels occupy themselves with the burial of Moses; comp. vol. III, p. 472. It may also be noted that according to Zohar III, 88a, three heavenly messengers are present at the death-bed of every man. But Zohar II, 256a, on the other hand, speaks of four. The various texts of the pseudepigraphic writings cited above also differ from one another respecting the numbers and the names of the angels who took charge of Adam's burial.

¹³⁶ Apocalypse of Moses 40 and *Vita Adae* 48; comp. further Preuschen, *Adamschriften*, 45, and Book of Adam 1. 79. The rabbinic legend knows of a number of facts about the burial of Abel by his parents (comp. vol. I, p. 113, and note 130 appertaining to it), but does not seem to be acquainted with the details given in the pseudepigraphic works. Jub. 4. 29 states: He (Adam) was the first to be buried in the ground. This alludes to the legend given in the Apocalypse of Moses and kindred sources.

Abel's—the latter had all this time been lying on a stone on which angels had placed it—and they buried them both on the spot whence God had taken the dust wherewith to make Adam.¹³⁷

¹³⁷ Apocalypse of Moses 40. Since according to a well-known Haggadah (see the sources cited in note 16), the dust for the formation of Adam's body was taken from the place of the altar in Jerusalem, the Apocalypse necessarily locates Adam's grave on the site of the temple of Jerusalem. To be sure, here and in Vita Adae, *loc. cit.*, the grave is erroneously placed in paradise (μέση τοῦ παραδείσου), which must not be taken literally, but should be understood to mean near Jerusalem. This is due to the fact that according to note 109, Jerusalem, or mount Moriah, forms the gate to paradise. This is clearly stated in the Melchizedek fragment 2. 35–36: In the centre of the earth, where Adam was created, there shall be his (Melchizedek's) grave... where Adam buried his son Abel. It is also stated in Zohar 1, 56b, that Adam chose a place for his grave (in accordance with the rabbinic legend, the cave of Machpelah is here referred to; comp. PRE. 20 and further below) near paradise, where God buried him. All this is also found in Zohar Hadash, Ruth 97b, ואמר ר' רחומא, which gives also the different view that Seth took care of his father's burial. Seder 'Olam (beginning) reads: Enoch buried Adam. Comp. also Yashar, Bereshit 11b: And Seth and his sons, Enoch and Methuselah his son buried him—Adam. In note 32 on vol. IV, p. 354, an attempt is made to prove that rabbinic literature also knows of the legend that the site of the altar is Adam's grave. The prevalent view among the Rabbis, however, is that Adam and Eve were buried in the cave of Machpelah. It is for this reason that Hebron is called Kiryat Arba', "The City of the Four", because in this city four pious men (Adam and the three patriarchs) as well as the four mothers (in other places this designation usually applies to the four wives of the three patriarchs), that is, Eve, Sarah, Rebekah, and Leah, were buried. Comp. BR 58. 4 and 8 (it is stated here that God had to roll up Adam's corpse, since even after the

God called unto the body of Adam, "Adam! Adam!" and it answered, "Lord, here am I!" Then God said: "I told thee once, Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return. Now I promise thee resurrection. I will awaken thee on the day of judgment, when all the generations of men that spring from thy loins, shall

fall his height reached a hundred cubits; comp. also BR 19.8 and Tan. B. I, 13); 'Erubin 53a; Sotah 13a; Baba Batra 58a; PRE 20 and 36; Jerome on Gen. 23. 2 (comp. also vol. I, pp. 288–289). In the Christian legend of Golgotha Adam's burial-place is identical with the place of the crucifixion of Jesus. This is a Christian adaptation of the Jewish legend, according to which Adam was created in the centre of the earth, and was buried in the same place, *i. e.*, in the site of the altar at Jerusalem. Instead of the site of the altar, the Christian legend introduced the place of the crucifixion of Jesus (which is the Christian altar). Comp. Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 26–30 (some of his remarks are to be corrected in accordance with the material given here); Preuschen, *Adamschriften*, 45–46. It should also be observed that in rabbinic sources (comp. the reference given in note 32 on vol. IV, p. 354), where mention is made of the corpse found near the site of the altar, the word גִּלְגּוּלָה, "Golgotha", *i. e.*, "skull", is used which appears again in Golgotha, the place of the crucifixion of Jesus. Finally, some other reasons may be given why Apocalypse of Moses and Vita Adae cannot be said to regard paradise as Adam's burial-place. According to Apocalypse 37, paradise is located in the third heaven, where Adam's soul but not his body could be placed. It is further said that God sealed Adam's grave, so that nobody could approach his remains. This is only intelligible if Adam was buried outside of paradise, a place accessible to men and beasts. If his grave were in paradise, there would be no necessity to protect it.

arise from the grave.” God then sealed up the grave, that none might do him harm during the six days to elapse until his rib should be restored to him through the death of Eve.¹³⁸

THE DEATH OF EVE

The interval between Adam’s death and her own Eve spent in weeping. She was distressed in particular that she knew not what

¹³⁸. Apocalypse of Moses 41–45. The statement that Adam died six days before Eve is related to the view (comp. note 22) that Adam’s body has been in existence since the first day of creation, whereas Eve was not created out of his rib until Friday; comp. the sources cited in note 97. Adam was not only interred by the angels with great pomp and honor, but God also expressly promised him resurrection. In this presentation it is presupposed that Adam was entirely or partly forgiven because of his repentance (comp. vol. I, pp. 86–89). These views are shared by the rabbinic sources cited in notes 106 and 142. Now and again we meet in rabbinic literature with an unfavorable view about Adam. It is said that he was driven out of paradise forever, and will be excluded from it even in the world to come. Comp. BR 21. 8 and 8, where Tannaim and Amoraim differ with respect to Adam’s fate in the world to come. The most prevalent view, however, is favorable to Adam. Comp., in addition to the sources cited in notes 106 and 142, the association of Adam and Eve with the three patriarchs and their wives alluded to in the preceding note. The unfavorable view about Adam is most likely to be ascribed to the opposition to the exaggerated glorification of Adam by the Jewish gnostic circles, as reflected e. g. in the Clementine writings. It is worthy of note that Adam’s merits are hardly ever alluded to in the liturgy (there seems to be but one exception, that of a later Selihah מנהג תימן סליחות 43a). Comp. Ha-Zofeh, VI, 325.

had become of Adam's body, for none except Seth had been awake while the angel interred it. When the hour of her death drew nigh, Eve supplicated to be buried in the selfsame spot in which the remains of her husband rested. She prayed to God: "Lord of all powers! Remove not Thy maid-servant from the body of Adam, from which Thou didst take me, from whose limbs Thou didst form me. Permit me, who am an unworthy and sinning woman, to enter into his habitation. As we were together in Paradise, neither separated from the other; as together we were tempted to transgress Thy law, neither separated from the other, so, O Lord, separate us not now." To the end of her {102} prayer she added the petition, raising her eyes heavenward, "Lord of the world! Receive my spirit!" and she gave up her soul to God.

The archangel Michael came and taught Seth how to prepare Eve for burial, and three angels descended and interred her body in the grave with Adam and Abel. Then Michael spoke to Seth, "Thus shalt thou bury all men that die until the resurrection day." And again, having given him this command, he spoke: "Longer than six days ye shall not mourn."¹³⁹ The repose of the seventh day

¹³⁹ Apocalypse of Moses 42—43; Vita Adae 50—51. According to Jewish law, mourning is to last for one week (Mo'ed Katan 3. 5, and other passages); but in reality only six full days are observed; comp. Pesahim 4a, and the parallel passages cited on the margin concerning the rule "A fraction of a day counts as a whole day." A reminiscence of a three days' mourning is still to be found in Vita Adae 51 (the Hebrew text read: *ויהי ביום הרביעי לאבלם*, *i. e.*, after the lapse of three days), and also elsewhere; comp. Ecclu. 38. 17, and Ginzberg in *Nöldeke-Festschrift*, 625, as well as

is the token of the resurrection in the latter day, for on the seventh day the Lord rested from all the work which He had created and made.”¹⁴⁰

Yerushalmi Mo’ed Katan 3, 82b. Comp. the following note (end).

¹⁴⁰. Apocalypse of Moses 43; Vita Adae 51. According to Yashar Bereshit 11b, mourning for the dead was first introduced upon the death of Adam, whereas ER 16, 81, makes the peculiar statement that the day of Adam’s death was celebrated by his descendants as a festival, that is, they rejoiced that man is mortal, for otherwise he would not do the will of his heavenly Father. — The symbolic description of the world to come as the “great Sabbath”, or as the “day of the Lord”, is of frequent occurrence in Jewish, as well as in old Christian, literature, in which it is also brought into relation with the millennium; since the “day of the Lord is a thousand years” (comp. notes 28 and 72), hence His Sabbath is the seventh thousand. Comp. Tamid (end; the passage concerning the daily song does not originally belong to the Mishnah; comp. Ginzberg, *Tamid, the Oldest Treatise*, 283); Rosh ha-Shanah 31a; ARN 1, 5; Tehillim 92, 402–403 and 405; PRE 18; Mekilta Shabbeta 1, 103b; Mekilta RS, 160 (it is stated in the Mekiltas that the Sabbath offers a foretaste of the life in the world to come; comp. Berakot 57b); ER 2, 6–7; Sanhedrin 97a; ‘Abodah Zarah 9a; Sifra 26. 6; 4 Ezra 8. 30; Barnabas 15. 4; Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, 6. 16; Clementine *Homilies*, 18. 9; Victorinus, *De Fabrica Mundi*; Hippolytus, Dan. 4. According to 2 Enoch 33, the millennium will only take place after the completion of seven thousand years. This is probably based on some learned interpretation of Gen. 2. 2, which considered the seventh day as one of the days of creation; comp. note 102. According to Alphabet R. Akiba 19, the Sabbath of the Lord will take place 6093 years after creation. Bousset, *Religion*, 341, understands Apocalypse of Moses, *loc. cit.*, to say that the soul departs from the body after seven or three days (comp. 4 Ezra 7. 101, and the rabbinic sources

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Though death was brought into the world through Adam, yet he cannot be held responsible for the death of men. Once on a time he said to God: "I am not concerned about the death of the wicked, but I should not like the pious to reproach me and lay the blame for their death upon me. I pray Thee, make no mention of my guilt." And God promised to fulfil his wish. Therefore, when a man is about to die, God appears to him, and bids him set down in writing all he has done during his life, for, He tells him, "Thou art dying by reason of thy evil deeds." The record finished, God orders him to seal it with his seal. This is the writing God will bring out on the judgment day, and to each will be made known his deeds.¹⁴¹ As soon as life is extinct in a man, he is presented to Adam, whom he accuses of having caused his death. But Adam repudiates the charge: "I committed but one trespass. Is there any among you, and be he the most pious, who has not been guilty of more than one?"¹⁴² {103}

cited in note 20). It is for this reason that mourning must not last longer than this period.

¹⁴¹. Tan. B. I, 21, and IV, 124. Comp. also the kabbalistic sources referred to at the beginning of the following note. In rabbinic literature frequent mention is made of the book which contains the record of the deeds of men, as well as the witnesses who appear for or against man in the heavenly court. Comp. Abot 2. 1; Sifre D., 307; Ta'anit 11a; PR 8, 29a. See also the sources cited in note 20.

¹⁴². Tan. B. I, 21, and IV, 124; Zohar I, 54b, 81a, 65b, and 127a; Zohar Hadash, Balak, beginning אבא ר' אמר, 66a; 'Emek ha-Melek 117a. Comp. also the legend given in vol. I, p. 69, which, in addition to the sources

cited in the note appertaining thereto, is likewise known to *Abkat Rokel* II, 1. Closely related to our legend, especially in its kabbalistic form, is the one found in both versions of the Testament of Abraham (13, 11 respectively), concerning Abel, before whom every soul must appear to be judged. Judgment takes place after Enoch, the heavenly scribe (this agrees with most of the pseudepigraphic sources, whereas in rabbinic writings Elijah is the scribe, or secretary; comp. note 35 on vol. IV, p. 201) fetches, out of the many books entrusted to the Cherubim, the one relating to the soul in question. By means of this book he establishes the record of the soul during its life-time. The rabbinic form of this legend, at the same time, expresses the view prevalent among the Rabbis that "no death occurs without sin". Adam is not responsible for any other death except his own. Every man could live forever, if he should lead a sinless life. Comp. Shabbat 55a-56b; 'Arakin 17a; Tehillim 92, 412; Tan. B. IV, 60, and the parallels cited by Buber; Justin Martyr (he gives this as the view prevalent among the Jews), Dialogue, 95. Comp. Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 45-47, and Israel Lévi, *Le Péché Original*. The legend makes use of this theory, and accordingly maintains that there are a number of men who (because they did not sin) have not tasted death, but entered paradise while yet alive. Comp. note 67. The popularity of this view is proved by the fact that *Recognitiones*, I. 52, also speaks of those that entered paradise because they were absolutely without guilt. It is true that rabbinic literature knows also of the opposite view (particularly represented by 4 Ezra and the Apocalypse of Baruch), according to which there is "hereditary death", but no "hereditary sin", so that death is absolutely conceived as a penalty imposed on Adam, which must be suffered also by the innocent. Comp. Sifre D., 339; BR 21. 1; ER 5, 24; Baba Batra 17a. See also Tan. B. I, 17 and vol. II, pp. 259-260. It should be mentioned that in the Prayer of Manasseh 7, the three patriarchs are designated as mortals who never sinned. This is, however,

denied in 'Arakin, *loc. cit.* A third view on the origin of death is that man was created mortal. Had it not been for the fall, however, death would not have been so terrible and painful, but a joyful incident in man's career. Comp. EZ 3, 175, where this view is clearly expressed, and further BR 21. 3 (see the parallels cited by Theodor), where the expression "man was destined to die" is to be taken in this sense. Wisdom 1. 13 and 2. 23 appears to express opposition to the theory that man is mortal by his very nature. 2 ARN 34, 74, seems to be of the view that the fall of man caused an early death; that is, even if Adam had not sinned, man would not have been immortal, but he would have lived a much longer period. Similar views are found in medieval philosophical writings and biblical commentaries; comp. Nahmanides on Gen. 2. 17, and Bekor Shor on Gen. 3. 23. Quite singular is the view expressed in BR 9. 5 and Baba Batra 75a, which reads: Adam was not deserving of death for his sin, but God, who had foreseen that there would arise men like Nebuchadnezzar and Hiram claiming to be gods (comp. Index, s. v. "Deification"), decreed death on the entire human race. According to this idea, it is not the descendants of Adam who have to atone by death for his sin, but, on the contrary, it was he who died on their account. In view of the favorable opinion of Adam expressed in these and in other passages (comp. notes 106 and 138), it is not surprising that the legend accords a special place of honor to Adam in Messianic times. In allusion to Micah 5. 4, it is asserted in the old rabbinic literature that when the Messiah is about to start his work of salvation, he will be furnished with a council of fourteen members to assist him. One half of these members will have the title of "shepherds", and the other half will be "princes". The shepherds will be David, as president, and Adam, Seth, Methuselah, on his right, and Abraham, Jacob, and Moses, on his left. The princes are: the Messiah as the head, and Samuel, Saul, Jesse, Elijah, Amos, Zephaniah, and

Hezekiah (this is more probable than Zedekiah, as given in some texts). Comp. Sukkah 52b; PRK (Grünhut's edition, 78 and 82; Schönblum's edition, 37b and 38); BHM VI, 150; Shir 8. 10; Sa'adya Gaon, *Emunot we-De'ot*, 7, 150; BaR 15 (beginning). In the last passage it is said: Opinions differ as to the identity of the "seven shepherds", or the "eight princes" who are Messiahs. Nowhere else in rabbinic literature are these princes called Messiahs. Comp., however, Jerome on Micah, *loc. cit.* who refers to Symmachus, who renders נסיכי ("princes") by χριστοί ("Messiahs"). Jerome, *loc. cit.*, appears to have known the rabbinic interpretation to which he gives a Christological coloring: the seven shepherds are the patriarchs and prophets, whereas the eight princes represent the great men of the New Covenant; comp. Matthew 19. 28; Luke 22. 30; I Cor. 6. 2; Rev. 20. 4; Sibyl. 3. 781-782; 12 Testaments, Benjamin 10. 7; ShR 30. 18. Besides the seven shepherds and eight princes of the Messianic times, the Talmud (Sukkah, *loc. cit.*) knows of four distinguished personages as Messiahs. These are: Messiah the son of David; Messiah the son of Joseph; Elijah; the priest of justice (Melchizedek?). Comp. also BaR, *loc. cit.*, where, instead of the last, a Messiah appears who is a descendant of Manasseh. A fuller discussion of this point is to be found in Ginzberg's *Unbekannte Sekte*, 334-352. In Kimhi on Micah, *loc. cit.*, Enoch is substituted for Adam as one of the seven shepherds. This is rather a later correction, as the older rabbinic literature does not include Enoch among the saints; comp. note 59 on vol. I, p. 130.

III

THE TEN GENERATIONS

THE BIRTH OF CAIN

FRATRICIDE

THE PUNISHMENT OF CAIN

THE INHABITANTS OF THE SEVEN EARTHS

THE DESCENDANTS OF CAIN

THE DESCENDANTS OF ADAM AND LILITH

SETH AND HIS DESCENDANTS

ENOSH

THE FALL OF THE ANGELS

ENOCK, RULER AND TEACHER

THE ASCENSION OF ENOCK

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METHUSELAH

III

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THE TEN GENERATIONS

THE BIRTH OF CAIN

There were ten generations from Adam to Noah, to show how long-suffering is the Lord, for all the generations provoked Him unto wrath, until He brought the deluge upon them.¹ By reason of

¹ Abot 5, 22; ARN 32, 92 (a view is cited here, according to which some among them were God-fearing, and it was they who prevented the flood from coming for some time), and the second version 34, 92. The tenth belongs to God; Noah was the tenth after Adam, and Abraham the tenth after Noah; Tan. B. V, 27. So also Philo, *De Congressu Quaerendæ Eruditionis Causa*, 17. That these sinful generations nevertheless lived longer than others has its good reasons: their longevity enabled them to study the movement of the heavenly bodies, so that they bequeathed their astronomical knowledge to later generations (BR. 26. 5; comp. vol. I, p. 121. below, and Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 3). They likewise received, during their long and care-free life, their reward for their good deeds which was due to them, so that after their death their punishment was severe; BR 16. 5. Furthermore, God wished to test these generations; He therefore granted them long life in order to give them the opportunity to show kindness to one another. But they did not stand the test. The sons were ready to care for their parents, but not for their grandparents, and Noah was the only one who was willing to care for his grandfather and all his ancestors; ER 16, 80. God spoke to no one in this generation until Noah came (BR 34. 5 and Koheleth 7. 19), just as Abraham was the first to whom God spoke during the ten generations from Noah to him; BR

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their impiousness God changed His plan of calling one thousand generations into being between the creation of the world and the revelation of the law at Mount Sinai; nine hundred and seventy-four He suppressed before the flood.²

Wickedness came into the world with the first being born of woman, Cain, the oldest son of Adam. When God bestowed Paradise upon the first pair of mankind, He warned them particularly against carnal intercourse with each other. But after the fall of Eve, Satan, in the guise of the serpent, approached her, and the fruit of their union was Cain, the ancestor of all the impious generations that were rebellious toward God, and rose up against Him. Cain's descent from Satan, who is the angel Samael, was revealed in his seraphic appearance. At his birth, the exclamation was wrung from Eve, "I have gotten a man through

39, 4; Koheleth *loc. cit.* This seems to be directed against the view prevalent in pseudepigraphic writings that Seth, Enoch, Shem, and other patriarchs were the bearers of God's revelations; comp. Index under these names; comp. also Luria's note 4 on PRE. 22.

² BR 28. 4; Hagigah 13b; ARN 31, 93; Shabbat 88b; Koheleth 1. 15 and 4. 3; Tan. Lek 11 and Yitro 9; Tehillim 90, 392, and 105, 449; Aggadat Bereshit 49, 100; Zebachim 116a; ER 2, 9; 6, 33; 13, 61 and 68; 26, 130; Targum (from a manuscript quoted by Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, I, 186) on Job 22. 16. The version found in some of the sources just cited, according to which the Torah was written down 974 generations prior to the creation of the world, is a comparatively recent presentation of this Haggadah, which, in its original form, has nothing to do with the doctrine of the pre-existence of the Torah. Comp. note 5 on vol. I, p. 4.

an angel of the Lord.”³

³ PRE 21 (on the text comp. Luria, *ad loc.*, and MHG I, 88-89, and 105); Shabbat 146a (top; the filth with which the serpent infected Eve clung to the rest of humanity, but was removed from Israel as soon as they received the Torah); Yebamot 103b; ‘Abodah Zarah 22b; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 4. 1 and 5. 3; BR 19, end (on the text comp. Theodor, *ad loc.*, and Recanate Gen. 3. 13); Zohar I, 31a and 54b; III, 117a (the heavenly origin of Cain and Abel as stated here agrees with the heresies of Archonites in Epiphanius, *Haer.*, 40. 5); Hippolytus, *Haer.*, 5. 21; Irenaeus, I, 30. 7; Epiphanius, *loc. cit.* Comp. further 1 John 3. 12; Augustine, *In Epistolam Joan. ad Parthos*, 5. 3, and *Quaestiones ex Novo Test.*, III, 2282 (Migne’s edition). Tertullian, *De Patientia*, 5, has no bearing on the subject discussed here, and the statement in Ginzberg’s *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 59, is to be corrected accordingly. This passage of Tertullian is to be translated: Impatience, conceived of the devil’s seed, produced, in the fecundity of malice, anger as her son. Comp., however, Tertullian, *Haer.*, 2, concerning Abel, who was born of an ignoble spirit. But independent of the legend concerning Eve’s sexual intercourse with the serpent is the statement that the original sin consisted in this that the serpent had awakened in her a sexual desire. Comp. Apocalypse of Abraham 23; Philo, *De M. Opif.*, 56; Slavonic Apocalypse of Baruch, 97; WR 14. 5; *Protevang. of James* 13. Comp. vol. I, p. 96, and the following note., as well as note 131 on vol. I, p. 98. The view that serpents still have the desire to have intercourse with women, just as the first serpent felt violent passion for Eve (comp. note 60 on vol. I, p. 72), is found not only in Shabbat 110a, but also in 4 Macc. 18, where it is stated that the serpent not only sullied the maidenhood of Eve but also that of other women. The assertion of the Gnostics mentioned by Epiphanius in *Haer.*, 26. 5 (*idipsum—lignum vitae—de menstruis mulierum profluviis interpretatur*) is found among the Kabbalists, with this difference that the latter connect it with the tree of knowledge (is the reading τῆς ζωῆς in Epiphanius a

Adam was not in the company of Eve during the time of her pregnancy with Cain. After she had succumbed a second time to the temptations of Satan, and permitted herself {106} to be interrupted in her penance,⁴ she left her husband and journeyed

scribal error for τοῦ γινώσκειν?). Comp. Recanati on Gen. 3. 6. and note 85 on vol. I, p. 78. The latter Kabbalah (comp. the reference in Yalkut Reubeni on Gen. 4. 1) allegorizes the legend of Cain, "the son of Satan"; he was Satan's spiritual son, since Eve followed his false doctrine. It should also be noted that among the various etymologies of the word Eve (חיה) there is one, according to which it means "serpent": she was Adam's serpent; see BR 21. 11 and 22. 2; note 48 on vol. I, p 69.

⁴ Vita Adae 18. Comp. the more detailed description of these events as given in vol. I, pp. 88–89. The Vita, as well as its numerous Christian versions (comp. Preuschen, *Adamschriften*, 41; Book of Adam and Eve 73. 90–91), and the Church Fathers (Jerome, *Adv. Jovinianum*, 1. 16; Slavonic Palaea, and others; comp. Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 57) presuppose that not only the birth of the children of Adam and Eve took place after the expulsion from paradise, but that the first "human pair" lived in paradise without sexual intercourse. The older Haggadah, as found in Jub. 4. 1 (Cain was born when Adam was seventy, and Abel seven years later, while the expulsion of Adam from paradise took place after he had spent his first seven years there) and some utterances of the Midrash (BR 22. 1 and 2; comp. Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 57–58, as well as Zohar I, 60b–61a, on the pure, spiritual married life which Adam might have enjoyed in paradise, and the immortal children that he might have begotten there if he had not sinned) practically make the same assertion. Later, however, in opposition to the Christian view which considers married life as a consequence of the original sin (BR, *loc. cit.*, even asserts that the animal world, following Adam's example, copulated before the fall), and prefers celibacy to marriage, the prevalent Jewish

westward, because she feared her presence might continue to bring him misery. Adam remained in the east. When the days of Eve to be delivered were fulfilled, and she began to feel the pangs of travailing, she prayed to God for help. But He hearkened not unto her supplications. “Who will carry the report to my lord Adam?” she asked herself. “Ye luminaries in the sky, I beg you, tell it to my master Adam when ye return to the east!” In that self same hour, Adam cried out: “The lamentation of Eve has pierced to my ear! Mayhap the serpent has again assaulted her,” and he hastened to his wife. Finding her in grievous pain, he besought God in her behalf, and twelve angels appeared, together with two heavenly powers.⁵ All these took up their post to right of her and to left of her, while Michael, also standing on her right side,

view was that the married life of Adam and Eve preceded their fall; BR 18. 6; Sanhedrin 38b; PRE 11 (before the fall, but also before their arrival in paradise); ARN 1, 5 (where נדיווגה however, need not necessarily imply married state) and 6. Comp. vol. I, p. 72, and Theodor on BR, 106. cit, as well as Apocalypse of Baruch 56. 6. The legend prevalent in the Haggadah, according to which Cain and Abel and their twin-sisters were born on the day on which their parents had been created (BR 22.2; Sanhedrin, lac. cit; PRE 11; ARN 1, 6), has no connection with the question whether their birth took place before or after the fall, since according to the Haggadah, the stay in paradise lasted only a few hours; comp. vol. I, p. 82.

⁵ Vita Adae 19–21 (on the “*virtutes*”, powers, virtues, comp. Ginzberg, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, I, 179), and its various Christian versions. Midrash Aggada Gen. 4. 1, on the contrary, emphasizes, the fact that Cain’s birth was without pain. This accords with the view that his birth took place before the fall; comp. the preceding note.

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passed his hand over her, from her face downward to her breast, and said to her, “Be thou blessed, Eve, for the sake of Adam. Because of his solicitations and his prayers I was sent to grant thee our assistance. Make ready to give birth to thy child!” Immediately her son was born, a radiant figure.⁶ A little while and the babe stood upon his feet, ran off, and returned holding in his hands a stalk of straw, which he gave to his mother. For this reason he was named Cain, the Hebrew word for stalk of straw.

Now Adam took Eve and the boy to his home in the east. God sent him various kinds of seeds by the hand of the angel Michael, and he was taught how to cultivate the ground and make it yield produce and fruits, to sustain himself and his family and his posterity.⁷ {107}

⁶ Vita Adae 21, according to which Adiaphotus in Apocalypse of Moses 1 should be changed to Diaphotus, “full of light”. On Cain’s luminous countenance comp. PRE 21 (Eve saw that his countenance was heavenly) and Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 4. 1. The similarity of Cain (קין) to Kewan (כיון) “Saturn” may have given rise to this legend about the shining countenance, particularly if one considers, on the one hand, the relationship between Cain and Sammael (=Satan; comp. vol. I, p. 105), and, on the other hand, the fact that Saturn represents the star of evil which brings misfortune to Israel. Comp. PR 20, 96a, and 203a, as well as Baraita de-Mazzalot 27a.

⁷ Vita Adae 21–22. The name of Cain is also explained as כַּאֵין, “as nought” (MHG I, 105 very likely dependent on PRE), as קנא, “the wrathful one” (Wisdom 10.3), and as קנה “who sought to seize everything” (Philo, *Cain* 20). Comp. also the preceding note, as well as notes 6, 8, 20, 41, 53. On the view that Cain was able to run about

After a while, Eve bore her second son, whom she named Hebel, because, she said, he was born but to die.⁸

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The slaying of Abel by Cain did not come as a wholly unexpected event to his parents. In a dream Eve had seen the blood of Abel flow into the mouth of Cain, who drank it with avidity, though his brother entreated him not to take all. When she told her dream to Adam, he said, lamenting, "O that this may not portend the death of Abel at the hand of Cain!" He separated the two lads, assigning to each an abode of his own, and to each he taught a different occupation. Cain became a tiller of the ground, and Abel a keeper of sheep. It was all in vain. In spite of these precautions, Cain slew his brother.⁹

immediately after his birth, see vol. I, p. 59, which has a similar statement with reference to Adam, and see also vol. I, pp. 152–153, the legend about the ante-diluvian generations, as well as the legend about Moses in vol. II, p. 264, and vol III, p. 468.

⁸. Yashar Bereshit 9a; Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 2. 1, which reads: Abel which signifies sorrow, a midrashic explanation which is based on the similarity of sound of הבל and אבל, "sorrow". This is already found in Philo, *De Migr. Abrah.*, 13. Amilabes in Apocalypse of Moses 1, as a name for Abel, is very likely a corruption of המְחָבֵל "the destroyed one". According to some, Cain and Abel were twin brothers; BR 22. 2 and 3 (comp. Theodor on 205, 5); PRE 21.

⁹. Vita Adae 22; Apocalypse of Moses 2; comp. Preuschen, *Adamschriften*, 42.

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His hostility toward Abel had more than one reason. It began when God had respect unto the offering of Abel, and accepted it by sending heavenly fire down to consume it, while the offering of Cain was rejected.¹⁰ They brought their sacrifices on the fourteenth day of Nisan, at the instance of their father, who had spoken thus to his sons: "This is the day on which, in times to come, Israel will offer sacrifices. Therefore, do ye, too, bring sacrifices to your Creator on this day, that He may take pleasure in you." The place of offering which they chose was the spot whereon the altar of the Temple at Jerusalem stood later.¹¹ Abel

¹⁰. Theodotion on Gen. 4. 4; Aggadat Shir 6. 40 (this heavenly fire came down again at the time of Noah's sacrifice when he left the ark; at the time of the consecration of the Tabernacle when it consumed Nadab and Abihu; at Manoah's sacrifice; at Solomon's consecration of the Temple; at Elijah's sacrifice on mount Carmel. It will come down again when the temple will be erected in Messianic times. Comp. Index, 3. a. "Fire, Heavenly"); MHG I, 107; Yashar Bereshit, 9a; Rashi and Lekah on Gen. 4. 4 (most likely based on an old source; Aphraates, 63; Jerome on Gen., *loc. cit.*; Ephraim, I, 143 D; Cyril of Alexandria, *Glaphura.*, I. 3. Comp. Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 62–63; Theodor on BR 22. 6 (p. 209, 4), and note 13. Philo, on Gen. I, 63, reads: Cain noticed from the sad mood that came upon him at the time of the sacrifice, instead of the expected sense of joy, that "God did not accept his sacrifice." On the religious importance of sacrifice in general, comp. *Haserot Witerot* in Batte Midrashot I, 33–34; *Kad ha-Kemah*, Sukkah, 16b.

¹¹. PRE 21 (on the text comp. MHG I, 106–107); Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 4. 3; differently in BR 22'. 4, where two views concerning the day of the sacrifice are given; according to one it was on Pentecost, while according to the other, Hanukkah. It may, however, be noted that both

selected the best of his flocks for his sacrifice, but Cain ate his meal first, and after he had satisfied his appetite, he offered unto God what was left over, a few grains of flax seed. As though his offense had not been great enough in {108} offering unto God fruit of the ground which had been cursed by God!¹² What wonder that

views are based on the supposition that Abel did not live longer than fifty days, and the difference of opinion is due to the controversy whether the world (*i.e.*, Adam and his two sons; comp. note 97 on vol. I, p. 82, and note 4) had been created in the month of Tishri or Nisan. According to Tan. Bereshit 9, Cain and Abel were forty years old at the time they brought their sacrifice; comp. also Preuschen, *Adamschriften*, 33 (Cain was thirty, and Abel forty), and Book of Adam 77 (end), where the age of the brothers is given as fifteen and twelve, respectively. See also ps.-Philo, 1 (end): Cain was fifteen years old when he did these things. By these things are meant his marriage and becoming a father. According to Zohar Hadash, 25a, on Gen. 4. 2, they offered their sacrifice on New Year. Comp. Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.* 64 and 71.

^{12.} BR 22. 5; PRE 21 (hence the prohibition against using flax and wool together: the sacrifice of the wicked Cain should not be brought in contact with that of the pious Abel; comp. Zohar III, 87a); Tan. Bereshit 9; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 4. 3; Yashar Bereshit, 9a; Philo, *Sacrific. Abel.*, 13 (Cain did not offer the first-born, nor did he do it in proper time) and 20; Ambrose, *De Cain*, 2. 10; Ephraim, II, 313 E. Comp. further Philo, *Confus. Ling.*, 25; Josephus, *Antiqui.* I, 2. 1; *Hadar*, Gen. 4. 3 and 4, as well as *Imre No'am*, *ad loc.*, and Midrash Aggada Gen. 4. 2. The Haggadah endeavors to prove that Cain, through selfishness and lack of fear of God, had incurred God's displeasure. Zohar Hadash 24a, on Gen. 4. 2, reads: Cain offered his sacrifice haughtily, Abel with humility; but the real sacrifice to God is with a contrite spirit; Ps. 51. 19. Abel's tragic end is to be ascribed to the following circumstance. When he brought

his sacrifice was not received with favor! Besides, a chastisement was inflicted upon him. His face turned black as smoke.¹³ Nevertheless, his disposition underwent no change, even when God spoke to him thus: "If thou wilt amend thy ways, thy guilt

his sacrifice he looked too much at the appearance of God, and therefore Moses, profiting by this lesson, hid his face (Exod. 3. 6), when God appeared to him; Recanate on Gen. 4. God prefers the persecuted; hence Abel having been persecuted by Cain, was favored by God, and his sacrifice was graciously accepted; WR 27. 5; Koheleth 3. 15; Tan. B. III, 91; Tan. Emor 9; PK 9, 76a. Here it is presupposed that Cain had been hostile to his brother even prior to the sacrifice incident, as is described in detail in the Book of Adam 76; comp. note 17. On the basis of the Septuagint on Gen. 4. 7 ("hast thou not sinned if thou has brought it rightly, but not rightly divided it?"), Philo asserts that Cain on account of his greed only brought part of his gift to the altar, whereas Abel sacrificed the whole gift without taking any of it home; *Quaestiones*, Gen. 1, 62. The rabbinic sources (BR 22. 5; Yerushalmi Megillah 1, 72b; Zebahim 116a; WR 9. 6; BaR 13.2; Shir 4. 16; PR 5, 16b) cite two views on the question whether Abel brought a whole offering or a peace-offering (of this kind of sacrifice the one who brings it consumes the greater part).

¹³. BR 22. 6 (this statement is based on ויפלו = ויאפלו "and it became dark"); comp. Preuschen, *Adambücher*, 34; ps.-Tertullian, Gen. 184, and Emerson, *Legends of Cain*, 848, concerning the smoke which almost suffocated Cain. The rising of the smoke as a sign of acceptance, and its descending as a sign of rejection, alluded to in the old-English legend, quoted by Emerson, is also found in Jewish sources; comp. Tan. Tezawweh 15; Midrash Shir 28b (below). The blackening of the face is perhaps to be taken as a contrast to its original heavenly splendor; comp. also Peshitta, ad loc., and note 6.

will be forgiven thee; if not, thou wilt be delivered into the power of the evil inclination. It coucheth at the door of thy heart, yet it depends upon thee whether thou shalt be master over it, or it shall be master over thee.”¹⁴

Cain thought he had been wronged, and a dispute followed between him and Abel. “I believed,” he said, “that the world was created through goodness,¹⁵ but I see that good deeds bear no fruit. God rules the world with arbitrary power, else why had He respect unto thy offering, and not unto mine also?” Abel opposed him; he maintained that God rewards good deeds, without having respect unto persons. If his sacrifice had been accepted graciously by God, and Cain’s not, it was because his deeds were good, and his brother’s wicked.¹⁶

¹⁴ BR 22. 6; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 4. 7; MHG I, 107 and 109. On the basis of Gen. 4. 7, the Rabbis state that the evil inclination is born with man (according to others, at the time of conception), whereas the good inclination does not arrive until the age of thirteen *i. e.*, when one attains majority; comp. BR 34. 10; Yerushalmi Berakot 3, 6d; Sanhedrin 91b; ARN 16, 62–64; Koheleth 4. 13; Tehillim 9, 82; MHG I, 107–109. Philo, *Confus. Ling.*, 22, asserts, on the contrary, that the good inclination comes at the time of man’s birth. Comp. note 25 on vol. I, p. 60.

¹⁵ On this point comp. vol. I, pp. 4 and 5.

¹⁶ Yerushalmi Targumim Gen. 4. 8, and this is very likely the source of Lekah and Midrash Aggada, ad lac. Philo, *De Migrat. Abrah.*, 13, as well as *Quod Deterius Potiori Insidiari Soleat* 1, 10–11, and 14, also speaks of Cain’s challenging Abel to a dispute, to convince him, by mere force, using all plausible and possible sophisms. It may be noted that Philo, like the Targumim, finds this challenge to a dispute in the worlds of Gen.

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But this was not the only cause of Cain's hatred toward Abel. Partly love for a woman brought about the crime. To ensure the propagation of the human race, a girl, destined to be his wife, was born together with each of the sons of Adam. Abel's twin sister was of exquisite beauty, and Cain desired her.¹⁷ Therefore he was

4. 8: "Let us go into the field" (Septuagint, the Samaritan, the Targumim, the Peshitta, and others read or add here: נצא השדה). Like the Targumim, Philo, too (in his second book 10 cited above), takes the subject of the dispute to have been whether everything is to be ascribed to God (Abel's view), or to man (as maintained by Cain).

¹⁷. BR 22. 7; PRE 21; Epiphanius, *Haer.*, 40. 5; Irenaeus, *Haer.*, 1, 6; Theodoretus, *Haer.*, 1, 11; Schatzhöhle, 34; Clementine *Homilies*, 3. 25 (hence he was called Cain, because he was jealous of his brother on account of his wife; comp. *ibid.*, 26 and 42, concerning the meaning of the name Abel; see further note 7); Book of Adam 76, and comp. Malan, note 44, on the later statements of Christian and Mohammedan writers concerning the struggle of the brothers on account of their sister. See also Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 68-70, as well as Rönsch, *Buch der Jubiläen*, 373-374. According to another version in BR, *loc. cit.*, it was the first Eve about whom the brothers could not agree; but it is not clear what is meant by "the first Eve"; comp. Theodor, *ad loc.*, and Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.* 60-61. This passage is somehow related to the gnostic doctrine concerning the first mother Sophia-Prunicus (comp. Preuschen, *Adamschriften*, 60, seq., and 78, seg. It may likewise be noted here that Jaldabaot = ילדא בהות "the progenitor of shame"). Along with the view that Abel had two twin-sisters, there is also another which maintains that each of them had one twin-sister only; a third view states that Cain, but not Abel, had a twin-sister. Comp. BR 22. 2 and 61. 4; PRE, *loc. cit.*; Yebamot 62a, and Yerushalmi 11, 11d; Sanhedrin 58b, and

constantly brooding over ways and means of ridding himself of his brother.

The opportunity presented itself ere long. One day a sheep belonging to Abel tramped over a field that had been planted by Cain. In a rage, the latter called out, "What {109} right hast thou to live upon my land and let thy sheep pasture yonder?" Abel retorted: "What right hast thou to use the products of my sheep, to make garments for thyself from their wool? If thou wilt take off the wool of my sheep wherein thou art arrayed, and wilt pay me for the flesh of the flocks which thou hast eaten, then I will quit thy land as thou desirest, and fly into the air, if I can do it." Cain thereupon said, "And if I were to kill thee, who is there to demand

Yerushalmi 5, 22c, as well as 9, 26d; ARN 1, 6; Sifra 20. 7; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 4. 2 (thus the passage is to be understood that Cain was born with a twin-brother, and Abel with a twin-sister; Abel's twin-sister became Cain's wife; comp. PRE, *loc. cit.*); Zohar I, 54b and III, 44b. See further-note 42 concerning the names of this daughter of Adam.—That Abel died in the state of unsoiled chastity is emphasized in ps.-Matthew 7, which corresponds to the old Haggadah (Jub. 4. 1 and 8, as well as Sifra, *loc. cit.*), which knows only of Cain's wife. See, however, note 172 on vol. I, p. 37. Some sources (BR 22. 7; Tan. Bereshit 9, and Mishpatim 13; ShR 31. 17; Aggadat Shir 7, 43, and 91–92) ascribe the enmity between the brothers to the circumstance that they divided the possession of the world in such a manner that the older brother took the soil, and the younger all the movable things. This division naturally could not be maintained for any length of time. Comp. on this point Siegfried, *Philo*, 150–151, and Ginzberg's *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 69. According to a third view cited in BR, *loc. cit.*, the subject of their quarrel was concerning the territory on which the temple would be erected.

thy blood of me?" Abel replied: "God, who brought us into the world, will avenge me. He will require my blood at thine hand, if thou shouldst slay me. God is the Judge, who will visit their wicked deeds upon the wicked, and their evil deeds upon the evil. Shouldst thou slay me, God will know thy secret, and He will deal out punishment unto thee."

These words but added to the anger of Cain, and he threw himself upon his brother.¹⁸ Abel was stronger than he, and he would have got the worst of it, but at the last moment he begged for mercy, and the gentle Abel released his hold upon him. Scarcely did he feel himself free, when he turned against Abel once more, and slew him. So true is the saying, "Do the evil no good, lest evil fall upon thee."¹⁹

¹⁸. Yashar Bereshit, 9a (based on old sources: comp. BR 22. 7; Tan. Bereshit 9, and Mishpatim 13; ShR 31. 17; Yerushalmi Targumim Gen. 4. 8).

¹⁹. BR 22. 8; Tan. Bereshit 9; Aggadat Shir 7, 43, and 91–92. Philo, *De Migr. Abr.*, 13, and *Quod Deterius Potiori Insidiari Soleat*, 11, and 14, as well as one of the versions of *Vita Adae* (in Preuschen, *Adamschriften*, 34–35), reports that Cain knew how to overcome his brother by cunning. See further Ephraim, I, 41. According to a Jewish legend, cited by Jerome, Ezek. 27; 18, Cain killed his brother in Damascus (= *sanguinem bibens*; Jerome, Is. 17; comp. Philo, *Quis... haeres sit*, 11), which is undoubtedly the well-known city in Syria, in the proximity of which primitive man is supposed to have lived (comp. Amos 1. 5, and Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 160). It is a whimsical idea of John a Lapide (*commentarium in Genesim*) to assume that another Damascus in the neighborhood of Hebron is meant here. Comp. also the Greek legend about the founding

THE PUNISHMENT OF CAIN

The manner of Abel's death was the most cruel conceivable. Not knowing what injury was fatal, Cain pelted all parts of his body with stones, until one struck him on the neck and inflicted death.

After committing the murder, Cain resolved to flee, saying, "My parents will demand account of me concerning {110} Abel, for there is no other human being on earth." This thought had but passed through his mind when God appeared unto him, and addressed him in these words: "Before thy parents thou canst flee, but canst thou go out from My presence, too? 'Can any hide himself in secret places that I shall not see him?' Alas for Abel that he showed thee mercy, and refrained from killing thee, when he had thee in his power! Alas that he granted thee the opportunity of slaying him!"

Questioned by God, "Where is Abel thy brother?" Cain answered: "Am I my brother's keeper? Thou art He who holdest watch over all creatures, and yet Thou demandest account of me! True, I slew him, but Thou didst create the evil inclination in me. Thou guardest all things; why, then, didst Thou permit me to slay

of Damascus recorded by Stephanus Byzantinus, s. v., according to which one of the giants, whose name was Askos was killed by Hermes on the same place where he flayed him (Darmaskus = Δέρμα Ἀσκού). Abel hid himself for some time, for he feared the wicked Cain. The latter, however, searched for him, and told him what God had said to him (Gen. 4. 6-7), and thereby won his confidence, and believed that Cain abandoned his wicked life; *Hadar*, Gen. 4. 5.

him?²⁰ Thou didst Thyself slay him, for hadst Thou looked with a favorable countenance toward my offering as toward his, I had had no reason for envying him, and I had not slain him.” But God said, “The voice of thy brother’s blood issuing from his many wounds crieth out against thee,²⁰ and likewise the blood of all the pious who might have sprung from the loins of Abel.”

Also the soul of Abel denounced the murderer, for she could find rest nowhere. She could neither soar heavenward, nor abide in the grave with her body, for no human soul had done either before.²¹ But Cain still refused to confess his guilt. He insisted that

^{20.} BR 22. 8 (three views are given: 1) with a stone; 2) a cane = a play on the words קין and קנה; comp. vol. I, p. 106, and notes 6-8; 3) he cut Abel’s throat with a sword, having seen that Adam slaughtered one of his sacrifices in this manner); Sanhedrin 37b; Tan. Bereshit 9; PRE 21; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 4. 8; Yashar Bereshit, 9b (with the iron part of the plough-share); Zohar I, 54b (bit him with his teeth to death), and II, 231; Lekah, Gen. 4. 8 (with a club; this is the meaning of אלה, and not sword, as Buber, *ad loc.*, takes it); Jub. 4. 31; Book of Adam 79 (he first tried to flog him to death with a stick; comp. Lekah, *loc. cit.*); Preuschen, *Adamschriften*, 33. In the last passage, as in BR, *loc. cit.*, is described how Cain discovered what kind of blow would kill his brother; comp. note 43. That Cain did not believe in God’s omniscience, and sought to conceal, by denial, the real facts, is remarked by Josephus, Philo, and the Midrashim; comp. notes 6 and 24.

^{21.} BR 22. 9; Mishnah Sanhedrin 4. 5, and Babli 48b; ARN 31, 91; 2 Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 4. 10; Apocalypse of Moses 40 (here it is stated that the earth did not receive Abel’s remains); comp. further Aggadat Shir 7, 43, and 91, which reads: God showed Cain the place, where he

he had never seen a man killed, and how was he to suppose that the stones which he threw at Abel would take his life? Then, on account of Cain, God cursed the ground, that it might not yield fruit {III} unto him.²² With a single punishment both Cain and the earth were chastised, the earth because it retained the corpse of Abel, and did not cast it above ground.²³

In the obduracy of his heart, Cain spake: "O Lord of the world! Are there informers who denounce men before Thee? My parents are the only living human beings, and they know naught of my deed. Thou abidest in the heavens, and how shouldst Thou know what things happen on earth?" God said in reply: "Thou fool! I

had killed Abel, where the blood bubbled (comp. vol. IV, p. 304), and where nothing grows till this day. In view of this passage and the one of Apocalypse of Moses, *loc. cit.*, one is justified in taking BR, *loc. cit.*, and Sanhedrin 4. 5 to mean that the blood remained clinging to the wood and stones without being absorbed. This, however, is not only against Targum Yerushalmi, Gen. 4. 10, but also against the literal meaning of the Bible; comp. ps.-Philo, 16D, and notes 23 and 31.

^{22.} Tan. Bereshit 9; BR 22. 10 (two views are given: 1) the curse consisted in that the earth did not yield to Cain; 2) that the earth lost its former fertility; comp. vol I, pp. 112–113); MHG I, 112 (below; it had a different text of Tan., *loc. cit.*); Sifre N., 161.

^{23.} Yashar Bereshit, 9b. The old sources (Mekilta Shirah 9, 42a; Tehillim 22, 189; Ekah 1, 74) speak only of the receiving of the blood and not of the remains; comp. note 21. Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 2. 1, and PRE 21 (comp., however, Luria, *ad loc.*) speak of hiding the remains in the ground. Ephraim, I, 41, reads: He hid the remains under the high ears of grain and the earth. By this is very likely meant that the lower part of the body was hidden in the earth and the upper part under the ears.

carry the whole world. I have made it, and I will bear it” —a reply that gave Cain the opportunity of feigning repentance. “Thou bearest the whole world,” he said, “and my sin Thou canst not bear?”²⁴ Verily, mine iniquity is too great to be borne! Yet, yesterday Thou didst banish my father from Thy presence, to-day Thou dost banish me. In sooth, it will be said, it is Thy way to banish.”²⁵

Although this was but dissimulation, and not true repentance, yet God granted Cain pardon, and removed the half of his chastisement from him. Originally, the decree had condemned him to be a fugitive and a wanderer on the earth. Now he was no longer to roam about forever, but a fugitive he was to remain. And so much was hard enough to have to suffer, for the earth quaked under Cain, and all the animals, the wild and the tame, among them the accursed serpent, gathered together and essayed to devour him in order to avenge the innocent blood of Abel. Finally Cain could bear it no longer, and, breaking out in tears, he cried:

²⁴ Tan. Bereshit 9; MHG I, 113; *Shitah Hadashah* (Judah); Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 2, 1; Philo, *Quaestiones*, I, 69. Comp. also BR 22. 11; Tan. B. I, 19; DR 8. 1.

²⁵ BR 22. 11. In this passage, as well as in many other Midrashim (comp. the sources cited in the preceding note) and Targumim (Onkelos and Targum Yerushalmi, Gen. 4. 13), מְנוּשָׂא is explained “that it could be forgiven”, in agreement with Septuagint, Philo (*Quod Deterius Potiori Insidiari Soleat*, 41), Peshitta, and Vulgate. Comp. further Sanhedrin 101a and PRE 21; Tan. B. (introduction), 157. In the last passage the interpretation favored by modern exegetes is also given: “Indeed, very grievous is my sin, that I can hardly bear it.”

“Whither shall I go from Thy spirit? Or whither shall I flee from Thy presence?”²⁶ To protect him from the onslaught of the beasts, God inscribed one letter of His Holy {112} Name upon his forehead,²⁷ and furthermore He addressed the animals: “Cain’s punishment shall not be like unto the punishment of future murderers. He has shed blood, but there was none to give him instruction. Henceforth, however, he who slays another shall himself be slain.” Then God gave him the dog as a protection against the wild beasts, and to mark him as a sinner, He afflicted him with leprosy.

Cain’s repentance, insincere though it was, bore a good result. When Adam met him, and inquired what doom had been decreed against him, Cain told how his repentance had propitiated God, and Adam exclaimed, “So potent is repentance, and I knew it not!”

²⁶. Tan. B. (introduction), 157, and I, 19; Tan. Bereshit 9; BR 22. 12–13. On Cain’s repentance, which was not sincere, and therefore his sin not entirely forgiven, see further PK 25, 160a–160b; PR 47, 188b (repentance removes only half of the punishment decreed on account of a sin); Yelammedenu 45; Sanhedrin 101a; WR 10. 5; DR 8. 2; Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 2. 1; comp. note 28. On the arguments of the heavenly court of justice in favor and against Cain, comp. Yalkut Reubeni and Yalkut David on Gen. 4. 16 (both are based on the same source, the Sefer ha-Tagin, in manuscript).

²⁷. PRE 21; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 4. 15. This is somewhat different from Sefer ha-Tagin in Yalkut Reubeni, *ad loc.*, which reads: He received the letter ן (nine) on his arm (not on his forehead; likewise in PRE) as a sign that he will not die before he has begotten nine descendants (comp. Gen. 4. 17–22). On the sign of Cain comp. the following note, and further Zohar I, 36b.

The Legends of the Jews

Thereupon he composed a hymn of praise to God, beginning with the words, "It is a good thing to confess thy sins unto the Lord!"²⁸

The crime committed by Cain had baneful consequences, not for himself alone, but for the whole of nature also. Before, the fruits which the earth bore unto him when he tilled the ground had tasted like the fruits of Paradise. Now his labor produced naught but thorns and thistles.²⁹ The ground changed and deteriorated at the very moment of Abel's violent end. The trees and the plants in the part of the earth whereon the victim lived

²⁸. BR 22. 12–13, where seven different views are given on the sign of Cain: 1) God caused the sun to rise (as a sign that Cain was not to be slain by animals); 2) He marked him by inflicting leprosy on him; 3) He gave him a dog to protect him against animals; 4) He marked him with a horn on his forehead (as a degradation of his human form?); 5) He punished Cain as a sign (=warning) to future murderers; 6) He partly pardoned his sin as a sign (=example) for future sinners who repent; 7) He allowed him to live until the flood. Some of these views are also to be found in Tan. Bereshit 10, where an eighth is given: the Sabbath, the sign between God and Israel (Exod. 31. 13), came in and saved Cain from death, as it had formerly done in the case of Adam (comp. vol. I, pp. 85–86); BaR 7. 5; Yelammedenu 43 (leprosy was inflicted as a punishment upon those who devoted their lives to the acquisition of possessions, as in the case of Cain, Job, and king Uzziah; on this point see BR 22. 3; Mekilta RS, 92; Tan. Noah 13=Makiri on Is. 6. 50. Comp. further vol. III, p. 214, as well as Ecclus. 10. 13); Preuschen, *Adamschriften*, 35 and 43. Comp. note 43.

²⁹. Yerushalmi Targumim and Midrash Aggada on Gen. 4. 16. Comp. the following note.

refused to yield their fruits, on account of their grief over him, and only at the birth of Seth those that grew in the portion belonging to Abel began to flourish and bear again. But never did they resume their former powers. While, before, the vine had borne nine hundred and twenty-six different varieties of fruit, it now brought forth but one kind. And so it was with all other species. They will regain their pristine powers only in the world to come.³⁰
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Nature was modified also by the burial of the corpse of Abel. For a long time it lay there exposed, above ground, because Adam and Eve knew not what to do with it. They sat beside it and wept, while the faithful dog of Abel kept guard that birds and beasts did it no harm. On a sudden, the mourning parents observed how a raven scratched the earth away in one spot, and then hid a dead bird of his own kind in the ground. Adam, following the example

³⁰. Tan. B. (introduction), 158; Genizah fragment in the library of Cambridge University, published by Ginzberg in *Ha-Goren* IX, 58–59 and 66; Shulhan Arba' I, 9d; Shu'aib, Bereshit 5d. On the wonderful fertility of the earth in Messianic times, when conditions will be the same as before the fall, comp. Apocalypse of Baruch 29. 5; the Papias Apocalypse (a conversation of Jesus) cited by Irenaeus 5. 23 (as a parallel to the statement "And when one of the saints will take hold of a grape, another will exclaim: I am a better grape, take me; praise the Lord through me", one may cite the Haggadah: If some one will try to pick a fig on the Sabbath, in the time to come, it will exclaim: "It is Sabbath"; Tehillim 73, 335); Enoch 10. 19; Revelation of St. John (beginning); Visio Pauli 22; Ketubot 111a–112a; Sifre D., 317. Comp. further note 105 on vol. I, p. 86; Index, s. v. "Wine"; Alfred Jeremias, *Babylonisches im NT.*, 332–33.

of the raven, buried the body of Abel, and the raven was rewarded by God. His young are born with white feathers, wherefore the old birds desert them, not recognizing them as their offspring. They take them for serpents. God feeds them until their plumage turns black, and the parent birds return to them. As an additional reward, God grants their petition when the ravens pray for rain.³¹

³¹. Tan. Bereshit 10; PRE 21; BR 22. 8 (this is, however, not found in the manuscripts; comp. Theodor, ad 106.); Slavonic Palaea, 52; comp. Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 66. In contrast to the rabbinic legend about the burial of Abel, it is recorded in Apocalypse of Moses 40, and in the literature dependent on it (Christian Book of Adam; Preuschen, *Adamschriften*, 45), that the earth did not receive Abel's remains until Adam's body was returned thither; comp. note 21 and vol. I, p. 100. The earth, which originally consisted of a level surface, became mountainous as a punishment for having received Abel's blood; Wa-Yosha' 53 (comp. vol. I, pp. 14, below, 18, and 80, top, for other opinions concerning the origin of mountains), and the earth will not become level again until Messianic times; vol. IV, p. 234. The conception that the mountains did not originally belong to the earth's form is prevalent in legend; comp. Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, I, index, s. v. "Gebirge". See further Mishle 8, 59. Abel is the type of the pious (12 Testaments, Issachar 4. 4), and in the heavenly court he is the one appointed to judge every soul entering there, and decide whether it should be punished or rewarded; Testament of Abraham 12-13; comp. note 142 on vol. I, p. 102. Abel's soul, according to the Kabbalists, came to the world again in the persons of Jacob and Moses; comp. the numerous quotations from kabbalistic writings in Yalkut Reubeni on Gen. 4. 1, *seq.* Abel's soul appeared as the accuser against Cain, until the latter and his seed were destroyed from the face of the earth; Enoch 22. 7; comp. vol. III, p. 101. A

THE INHABITANTS OF THE SEVEN EARTHS

When Adam was cast out of Paradise, he first reached the lowest of the seven earths, the Erez, which is dark, without a ray of light, and utterly void. Adam was terrified, particularly by the flames of the ever-turning sword, which is on this earth. After he had done penance, God led him to the second earth, the Adamah, where there is light reflected from its own sky and from its phantom-like stars and constellations. Here dwell the phantom-like beings that issued from the union of Adam with the spirits.³² They are always sad; the emotion of joy is not known to them. They leave their own earth and repair to the one inhabited by men, where they are changed into evil spirits. Then they return to their abode for good, repent of their wicked deeds, and till {114} the ground, which, however, bears neither wheat nor any other of the seven species.³³ In this Adamah, Cain, Abel, and Seth were born. After the murder of Abel, Cain was sent back to the Erez, where he was frightened into repentance by its darkness and by the flames of the ever-turning sword. Accepting his penitence, God

combination of two legends concerning Abel's burial is found in the Slavonic Enoch (addition to 4, 91), where it is said that the bird from which Adam learned to bury the dead was the "jack-daw." On the raven comp. vol. I, p. 39.

³² On this point comp. vol. I, p. 118. Concerning the darkness which came upon Adam after the fall, comp. note 108 on vol.

I, p. 89.

³³ The seven products mentioned in Deut. 8. 8 are here referred to. Comp. Berakot 6. 4.

permitted him to ascend to the third earth, the Arḳa, which receives some light from the sun. The Arḳa was surrendered to the Cainites forever, as their perpetual domain. They till the ground, and plant trees, but they have neither wheat nor any other of the seven species.

Some of the Cainites are giants, some of them are dwarfs. They have two heads, wherefore they can never arrive at a decision; they are always at loggerheads with themselves.³⁴ It may happen that they are pious now, only to be inclined to do evil the next moment.

In the Ge, the fourth earth, live the generation of the Tower of Babel and their descendants. God banished them thither because the fourth earth is not far from Gehenna, and therefore close to the flaming fire.³⁵ The inhabitants of the Ge are skilful in all arts, and accomplished in all departments of science and knowledge, and their abode overflows with wealth. When an inhabitant of our

³⁴ Instead of *בשרין כתרין* read *ראשין*. On the two-headed Cainites comp. vol. IV, p. 132; Zohar I, 9b, and II, 80a. In the first passage of Zohar mention is made also of the two monsters Afrira and Kastimon, who were placed as rulers of the abode of the Cainites, and are the cause that Naamah (= Lilith) appears to men in sleep. The entire passage is rather obscure, but this much is certain that the Zohar conceives the Cainites as a species of genii, demons, and monsters. This view is prevalent in the legends of medieval Europe; comp. Emerson, *Legends of Cain*, 878, as well as the sources cited in note 36, and further *Otot ha-Mashiah*, 58 (below).

³⁵ Comp. Greek Baruch III, and vol. I, p. 180 on the part of the earth near to Gehenna.

earth visits them, they give him the most precious thing in their possession, but then they lead him to the Neshiah, the fifth earth, where he becomes oblivious of his origin and his home. The Neshiah is inhabited by dwarfs without noses; they breathe through two holes instead. They have no memory; once a thing has happened, they forget it completely, whence their earth is called Neshiah, “forgetting.” The fourth and fifth {115} earths are like the Arqa; they have trees, but neither wheat nor any other of the seven species.

The sixth earth, the Ziah, is inhabited by handsome men, who are the owners of abundant wealth, and live in palatial residences, but they lack water, as the name of their territory, Ziah, “drought,” indicates. Hence vegetation is sparse with them, and their tree culture meets with indifferent success. They hasten to any waterspring that is discovered, and sometimes they succeed in slipping through it up to our earth, where they satisfy their sharp appetite for the food eaten by the inhabitants of our earth. For the rest, they are men of steadfast faith, more than any other class of mankind.³⁶

³⁶. Zohar Hadash Bereshit 8a–8b (instead of דאכלי לבני read דאכלי כבני); Zohar Ruth, 97b (beginning ר' רחומאי (ואמר ר' ר' רחומאי); Zohar I, 9b, 39b–40a, 54b, 157a, and additions to I, 3a–3b; II, 41b, and 80a; III, 9b–10a. For further details on the monsters, half-men and half-animals, in the nether-world (to which reference is made in the last passage), comp. note 34, as well as vol. I, pp. 10–11. On the thirst of the inhabitants of the nether-world, comp. note 135 on vol. III, p. 54 and Dietrich, *Nekyia*, 97, *seq.*, where reference is made to the prevalent view concerning the thirst of the dead. Of Greek origin is the conception of the place of “forgetfulness”; comp.

Adam remained in the Adamah until after the birth of Seth. Then, passing the third earth, the Arḳa, the abiding place of the Cainites, and the next three earths as well, the Ge, the Neshiah, and the Zīah, God transported him to the Tebel, the seventh earth, the earth inhabited by men.

THE DESCENDANTS OF CAIN

Cain knew only too well that his blood-guiltiness would be visited upon him in the seventh generation. Thus had God decreed against him.³⁷ He endeavored, therefore, to immortalize his name

Rohde, *Psyche*, II, 310, and 390–391. See the following note.

³⁷ Zohar (additions) I, 3a–3b; Zohar Hadash Bereshit 8a–8b and Ruth 97b (beginning ר' רחומאי ואמר); Yalkut Reubeni Gen. 3 (end) cites the description of the “seven worlds” from the Zohar, in the Hebrew language, whereas in our texts of the Zohar it is in Aramaic. In many details this Hebrew presentation deviates from the Aramaic. The view that the punishment was inflicted upon Cain in the seventh generation (*i. e.*, Lamech; comp. vol. I, p. 116) is based on Gen. 4.14, and 24, where שבעתים is explained in this sense; comp. Onkelos and Targum Yerushalmi, *ad loc.*; BR 23. 4 (comp. Theodor, *ad* 106.); Tan. Bereshit 11; MHG I, 118; Theodoretus, *Quaestiones* in Gen, 43; Jerome, *ad Damasum*, 125 (explicitly in connection with the Lamech legend), who adds that, according to Jewish tradition, 77 descendants of Lamech perished at the time of the flood, in fulfilment of the words of Gen. 4. 24. Comp. Josephus, *Antiqui.* 1, 2, 2 and note 42. Somewhat different is the (Jewish?) tradition cited by Ephraim, I, 43 E, that seven generations of Cain perished with him, whereas the Midrash speaks only of the four generations of Cain (corresponding to the four generations which Abel

by means of monuments,³⁸ and he became a builder of cities. The first of them he called Enoch, after his son, because it was at the birth of Enoch that he began to enjoy a measure of rest and peace.³⁹ Besides, he founded six other cities.⁴⁰ This building of

should have reared); comp. Tan., *loc. cit.* Jerome cites another Jewish tradition, according to which the Bible speaks of the seven sins, which Cain had to atone for: 1) He did not divide his sacrifice properly (comp. note 12); 2) he was jealous of his brother; 3) he deceitfully lured him to death (comp. note 19); 4) he killed his brother; 5) he denied this act; 6) he asserted that his sin could not be forgiven (*i. e.*, he doubted God's mercy?) comp. note 25; 7) he did not repent of his sin during his long life, which God granted him in order to make amends; comp. note 26. The Haggadah in 12 Testaments, Benjamin 7. 1–5 on Gen. 4. 24, is somewhat confused: instead of the seven generations of the rabbinic sources, this passage has “seven centuries”, during which Cain suffered for his sins so that every century brought its plague with it until he perished in the flood at the age of 900. That Cain perished in the flood is also stated in rabbinic sources; BR 22. 12 and 32.5; ShR 31.16 (here it is stated that wherever Cain came he was driven away by the inhabitants); Koheleth 6. 3; Koheleth Z. 106; Tan. Mishpatim 13 (in an abbreviated form; the hundred sons of Cain are also alluded to in the three last-named sources). Comp. 43 and Ginzberg's *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.* 65–69.

³⁸. Midrash Aggadah Gen. 4. 17, according to BR 23. 1 and Tehillim 9, 85. Comp. further Rashi and Lekah, *ad loc.*

³⁹. Yashar Bereshit, 9b.

⁴⁰. Ps.-Philo, 2, where the name of these cities, that of Cain's wife (Themach = תמח “may she be destroyed”; in 35 A, the same name is given of Sisera's mother), and thOse of his three sons (besides Enoch) and two daughters are given. Cain, it is further recorded here, begot Enoch at the

The Legends of the Jews

cities was a godless deed, for he surrounded them with a wall, forcing his family to remain within. All his other doings were equally {116} impious. The punishment God had ordained for him did not effect any improvement. He sinned in order to secure his own pleasure, though his neighbors suffered injury thereby. He augmented his household substance by rapine and violence; he excited his acquaintances to procure pleasures and spoils by robbery, and he became a great leader of men into wicked courses. He also introduced a change in the ways of simplicity wherein men had lived before, and he was the author of measures and weights. And whereas men lived innocently and generously while they knew nothing of such arts, he changed the world into cunning craftiness.⁴¹

Like unto Cain were all his descendants, impious and godless, wherefore God resolved to destroy them.⁴²

age of 15, and died 730 years old. But Jub. 4. 1 and 31 read: Cain died 930 A. M., which, according to the chronology of this book corresponds to the statement that Cain lived 860 years; comp. notes 11, 37.

^{41.} Josephus, *Antiqui.* I, 22. The observation of Josephus that Cain was the first to introduce weights and measures is based on the haggadic interpretation of the name קַיִן = קנה "the measuring rod". Comp. notes 7, 20 and 53.

^{42.} BR 23. 2. Here Lamech (comp. also vol. I, p. 117) is also counted among the sinful descendants of Cain, whereas Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 2, 2, designates him as a prophet who had predicted that he would have to atone for the murder committed by his forebear Cain. This interpretation of Gen. 4. 24 is closely related to the Haggadah given by

The end of Cain overtook him in the seventh generation of

Jerome; comp. note 37. On the wickedness of the Cainites, comp. vol. I, pp. 121 and 151. — The verse Ps. 89. 3, which, according to the rabbinic view, is to be translated: “The world has been established by love”, refers, according to the Haggadah, to God’s goodness, who had provided Cain with a sister whom he could marry. For without God’s goodness this is forbidden by the law; but this marriage was permitted to Cain in order to insure the propagation of the human race. Sifra 20. 17; Yerushalmi Yebamot 11, 11d; Yerushalmi Sanhedrin 5, 22b, and 9, 20d; Babli 58; PRE 21. On the translation of Ps., *loc. cit.*, see Targum and Peshitta, as well as ARN 4, 21. Comp. further Aphraates, 455 and Ginzberg, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, I, 665, note. These sources presuppose (comp. the polemic against this view in Philo, *De Posteritate Caini*, 11) that only Cain married his sister (הבל נשא אחותו) in Yerushalmi is a later addition based on the legend of the twin-sisters; comp. note 17), whereas Seth married his niece, Cain’s daughter. The high esteem in which Jub. holds all the patriarchs, from Adam to Noah (comp. on the other hand, note 1 about the adverse opinion of the Rabbis), precludes this book from referring to the union of Seth or his descendants with the wicked Cainites, and hence it is stated that Seth, Enoch, and Mahalalel married their sisters. The fictitious names frequently found in this pseudepigraphic work and in ps.-Philo (particularly the names of the women of ancient times) are entirely unknown in old rabbinic literature (comp. the adverse comment on such vagaries in Baba Batra 91a, which are regarded as a specialty of the heretics, מינין), and are only found in the writings of the Arabic period (Yashar, and already in PRE), when the Jews became more familiar with the Christian and Mohammedan pseudepigraphic writings. The three lists of the wives of the ante-deluvian patriarchs, which we possess in Hebrew sources, Algazi’s *Toledot Adam*, 2a–2b, Damascus manuscript, published by Harkavy in *Ha-Pisgah* I, 58, and Munich manuscript (published by Perles in his *Beiträge zur Geschichte heb... Studien*, 90), are

men, and it was inflicted upon him by the hand of his great-grandson Lamech. This Lamech was blind, and when he went a-

nevertheless important for the history of these names, since they enable us to establish their Hebrew forms, which very often cannot be recognized from the Greek and Ethiopic transliterations. The following examples will illustrate this point. Adam's oldest daughter, whose name has been transmitted in no less than twenty-two forms (comp. Rönsch, *Buch der Jubiläen*, 373; MHG I, 106; Theodor on BR 22. 2, pages 205–206), is called Azurah in Jub. 4, written עֲצוּרָה in Hebrew, in agreement with Kiddushin 6a, where עֲצוּרָתִי “my wife” occurs. In PRE עֲזוּרִי, “his wife”, an allusion to Gen. 2. 18. Noah's wife is Emzaru in Jub., *loc. cit.*, and אמִּזְרֵעַ in Hebrew (this is how it should be read in Algazi, instead of אמִּזְרֵעַ; in Munich manuscript it is abbreviated to מִזְרֵעַ, i. e., “mother of the seed of man”). The theophorous names, as Razuyal רִצְוֵאל and Azrial, עֲזִרְיָאל, Jub., *loc. cit.*, and 8. 1 (with Algazi, Sason is to be read instead of Susan; שֹׁשֶׁן not שֹׁשׁוֹן) appear in the Hebrew texts in their original forms רִצְוִיָּה and עֲזִרְיָה. Later on the termination יָה, so frequently employed in proper names, was substituted by אֵל. Noah's mother is properly called in Dam. MS. בֵּת אֶנוֹשׁ (in order not to mistake it to mean “the daughter of Enosh”, the word שְׁמָה is added; this word, therefore, must not be emended to שְׁמַחָה, as is done by Marx, *Orient. Ltz.*, IV, 358, on the basis of Baidawi), corresponding to Betenos in Jub., *loc. cit.* On the other hand, the names of Noah's daughters-in-law appear (Jub. 7. 14–16, where Adatanes = אֲדָנֶת נִשָּׂא “princess of women”) to be badly corrupted in the Hebrew sources. The names of Jacob's daughters-in-law in Dam. MS. are entirely different from those of Yashar (comp. vol. II, pp. 37–39), and this source deserves closer investigation. The same source knows also the name of Ishmael's wife, Gigit (comp., for another view, note 218 on vol. I, p. 269), and the name of the prophet Jonah's wife, who is called Yoam the daughter of Azen; comp. note 39 on vol. IV, p. 253.

hunting, he was led by his young son, who would apprise his father when game came in sight, and Lamech would then shoot at it with his bow and arrow. Once upon a time he and his son went on the chase, and the lad discerned something horned in the distance. He naturally took it to be a beast of one kind or another, and he told the blind Lamech to let his arrow fly. The aim was good, and the quarry dropped to the ground. When they came close to the victim, the lad exclaimed: "Father, thou hast killed something that resembles a human being in all respects, except it carries a horn on its forehead!" Lamech knew at once what had happened—he had killed his ancestor Cain, who had been marked by God with a horn.⁴³ In despair he smote his hands together, inadvertently killing his son as he clasped {117} them. Misfortune still followed upon misfortune. The earth opened her mouth and swallowed up the four generations sprung from Cain—Enoch, Irad, Mehujael, and Methushael. Lamech, sightless as he was, could not go home; he had to remain by the side of Cain's corpse and his son's. Toward evening, his wives, seeking him, found him there. When they heard what he had done, they wanted to separate from him, all the more as they knew that whoever was descended from Cain was doomed to annihilation. But Lamech argued, "If Cain, who committed murder of malice aforethought, was punished only in the seventh generation, then I, who had no intention of killing a human being, may hope that retribution will be averted for seventy and seven generations." With his wives, Lamech repaired to Adam, who heard both

⁴³ On the sign of Cain, comp. note 28.

parties, and decided the case in favor of Lamech.⁴⁴

The corruptness of the times, and especially the depravity of Cain's stock, appears in the fact that Lamech, as well as all the men in the generation of the deluge, married two wives, one with the purpose of rearing children, the other in order to pursue carnal indulgences, for which reason the latter was rendered sterile by artificial means. As the men of the time were intent

⁴⁴ Tan. Bereshit 11 (on the text comp. Yalkut I, 38; MHG I, 118–119; Rashi and Midrash Aggada on Gen. 4. 23–24); Yashar Bereshit, 10b–11a; BR 23. 4; Jerome, *ad Damasum*, 125; Ephraim, I, 26D; Book of Adam 2. 13; Preuschen, *Adamschriften*, 35–36; Schatzhöhle, 78. Comp. Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphicus*, 120–122 (this passage contains the views concerning the death of Cain found in the works of the chronologists Johan Malala, and Michael Glycas); Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 71–72. According to Jub. 4. 31, Cain met his death in the following manner: his house fell in over him. Just as he had slain Abel with a stone (comp. note 20), even so was he killed by the stones of the house which fell in. Aggadat Bereshit 26, 53–54, reads to the same effect. Philo, *Quod Deterius Potiori Insidiari Soleat*, 48, seems to explain allegorically a legend, according to which Cain never died. This may be compared with the legend about the immortality of the giants; comp. vol. III, p. 269. It would not be surprising if Philo already knew of the legend that Cain was the son of Satan (comp. note 3) and his celestial origin would explain his immortality. EZ 2, 174, appears to be an allusion to an unfamiliar Lamech legend; but perhaps we ought to read קין = אבי אבין, and the passage merely implies that Lamech, who was mourning over the death of his grandfather, was endowed with long life and other blessings. It is difficult to ascertain what ps.-Philo 2 wishes to record concerning Lamech, since the text is obscure, and very likely corrupt. Comp. note 37.

upon pleasure rather than desirous of doing their duty to the human race, they gave all their love and attention to the barren women, while their other wives spent their days like widows, joyless and in gloom.

The two wives of Lamech, Adah and Zillah, bore him each two children, Adah two sons, Jabal and Jubal, and Zillah a son, Tubal-cain, and a daughter, Naamah. Jabal was the first among men to erect temples to idols, and Jubal invented the music sung and played therein. Tubal-cain was rightly {118} named, for he completed the work of his ancestor Cain. Cain committed murder, and Tubal-cain, the first who knew how to sharpen iron and copper, furnished the instruments used in wars and combats. Naamah, “the lovely,” earned her name from the sweet sounds which she drew from her cymbals when she called the worshippers to pay homage to idols.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ BR 23. 2–3; Yashar Bereshit, 10b; Yerushalmi Yebamot 6, 7c (on the meaning of the name Zillah comp. Philo, *De Posteritate Caini*, 33, whose explanation agrees with Yerushalmi); Yalkut I, 47 (in the Oxford MS. מ"ט מ"ד is given as the source; comp. also Theodor on BR 22. 3); ps.-Philo, 2 (the sentence *et coepit... psalterii* should be read after *organorum*, and the words *et corrumpere terram* before *indigna est deus*); Theophilus, II, 30. Opinions differ concerning Naamah, Tubal-cain's sister. According to one, this Naamah, “the lovely one”, was Noah's wife (BR, *loc. cit.*; comp. also Mishle 31, 111, where it is said that the piety of Noah's wife was like that of her husband), whereas another view maintains that it was another Naamah whom Noah married. Naamah, Tubal-cain's sister, is further identified with the beautiful woman to whose charms the angels became victims; comp. MHG I, 118 (this is very likely based on PRE, as remarked

THE DESCENDANTS OF ADAM AND LILITH

When the wives of Lamech heard the decision of Adam, that they were to continue to live with their husband, they turned upon him, saying, "O physician, heal thine own lameness!" They were alluding to the fact that he himself had been living apart from his wife since the death of Abel, for he had said, "Why should I beget children, if it is but to expose them to death?"⁴⁶

by Schechter); Zohar I, 55a; Zohar Ruth 99a (beginning נחמיה פתח 'ר); Midrash Aggada Gen. 4. 22. Whatever has been said in other sources concerning Istehar (comp. vol. I, p. 149) is referred to Naamah in the last passage: she did not consent to gratify the desire of the fallen angels. But in the kabbalistic sources cited above (comp. further Zohar III, 76b, as well as Kaneh 103b; for more details see Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 57, seq. and 447, as well as Ginzberg's article "Ashmedai" in *Jewish Encyclopedia*) Naamah, the sister of Tubal-cain, is said to be the wife of Shamdan, from whose union sprang forth Ashmedai (=the devil par excellence), who together with Lilith strangles little children (comp. vol. I, pp. 65-66), while Naamah, like the latter, fools men in their dreams. On Naamah the musician, and the influence of her sensual music which corrupted humanity, comp. further Yerushalmi Targumim Gen. 4. 22; Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 72-74; note 14 on vol. I, p. 152.

⁴⁶. BR 23. 4; Tan. Bereshit 11; BaR 14. 2; 'Erubin 18b; Tan. B. I, 20. The justification of Adam's celibacy in the text is taken from the last passage (this statement presupposes that Abel scarcely lived a few months; comp. note 11), whereas in 'Erubin his celibacy appears to be as an atonement for his sin, and it is also presupposed that the first two sons were born before the fall, or at least begotten before that occurrence. Comp. note 4.

Though he avoided intercourse with Eve, he was visited in his sleep by female spirits, and from his union with them sprang shades and demons of various kinds,⁴⁷ and they were endowed with peculiar gifts.

Once upon a time there lived in Palestine a very rich and pious man, who had a son named Rabbi Ḥanina. He knew the whole of the Torah by heart. When he was at the point of death, he sent for his son, Rabbi Ḥanina, and bade him, as his last request, to study the Torah day and night, fulfil the commands of the law, and be a faithful friend to the poor. He also told him that he and his wife, the mother of Rabbi Ḥanina, would die on the selfsame day, and the seven days of mourning for the two would end on the eve of the Passover. He enjoined him not to grieve excessively, but to go to market on that day, and buy the first article offered {119} to him, no matter how costly it might be. If it happened to be an edible, he was to prepare it and serve it with much ceremony. His expense and trouble would receive their recompense. All happened as foretold: the man and his wife died upon the same

⁴⁷ 'Erubin 18b (לילין) "spectres", as in Apocalypse of Baruch 10. 8); Tan. B. I, 20; BR 20. 11 and 24. 6. Only the last mentioned source contains the assertion that Eve likewise became the mother of spirits through her union with male spirits; see Zohar I, 54b, and III, 76b, where it is said that even now the propagation of this species is continued by virtue of the union of men with spirits in their sleep. Comp. note 45. It is possible that this conception of the origin of spirits (evil ones? comp., however, BR 20. 11) is intended to oppose the assertion of the Persians that the redeemer "Saoshyant" will spring up from the seed of Zarathustra that went to the ground. Comp. Bund. 32. 8, 9 and Yt. 13. 62.

day, and the end of the week of mourning coincided with the eve of the Passover. The son in turn carried out his father's behest: he repaired to market, and there he met an old man who offered a silver dish for sale. Although the price asked was exorbitant, yet he bought it, as his father had bidden. The dish was set upon the Seder table, and when Rabbi Ḥanina opened it, he found a second dish within, and inside of this a live frog, jumping and hopping around gleefully. He gave the frog food and drink, and by the end of the festival he was grown so big that Rabbi Ḥanina made a cabinet for him, in which he ate and lived. In the course of time, the cabinet became too small, and the Rabbi built a chamber, put the frog within, and gave him abundant food and drink. All this he did that he might not violate his father's last wish. But the frog waxed and grew; he consumed all his host owned, until, finally, Rabbi Ḥanina was stripped bare of all his possessions. Then the frog opened his mouth and began to speak. "My dear Rabbi Ḥanina," he said, "do not worry! Seeing thou didst raise me and care for me, thou mayest ask of me whatever thy heart desireth, and it shall be granted thee." Rabbi Ḥanina made reply, "I desire naught but that thou shouldst teach me the whole of the Torah." The frog assented, and he did, indeed, teach him the whole of the Torah, and the seventy languages of men besides.⁴⁸ His method was to write a few words upon a scrap of paper, which he {120} had his pupil swallow. Thus he acquired not alone the Torah and the

⁴⁸. Concerning this number of languages comp. note 72 on vol. I, p. 173.

seventy tongues, but also the language of beasts and birds. Thereupon the frog spoke to the wife of Rabbi Ḥanina: "Thou didst tend me well, and I have given thee no recompense. But thy reward will be paid thee before I depart from you, only you must both accompany me to the woods. There you shall see what I shall do for you." Accordingly, they went to the woods with him. Arrived there, the frog began to cry aloud, and at the sound all sorts of beasts and birds assembled. These he commanded to produce precious stones, as many as they could carry. Also they were to bring herbs and roots for the wife of Rabbi Ḥanina, and he taught her how to use them as remedies for all varieties of disease. All this they were bidden to take home with them. When they were about to return, the frog addressed them thus: "May the Holy One, blessed be He, have mercy upon you, and requite you for all the trouble you took on my account, without so much as inquiring who I am. Now I shall make my origin known to you. I am the son of Adam, a son whom he begot during the hundred and thirty years of his separation from Eve. God has endowed me with the power of assuming any form or guise I desire." Rabbi Ḥanina and his wife departed for their home, and they became very rich, and enjoyed the respect and confidence of the king.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Ma'aseh-Buch 143, 40a-40b and the Hebrew from a MS. collection of legends, published in *R.E.J.*, XXXIII, 239, *seq.* The long-winded biography of R. Haninah, or, as the Hebrew version reads, R. Johanan, in this source is identical with the narrative found in *Arabian Nights* concerning the gratitude of three animals (the fish, the dog, and the raven) towards their human benefactor. This narrative, as is well known, is based on an animal fable found in *Pantschatantra*. On the acquisition

SETH AND HIS DESCENDANTS

The exhortations of the wives of Lamech took effect upon Adam. After a separation of one hundred and thirty years, he returned to Eve, and the love he now bore her was {121} stronger by far than in the former time. She was in his thoughts even when she was not present to him bodily. The fruit of their reunion was Seth, who was destined to be the ancestor of the Messiah.⁵⁰

Seth was so formed from birth that the rite of circumcision could be dispensed with. He was thus one of the thirteen men born perfect in a way.⁵¹ Adam begot him in his likeness and image, different from Cain, who had not been in his likeness and image. Thus Seth became, in a genuine sense, the father of the human race, especially the father of the pious, while the depraved and godless are descended from Cain.⁵²

of language through swallowing its written characters see *Bet Nekt ha-Halakah* I, 58, and Goldziher in *Berliner-Festschrift*, 150.

⁵⁰. BR 23, 4–5; PK 5, 43b; PR 15, 67b; Ruth R. 4, 12; Makiri, Prov. 14.28. Ruth Z. 55; Tan. B. I, 20. In allusion to the words of Scripture שֵׁת לִי (Gen. 4. 25), the name שֵׁת is interpreted as “plant” (= שֵׁתִּיל); Aggadat Bereshit (MS. additions), 37. Is the legend concerning Seth and the branch of the tree of life in various compilations of the Vita Adae (comp. Preuschen, *Adamschriften*, 41 and 46) related to this interpretation of the name? The name Seth is also connected with שֵׁת “foundation”: he became the foundation of mankind; BaR 14. 12; MHG I, 119; Lekah and Midrash Aggada on Gen. 4. 2.

⁵¹. ARN 2, 12; Tan. Noah 5; Tan. B. I, 32; Tehillim 9, 84. Comp. note 318 on vol. I, p. 306.

Even during the lifetime of Adam the descendants of Cain became exceedingly wicked, dying successively, one after another, each more wicked than the former. They were intolerable in war, and vehement in robberies, and if any one were slow to murder people, yet was he bold in his profligate behavior in acting unjustly and doing injury for gain.

Now as to Seth. When he was brought up, and came to those years in which he could discern what was good, he became a virtuous man, and as he was himself of excellent character, so he left children behind him who imitated his virtues. All these proved to be of good disposition. They also inhabited one and the same country without dissensions, and in a happy condition, without any misfortune's falling upon them, until they died. They

⁵². PRE 2. Hardly anything is known in the older rabbinic literature of the glorification of Seth, which has prevailed for some time, as may be seen from the existence of a gnostic sect, the Sethiani, who identified him with the Messiah (comp. Preuschen, *Adamschriften*, 48–51; Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphicus*, 141, 143, 145). Certain traces of this glorification have been retained by Josephus, *Antiqui.* 1, 2, 3, and in the apocryphal and pseudepigraphic literature (Ecclu. 49. 16; Jub. 19. 24; Enoch 85. 8–9; 2 Enoch 33. 10. See also index, s. v. “Seth, Descendants of”). Only in kabbalistic writings has this view, supposedly favored by BR 23. 5 and PRE 22, attained importance. Hence, for instance, it is asserted that the soul of Seth entered into Moses and will again reappear in the Messiah. The account by Syncellus, 1. 16–17 concerning the translation of Seth to the angels, who instructed him about the fall of the angels, the fall of man, the deluge, and the advent of the Messiah, seems to go back to an apocryphal book of Seth (very likely of Jewish origin). Comp. note 1 and the following note.

also were the inventors of that peculiar sort of wisdom which is concerned with the heavenly bodies and their order. And that their inventions might not be lost before they were sufficiently {122} known, they made two pillars, upon Adam's prediction that the world was to be destroyed at one time by the force of fire and at another time by the violence and quantity of water. The one was of brick, the other of stone, and they inscribed their discoveries on both, that in case the pillar of brick should be destroyed by the flood, the pillar of stone might remain, and exhibit these discoveries to mankind, and also inform them that there was another pillar, of brick, erected by them.⁵³

⁵³ Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 2. 3. On the astronomic studies of the antediluvian generations comp. also BR 26. 5. The chronologists Suidas (s. v. Σήθ), Michael Glycas, *Annales* 228–233, and Johannes Malala I. 151, Joel, *Chronographia*, p. 3, know not only to report about Seth's astronomical knowledge but also about his invention of the Hebrew characters, as well as the division of time into weeks, months and years. He received his knowledge from the angel Uriel who came to him (Syncellus I. 16–17, on the other hand, speaks of Seth's stay among the angels), and revealed to him this knowledge, as he subsequently did to Enoch. The legend concerning the two tablets, which Seth and his children respectively made, reads differently in Vita Adae 50. 1–3. For a detailed discussion concerning this legend, see Ginzberg's Hebrew essay מבול של אש (reprinted from *Ha-Goren* VIII, 35–51), which also contains a discussion on the conception about the conflagration of the world mentioned by Philo (*Moses*, 2. 36, Mangey's edition, 175) and the Rabbis. See also Bousset, *Zeitschrift für NT. Wissenschaft*, 1902. It should also be noted here that Josippon 2. 8 (which was borrowed by Yashar Bereshit, 10a,

ENOSH

Enosh was asked who his father was, and he named Seth. The questioners, the people of his time, continued: “Who was the father of Seth?” Enosh: “Adam.” — “And who was the father of

below) considers these tablets as the work of Seth’s grandchild Kenan. Josippon knows also to report that these tablets with their Hebrew characters could still be seen on some island in India in the time of Alexander the Great. It is further maintained that in that place there is a city, full of all kinds of treasures, which Kenan had founded but which no one can enter, because he rendered it inaccessible by means of astronomical and astrological knowledge and witchcraft. Kenan’s bewitched town appears to be based on Arabic sources. Kenan is already described in Jub. 8. 3 (comp. the references to the chronologists by Charles) as a master of great wisdom (comp. note 41 on קִנָּה = קִין, which also signifies “writing stylus”). This, however, refers to Kenan the son of Arpachshad who is known to Jub. as well as to Septuagint, but not to the masoretic text. Aggadat Bereshit (introduction) 37, on the other hand says of Kenan that through him his generation came in possession of evil (קִינָה = קִנָּה “possessed”; comp. note 7), since he induced them to worship idols. His son Mahalalel, on the contrary, repented of his sins, and returned to God, whom he praised (הִלֵּל) and extolled. On Mahalalel comp. Jub. 19. 4 (one of the seven pious men of the pre-Abrahamic times: Adam, Seth, Enosh, Mahalalel, Enoch, Noah, and Shem) and 2 Enoch 33. 10, which mentions the books composed by Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared, and Enoch. These books were guarded by the angels Arukh and Parukh. Comp. Yerahmeel 24. 7, and the parallel passages cited by Gaster, where Tubal-Cain is described as the one who had made the tablets.

The Legends of the Jews

Adam?" — "He had neither father nor mother, God formed him from the dust of the earth." — "But man has not the appearance of dust!" — "After death man returns to dust, as God said, 'And man shall turn again unto dust;' but on the day of his creation, man was made in the image of God." — "How was the woman created?" — "Male and female He created them." — "But how?" — "God took water and earth, and moulded them together in the form of man." — "But how?" pursued the questioners.

Enosh took six clods of earth, mixed them, and moulded them, and formed an image of dust and clay. "But," said the people, "this image does not walk, nor does it possess any breath of life." He then essayed to show them how God breathed the breath of life into the nostrils of Adam, but when he began to blow his breath into the image he had formed, Satan entered it, and the figure walked, and the {123} people of his time who had been inquiring these matters of Enosh went astray after it, saying, "What is the difference between bowing down before this image and paying homage to a man?"⁵⁴

⁵⁴. Yerahmeel 23. 6, and in a somewhat abbreviated form in *Hadar*, Gen. 4.26. Comp. also PRE 45, with respect to the golden calf: Sammael roared out of the mouth of the calf in order to mislead Israel. The origin of idolatry occupied the minds of the Greeks, and the Jewish-Alexandrian schools accepted, with some modifications, the theory of Euhemerus, according to which its origin was due to the worship of dead heroes. Through the Jewish writers this theory reached the Church Fathers; comp. Wisdom 14. 12–13; Clementine *Homilies* 9. 5 (which reads: This is the beginning of idolatry: When Nimrod, later known as Zoroaster, was

The generation of Enosh were thus the first idol worshippers,

struck by lightning, the masses perceived in it a special distinction, and therefore erected a temple on his grave. Whereupon the princes of various countries laid claim to similar glory; comp. note 85 on vol. I, p. 178): Jerome on Ezek. 23. 12 and Hos. 2. 10 (Ninus, after a victorious struggle against Zoroaster, placed his father Belus among the gods). Comp. further the sources cited in Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 198-199. The statement frequently found among Church Fathers that the demons and the fallen angels, respectively, seduced men to idolatry (comp. e. g. Minucius Felix, *Octav.*, 26. 7; Justin Martyr, *Apologia*, 2. 15; Clementine *Recognitiones*, 4. 13-15; Tatian, *Or. Ad Graecos*, 8; Athenagoras, *Legat. Pro Christianis* 24; Lactantius, *Institutiones*, 2. 16), and taught them the making of images and statues, goes back to pseudepigraphic writings of the Jews (comp. e. g. Enoch 66. 6 and 99. 7; Jub. 11. 4) but is entirely unknown to the older rabbinic literature. This view is only found in later writings (comp. e. g. the legend in 'Aseret ha-Dibrot 71) and especially in the Kabbalah. Comp. Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 93. The beginning of idolatry, according to the older rabbinic sources, based on their interpretation of Gen. 4. 26, took place in the time of Enosh (hence his name is "sickly", i. e., mankind became ill in his time; Aggadat Bereshit, introduction, 37; Yashar Bereshit, 10a); Sifre D., 43; Shabbat 118b; WR 23. 3; Mekilta Bahodesh 6, 67b; Midrash Tannaim 20 and 195; BR 2. 3; 5. 1 and 5; 23. 7; Tan. B. I, 52, and IV, 24; Tan. Noah 18 and Yitro 16; Tehillim 1, 11; 88, 380; Yerushalmi Targumim and Onkelos on Gen. 4. 26 (on the reading of Onkelos comp. Berliner, *ad loc.*). Jerome, *ad loc.*, knows of the rabbinic interpretation of this verse (Gen., *loc. cit.*) together with that of Septuagint, Aquila, and Peshitta with which Ecclu. 49. 16 is in agreement. See also Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 2, and *De Praemiis*, 2 (end), where Enosh is considered as the type of the pious. Comp. also Theodoretus, *Quaestiones in Gen.*, 247, who takes Seth as the subject of הוהל. It is noteworthy that the passages cited above, as well as

and the punishment for their folly was not delayed long. God caused the sea to transgress its bounds, and a portion of the earth was flooded. This was the time also when the mountains became rocks, and the dead bodies of men began to decay. And still another consequence of the sin of idolatry was that the countenances of the men of the following generations were no longer in the likeness and image of God, as the countenances of Adam, Seth, and Enosh had been. They resembled centaurs and apes, and the demons lost their fear of men.⁵⁵

other passages (comp. Ekah, introduction, 24, 26; PR 42, 178b and 193a), speak of the wicked generation of Enosh, but not of the wicked Enosh. Maimonides, however (*Yad ha-Hazakah 'Abodat Kokabim* 1. 1) observes (very likely on the basis of older sources; comp. Hekalot 6, 173, and Shabbat *loc. cit.*: באנוש) that Enosh himself was an idolater. In Baraita 32 Middot (Yalkut I, 47; comp. note 45) it is explicitly stated that at the time of Enosh images and immorality were introduced by the descendants of Cain. Comp. vol. II, p. 260, and vol. III, p. 374. Comp. note 56 (end).

⁵⁵ BR 23. 6–7; Baraita 32 Middot (in Yalkut I, 47) reads: As soon as this generation committed three sins (idolatry, murder, and incest; comp. the end of the preceding note), three visitations came upon them: the ocean flooded a third part of the earth; there arose mountains, valleys, and rocky ground, whereas prior to that everything had been smooth and even (comp. notes 29, 30); man's stature was shortened. In Messianic times everything will regain its former position. The overflowing of the ocean in the time of Enosh is frequently alluded to; comp. Mekilta Bahodesh 6, 67b; Sifre D., 43; Midrash Tannaim 20 and 195; BR 5. 6; Shekalim 6, 50a; Tan. B. I, 52, and IV, 24; Tan. Noah 18 and Yitro 16; Tehillim 88, 300. On the transformation of men into apes comp. vol. I, p. 180, and the notes appertaining to it; Enoch 19. 2 (the women who

But there was a still more serious consequence from the idolatrous practices introduced in the time of Enosh. When God drove Adam forth from Paradise, the Shekinah remained behind, enthroned above a cherub under the tree of life. The angels descended from heaven and repaired thither in hosts, to receive their instructions, and Adam and his descendants sat by the gate to bask in the splendor of the Shekinah, sixty-five thousand times more radiant than the splendor of the sun. This brightness of the Shekinah makes all upon whom it falls exempt from disease, and neither insects nor demons can come nigh unto them to do them harm.

Thus it was until the time of Enosh, when men began to gather gold, silver, gems, and pearls from all parts of the earth, and made idols thereof a thousand parasangs high. {124} What was worse, by means of the magic arts taught them by the angels Uzza and Azrael, they set themselves as masters over the heavenly spheres, and forced the sun, the moon, and the stars to be subservient to themselves instead of the Lord. This impelled the angels to ask God: “What is man, that Thou art mindful of him?’ Why didst Thou abandon the highest of the heavens, the seat of Thy glory and Thy exalted Throne in ‘Arabot, and descend to men, who pay worship to idols, putting Thee upon a level with them?” The Shekinah was induced to leave the earth and ascend to heaven, amid the blare and flourish of the trumpets of the myriads of angel hosts.⁵⁶

seduced the angels were transformed into sirens); Koran 2. 60 and 7. 174.

THE FALL OF THE ANGELS

⁵⁶. Hekalot 6, 172; *Hakam ha-Razin* in Yalkut Reubeni 25b–25c; Ziyroni, Gen. 4. 26. On the view that the Shekinah dwells under the tree of life comp. vol. I, p. 97. On the withdrawal of the Shekinah from the earth to heaven see vol. II, p. 260. Those who came near the Shekinah remained safe from vermin; comp. vol. III, p. 472, and IV, p. 242. On the opposition of the angels to the creation of man, see vol. I, pp. 53–54 and note 15 on vol. I, p. 152. On the subjugation of the heavenly bodies through the power of magic, comp. Tan. Bereshit 12 (read מורידין instead of רואין); MHG I, 131; note 15 on vol. I, p. 152. The two fallen angels bear the names of Uzza and Azrael, Azza and Azrael, Shemhazai and Azazel. The identity of Azrael with Azazel does not require any proof; but it has not hitherto been noticed that Uzza or Azza were originally the same as Shemhazai. Since nearly all the names of angels are theophorous (this was already noticed by the old Midrashim; comp. PK 12, 108b, and the parallel passage cited by Buber, which reads: The name of God is combined with every angel), Uzza and Azza are therefore to be taken as abbreviated forms of Jehouzza and Iehoazza (comp. the name עזיה or עזיה in the Bible; on the abbreviation of theophorous names, particularly those containing the particles יהו and יה, comp. note 42). This abbreviation is due to the fact that it was not considered proper to combine the names יהו and יה with the fallen angels. Another way of avoiding this combination was the substitution of שם “the Name” for יהו. Hence the name Shemhazai, which differs only slightly from Jehouza (ע and ח are often interchanged), goes back to שמעזי = יהועזי. On the ascending of the Shekinah amid the sounding of the trumpets, comp. Hanok, 114, and vol. II, 306. On Enosh as the originator of idolatry, see Zohar I, 56a, where, however, Helakot, *loc. cit.*, and Maimonides, *Yad ha-Hazakah*, ‘Abodat Kokabim 1. 1, were very likely made use of. Comp. also Luria’s note 4 on PRE. 22 and note 45 (end).

The depravity of mankind, which began to show itself in the time of Enosh, had increased monstrously in the time of his grandson Jared, by reason of the fallen angels. When the angels saw the beautiful, attractive daughters of men, they lusted after them, and spoke: "We will choose wives for ourselves only from among the daughters of men, and beget children with them." Their chief Shemhazai said, "I fear me, ye will not put this plan of yours into execution, and I alone shall have to suffer the consequences of a great sin." Then they answered him, and said: "We will all swear an oath, and we will bind ourselves, separately and together, not to abandon the plan, but to carry it through to the end."

Two hundred angels descended to the summit of Mount Hermon, which owes its name to this very occurrence, because they bound themselves there to fulfil their purpose, {125} on the penalty of Herem, anathema. Under the leadership of twenty captains they defiled themselves with the daughters of men, unto whom they taught charms, conjuring formulas, how to cut roots, and the efficacy of plants. The issue from these mixed marriages was a race of giants, three thousand ells tall, who consumed the possessions of men. When all had vanished, and they could obtain nothing more from them, the giants turned against men and devoured many of them, and the remnant of men began to trespass against the birds, beasts, reptiles, and fishes, eating their flesh and drinking their blood.

Then the earth complained about the impious evil-doers. But the fallen angels continued to corrupt mankind. Azazel taught men how to make slaughtering knives, arms, shields, and coats of

mail. He showed them metals and how to work them, and armlets and all sorts of trinkets, and the use of rouge for the eyes, and how to beautify the eyelids, and how to ornament themselves with the rarest and most precious jewels and all sorts of paints. The chief of the fallen angels, Shemhazai, instructed them in exorcisms and how to cut roots; Armaros taught them how to raise spells; Baraḳel, divination from the stars; Kawkabel, astrology; Ezeḳeel, augury from the clouds; Araḳiel, the signs of the earth; Samsaweel, the signs of the sun; and Seriel, the signs of the moon.⁵⁷

⁵⁷. Enoch 6–8, where two different sources were probably combined into one, since twenty archangels are enumerated in 6, whereas 8 has only ten (in our texts nine only are given, owing to the fact that one name fell out), and it is well known that the number of the members of the heavenly court is differently given in the different sources, as twenty, ten, and seven, respectively; comp. vol. I, p. 140, where, according to the Hebrew book of Enoch 176, the twenty archangels are enumerated. Comp. further Index, s. v. "Archangels". On the names of the angels in this part of Enoch (see the vast material given by Charles 17), the following may be noted: Artakifa = ארעא תקיף; Ramiel = רעמיאל (occurs also in the Hebrew book of Enoch, loc. cit, as the "angel of thunder"); Tamiel = תהומאל, "angel of the deep "; Danel is a Greek scribal error, Δανειήλ, for Λανειήλ=Λαλειήλ ליליאל "angel of the night", as in the Hebrew Enoch, loc. cit.; Batarrel stands for Matarel, מטריאל in the Hebrew Enoch, "angel of rain"; Zakiel is in Hebrew Enoch זקיאל "angel of storms", and similarly in the magic text published by Stube, *Jüdisch-babylonische Zaubertexte* 26. Satarel occurs in Berakot 57b as the name of a person. As the name of an angel it signifies "angel of hidden things", i. e., the secrets of nature. It may, however, be remarked that עסתר,

“Venus”, appears in Jewish texts as an angel (comp. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, index, s. v.). Accordingly Satarel may stand for עסתראל. — The fall of the angels plays an important part in Jewish folklore, as well as in Jewish theology, and the following summary of the development of this belief may therefore not be out of place. In connection with Gen. 6. 1–4 we find in Enoch (in addition to the passages cited above, comp. Charles’ index, s. v. “Angels”, as well as Bousset, *Religion*, 328, *seq.*, and 560, *seq.*) a legend concerning the angels who in the time of Jared (on the play of the word ירד “descended”, comp. Jub. 4. 15 and Midrash Aggada Gen. 5, 18, as well as A’ggadat Bereshit, introduction 37, not in reference to the angels, but the generation which “sank low”) rebelled against God and descended from heaven to earth where they were degraded (2 Peter 2., 4 reads: “cast them down”, which is a midrashic interpretation of נפילים, Gen. 6. 4, deriving it from the Hifil and not from the Kal. This interpretation is also known, along with others, to BR 27. 7. Comp. also Aggadat Bereshit, Introduction 39, where it is connected with פלא, according to which it means “the distinguished”), because they had sexual intercourse with the daughters of man. These fallen angels are the originators of all evil; through them witchcraft, astrology, and idolatry came down to man. They themselves were judged by God, and in accordance with His judgment, are awaiting punishment in the infernal regions at the end of time. But their descendants do mischief as spirits and demons all the time; they entice man to idolatry, immorality, and all kinds of sins (comp. note 54, and Bousset, index, s. v. “Daemonen”), and lure them on to their destruction. Jub. 4. 15, 22, and 5. 1, also speaks of the sexual intercourse between the angels and the daughters of man, and likewise ascribes the origin of evil to the demons (comp. especially 10. 1, *seq.*), the descendants of these sinful unions; but no mention is made of any rebellion of the angels in this pseudepigraphic work. On the contrary, it is stated there that these

While all these abominations defiled the earth, the pious

angels were sent by God to the earth (4. 14), "that they should instruct the children of men and that they should do justice and uprightness on earth", but having been lured by the beauty of women, they fell victims to them. The same view is to be found also in Apocalypse of Baruch 66. 11-15. Still more striking is the agreement between Jub. and the elaborated legend concerning the fall of the angels in the Clementine *Homilies*, 8. 11-15. This was also known to Commodianus, *Instructiones* 3. On the fall of the angels comp. also vol. I, pp. 148, 149, and note 10 appertaining thereto. In 2 Enoch 18 the fall of the angels at the time of Jared seems to be taken as a continuation of the original rebellion of Satan and his hosts (comp. on this point vol. I, pp. 14, 18, 53-54, 62-64, and the notes appertaining thereto, especially note 34 on the last passage), and this may be compared with Enoch 18. 15-16, where the rebellion of the stars (=angels) at the beginning of creation is spoken of. The literal interpretation of Gen. 6. 1-4 is found not only in the above-mentioned pseudepigraphic works, but also in the Septuagint (on the correct reading of this text comp. Frankel, *Ueber den Einfluss*, 46-47, and *Vorstudien* 67. See also Dillmann in commentary on Gen., *ad loc.*); Philo, *De Gigant.*, 2; Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 3. 1; Aquila and Peshitta, *ad loc.*; 2 Peter 2. 4; Jude 6. The older Church Fathers follow this view, and make use of it in their explanations of the existence of evil in this world (comp. above and note 54); see e. g., Justin Martyr, *Apologia*, 11, 5, and *Dialogue*, 79; Clementine, *Homilies*, 8. 11, seg.; Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata* 5, 1, 10; Tertullian, *De Virgin.* 7 and *De Idol.* 9; Lactantius, *Institutiones*, 2. 15. The first attempt at a different interpretation of this Gen. passage is found in 12 Testaments, Reuben 5. 6. Here the intercourse of the angels with the women is described in the following words: "They (the angels) transformed themselves into the shape of men, and appeared to them when they (the women) were with their husbands. And the women,

Enoch lived in a secret place. None among men knew his abode,

lusting in their minds after their forms, gave birth to giants.” The giants, therefore, are not the physical descendants of the angels, but for their size they are indebted to their mothers whose imaginations were filled with the beauty and tallness of the angels (on their high stature, see vol. III, p. 268; hence in the Testaments: “for the watchers appeared to them as reaching even unto heaven”; this is in agreement with the explanation given by the Rabbis of the name ענקים as בקומתן החמה שבעניקין; comp. Sotah 34b; BR 26. 7, and many of the parallel passages cited by Theodor, *ad loc.*). The same view is also explicitly stated in Kallah 2, 8a, and the obscure passage in Tan. B. I, 26, is very likely to be explained accordingly. BR 27. 7 is a rationalistic interpretation (comp. Theodor, *ad loc.*) of this verse. While the literal meaning of “the sons of God” is still adhered to in the 12 Testaments, Reuben, *loc. cit.*, as well as in the 12 Testaments, Naphtali, 3. 5, Philo interprets this phrase to signify “virtuous men”, and “the daughters of man” as “wicked and corrupted women” (*Quaestiones in Gen.*, I, 92). In the authoritative writings of the Synagogue great stress is laid on the fact that Scripture does not know of any sexual intercourse between angels and women. “The sons of God” is declared to signify “distinguished men”, particularly the ante-diluvian generations, who enjoyed happy and long lives, like the angels. See Sifre N., 86; Sifre Z., 194; BR 27.2-5; Symmachus, Onkelos, and Targum Yerushalmi on Gen. 6. 2 and 4; Trypho, as quoted by Justin Martyr, Dialogue, 79. The first Christian author who discarded the literal interpretation of “the sons of God” was Julius Africanus (according to a quotation by Cyncellus, I, 34; comp. Charles, *Jub.*, 4.15; Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 4. 31, a contemporary of Africanus, knows that אלהים may mean “judge”, but does not assign this signification to אל, in Gen. 6. 2), who lived one hundred years later than Trypho and R. Simon (comp. BR, *loc. cit.*). These two Rabbis expressed themselves most decisively against the myth of the angels’ intercourse with the women. On the interpretation of

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or what had become of him, for he was sojourning with the angel watchers and holy ones. Once he heard the call addressed to him: “Enoch, thou scribe of justice, go {126} unto the watchers of the heavens, who have left the high heavens, the eternal place of holiness, defiling themselves with women, doing as men do, taking wives unto themselves, and casting themselves into the arms of destruction upon earth. Go and proclaim unto them that they shall find neither peace nor pardon. For every time they take joy in their offspring, they shall see the violent death of their sons, and sigh over the ruin of their children. They will pray and supplicate evermore, but never shall they attain to mercy or peace.”

Enoch repaired to Azazel and the other fallen angels, to announce the doom uttered against them. They all were filled with fear. Trembling seized upon them, and they implored Enoch to set up a petition for them and read it to the Lord of heaven, for they could not speak with God as aforetime, nor even raise their

the “sons of God” as the descendants of Seth, met with among the later Church Fathers, comp. note 14: on vol. I, p. 152. On the traces of the myth of the fallen angels in the non-authoritative writings of the Synagogue, comp. vol. I, pp. 148–150, and note 10 appertaining thereto. The designation of Adam as “the son of God” in Luke 3. 38 (in a genealogical sense) shows that already in the early days of Christianity the conception of the incarnation of a God-like being was not confined to Christ. The rabbinic sources (Tan. B. V, 77; BaR 16. 24 and parallel passages) find in Ps. 82. 6-7 the contrast expressed between “the sons of the Most High” and Adam.

eyes heavenward, for shame on account of their sins. Enoch granted their request, and in a vision he was vouchsafed the answer which he was to carry back to the angels. It appeared to Enoch that he was wafted into heaven upon clouds, and was set down before the throne of God. God spake: "Go forth and say to the watchers of heaven who have sent thee hither to intercede for them: Verily, it is you who ought to plead in behalf of men, not men in behalf of you I Why did ye forsake the high, holy, and eternal heavens, to pollute yourselves with the daughters of men, taking wives unto yourselves, doing like the races of the earth, and begetting giant sons? Giants begotten by flesh and spirits will be called evil spirits on earth, and on the earth will be their dwelling-place. Evil spirits proceed from their bodies, because they are created from {127} above, and from the holy watchers is their beginning and primal origin; they will be evil spirits on earth, and evil spirits they will be named. And the spirits of heaven have their dwelling in heaven, but the spirits of the earth, which were born upon the earth, have their dwelling on the earth. And the spirits of the giants will devour, oppress, destroy, attack, do battle, and cause destruction on the earth, and work affliction. They will take no kind of food, nor will they thirst, and they will be invisible. And these spirits will rise up against the children of men and against the women, because they have proceeded from them. Since the days of murder and destruction and the death of the giants, when the spirits went forth from the soul of their flesh, in order to destroy without incurring judgment—thus will they destroy until the day when the great consummation of the great world be consummated. And now as to the watchers who have sent thee to intercede for them, who had been aforetime in

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heaven, say to them: You have been in heaven, and though the hidden things had not yet been revealed to you, you know worthless mysteries, and in the hardness of your hearts you have recounted these to the women, and through these mysteries women and men work much evil on earth. Say to them therefore: You have no peace!”⁵⁸

⁵⁸. Enoch 12-16; Jub. 4. 17-23. Numerous legends are extant in the first mentioned pseudepigraphic work, as well as in 2 Enoch and in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, concerning the person of Enoch. He is the inventor of all sciences and knowledge; he has intercourse with angels in heaven, and is finally translated into paradise or heaven where he dwells and performs the function of heavenly scribe or secretary. All these legends left no trace in the authoritative rabbinic sources, but are well known to the Church Fathers (comp. the numerous references in Schürer, *Geschichte*, III, 284-286, to which many more may be added; see, 4. 13), and other Christian writers of ancient and medieval times; comp. e. g., *Visio Pauli* 20, and extracts from Christian literature by Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphicus*, 106- 223. In the entire Tannaitic literature and in both Talmudim no mention is made of Enoch. This name, however, is found two or three times in the older Midrashim (PK 23, 155a=WR 29. 22; BR 25. 1), but without the glory conferred on it by pseudepigraphic and Christian literature. It is stated in BR, *loc. cit.*, that Enoch was not translated, as the heretics (Christians or Jewish-Christians) assert, but that he died like any other human being. He even died before his time, because he had not been of a steadfast character, and God preferred that he should die young while he was yet righteous. Comp. also Koheleth 7. 15. But even pre-Christian authors like Wisdom 15. 11, and especially Philo, *Quaestiones in Gen.*, I, 82-86, as well as *De Abrahamo*, 3, and *De Praemiis*, 3, not only deny the translation of Enoch,

but know to report that he was originally a sinner, but subsequently followed the right path. The remark in PK, *loc. cit.*, concerning Enoch as the seventh since Adam who pleased God (like everything else “that was seventh”) is almost literally found in Enoch 93. 3 and Jude 14. But all the Midrash wants to say is that Enoch was better than the six previous patriarchs and this is no particular merit; comp. note 1. The superiority of Abraham’s piety to that of Enoch and Noah is emphasized in an old source from which Lekah on Gen. 5. 24 is an extract (it is another version of the Haggadah recorded in ER 30. 10; Tan. B. I, 81). Septuagint on Gen. 5. 24 is very likely to be understood to mean that Enoch was translated to heaven, which is stated also in Ecclu. 44. 16 and 49. 14 (פנים in this verse stands in some relation to its use in later mystic literature, where the designation of Enoch-Metatron as שר הפנים, “angel of the face”, occurs frequently), as well as by Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I. 3. 4, and Hebrews 11. 5. Hence Enoch and Elijah are the only two “witnesses” (comp. Revelation 11. 3) in Christian legends, because they were the only two that did not die (see the material collected by Bousset, *Antichrist*, index, s. v. “Zeugen”). In Ascension of Isaiah 9. 9, Isaiah sees Enoch in the seventh heaven, the residence of the righteous since the time of Adam. In view of the fact that no distinction is made here between Enoch and the other pious men it may be assumed that according to this apocryphal work Enoch came to heaven after his death. This would be in agreement with the official doctrine of the Synagogue (comp. above, and Onkelos Gen. 5. 24). Jub. 4. 23 and Enoch 70. 3–4 explicitly state that paradise was the abode of Enoch (comp. also Preuschen, *Adamschriften*, 37–38). This is also the opinion of later rabbinic writings. See further on this point note 61. The difference of opinion concerning Enoch’s abode after his translation corresponds to that about Elijah; comp. note 32 on vol. IV, p. 200. MHG I, 123, quotes the following from a supposedly tannaitic source (the introductory formula is תאנא): Three men ascended

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ENOCH, RULER AND TEACHER

After Enoch had lived a long time secluded from men, he once heard the voice of an angel calling to him: "Enoch, Enoch, make thyself ready and leave the house and the secret place wherein thou hast kept thyself hidden, and assume dominion over men, to teach them the ways in which {128} they shall walk, and the deeds which they shall do, in order that they may walk in the ways of God."

Enoch left his retreat and betook himself to the haunts of men. He gathered them about him, and instructed them in the conduct pleasing to God. He sent messengers all over to announce, "Ye who desire to know the ways of God and righteous conduct, come ye to Enoch!" Thereupon a vast concourse of people thronged about him, to hear the wisdom he would teach and learn from his mouth what is good and right. Even kings and princes, no less than one hundred and thirty in number, assembled about him, and submitted themselves to his dominion, to be taught and guided by him, as he taught and guided all the others. Peace reigned thus over the whole world all the two hundred and forty-three years during which the influence of Enoch prevailed.

At the expiration of this period, in the year in which Adam

to heaven to perform service (*i. e.*, they served as angels, מלאכי השרת); they are: Enoch, Moses, and Elijah. This statement is followed by a remark that all the pious, after their death, are transformed into angels. This is certainly a later addition. On Moses comp vol. III, p. 473, and on Elijah see vol. IV, p. 201.

died, and was buried with great honors by Seth, Enosh, Enoch, and Methuselah, Enoch resolved to retire again from intercourse with men, and devote himself wholly to the service of God. But he withdrew gradually. First he would spend three days in prayer and praise of God, and on the fourth day he would return to his disciples and grant them instruction. Many years passed thus, then he appeared among them but once a week, later, once a month, and, finally, once a year. The kings, princes, and all others who were desirous of seeing Enoch and hearkening to his words did not venture to come close to him during the times of his retirement. Such awful majesty sat upon his countenance, they feared for their very life if they but looked at him. {129} They therefore resolved that all men should prefer their requests before Enoch on the day he showed himself unto them.

The impression made by the teachings of Enoch upon all who heard them was powerful. They prostrated themselves before him, and cried "Long live the king! Long live the king!" On a certain day, while Enoch was giving audience to his followers, an angel appeared and made known unto him that God had resolved to install him as king over the angels in heaven, as until then he had reigned over men. He called together all the inhabitants of the earth, and addressed them thus: "I have been summoned to ascend into heaven, and I know not on what day I shall go thither. Therefore I will teach you wisdom and righteousness before I go hence." A few days yet Enoch spent among men, and all the time left to him he gave instruction in wisdom, knowledge, God-fearing conduct, and piety, and established law and order, for the regulation of the affairs of men. Then those gathered near him saw a gigantic steed descend from the skies, and they told Enoch

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of it, who said, "The steed is for me, for the time has come and the day when I leave you, never to be seen again." So it was. The steed approached Enoch, and he mounted upon its back, all the time instructing the people, exhorting them, enjoining them to serve God and walk in His ways. Eight hundred thousand of the people followed a day's journey after him. But on the second day Enoch urged his retinue to turn back: "Go ye home, lest death overtake you, if you follow me farther." Most of them heeded his words and went back, but a number remained with him for six days, though {130} he admonished them daily to return and not bring death down upon themselves. On the sixth day of the journey, he said to those still accompanying him, "Go ye home, for on the morrow I shall ascend to heaven, and whoever will then be near me, he will die." Nevertheless, some of his companions remained with him, saying: "Whithersoever thou goest, we will go. By the living God, death alone shall part us."

On the seventh day Enoch was carried into the heavens in a fiery chariot drawn by fiery chargers. The day thereafter, the kings who had turned back in good time sent messengers to inquire into the fate of the men who had refused to separate themselves from Enoch, for they had noted the number of them. They found snow and great hailstones upon the spot whence Enoch had risen, and, when they searched beneath, they discovered the bodies of all who had remained behind with Enoch. He alone was not among them; he was on high in heaven.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Yashar Bereshit, 11a-13a, and thence it was incorporated in BHM IV,

THE ASCENSION OF ENOCH

This was not the first time Enoch had been in heaven. Once before, while he sojourned among men, he had been permitted to see all there is on earth and in the heavens. On a time when he was sleeping, a great grief came upon his heart, and he wept in his dream, not knowing what the grief meant, nor what would happen to him. And there appeared to him two men, very tall. Their faces shone like the sun, and their eyes were like burning lamps, and fire came forth from their lips; their wings were brighter than gold, their hands whiter than snow. They stood at the head of {131} Enoch's bed, and called him by his name. He

129–132. No real parallels are found in the older pseudepigraphic and rabbinic literature to this description of the activity and translation of Enoch (the fiery horse, of course, goes back to 2 Kings 2. 11), although the books of Enoch, Jub., and other writings (comp. the preceding note) know to report a good deal about Enoch's piety and wisdom. He is mentioned as the father of astronomy and calendation also in PRE 8, where it is stated that Noah received instruction from him after his translation (Luria, *ad loc.*, is to be corrected accordingly). See also Midrash Aggada Gen. 5. 24; Eupolemus, 419. In the source of Yashar mention was very likely made also of Enoch's temporary stay with the angels concerning which the books of Enoch speak in detail. The idea that Enoch's countenance was awe-inspiring, and could cause death, is probably related to 2 Enoch 27. 38, whose Enoch legends Yashar employs also elsewhere; comp. vol. I, pp. 136–137, and the following note. The view that Enoch solemnly buried Adam goes back to Seder 'Olam 1 and Baba Batra 121b, whereas according to another legend, it was Seth who attended to his father's funeral. Comp. vol. I, pp. 99–100.

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awoke from his sleep, and hastened and made obeisance to them, and was terrified. And these men said to him: "Be of good cheer, Enoch, be not afraid; the everlasting God hath sent us to thee, and lo! to-day thou shalt ascend with us into heaven. And tell thy sons and thy servants, and let none seek thee, till the Lord bring thee back to them."

Enoch did as he was told, and after he had spoken to his sons, and instructed them not to turn aside from God, and to keep His judgment, these two men summoned him, and took him on their wings, and placed him on the clouds, which moved higher and higher, till they set him down in the first heaven. Here they showed him the two hundred angels who rule the stars, and their heavenly service. Here he saw also the treasures of snow and ice, of clouds and dew.

From there they took him to the second heaven, where he saw the fallen angels imprisoned, they who obeyed not the commandments of God, and took counsel of their own will. The fallen angels said to Enoch, "O man of God! Pray for us to the Lord," and he answered: "Who am I, a mortal man, that I should pray for angels? Who knows whither I go, or what awaits me?"

They took him from thence to the third heaven, where they showed him Paradise, with all the trees of beautiful colors, and their fruits, ripe and luscious, and all kinds of food which they produced, springing up with delightful fragrance. In the midst of Paradise he saw the tree of life, in that place in which God rests when He comes into Paradise. This tree cannot be described for its excellence and sweet fragrance, and it is beautiful, more than

any created {132} thing, and on all its sides it is like gold and crimson in appearance, and transparent as fire, and it covers everything. From its root in the garden there go forth four streams, which pour out honey, milk, oil, and wine, and they go down to the Paradise of Eden, that lies on the confines between the earthly region of corruptibility and the heavenly region of incorruptibility, and thence they go along the earth. He also saw the three hundred angels who keep the garden, and with never-ceasing voices and blessed singing they serve the Lord every day. The angels leading Enoch explained to him that this place is prepared for the righteous, while the terrible place prepared for the sinners is in the northern regions of the third heaven. He saw there all sorts of tortures, and impenetrable gloom, and there is no light there, but a gloomy fire is always burning. And all that place has fire on all sides, and on all sides cold and ice, thus it burns and freezes. And the angels, terrible and without pity, carry savage weapons, and their torture is unmerciful.

The angels took him then to the fourth heaven, and showed him all the comings in and goings forth, and all the rays of the light of the sun and the moon. He saw the fifteen myriads of angels who go out with the sun, and attend him during the day, and the thousand angels who attend him by night. Each angel has six wings, and they go before the chariot of the sun, while one hundred angels keep the sun warm, and light it up. He saw also the wonderful and strange creatures named phoenixes and chalkidri, who attend the chariot of the sun, and go with him, bringing heat and dew. They showed him also the six gates in the east of the fourth heaven, by which the sun goes forth, and the {133} six gates in the west where he sets, and also the gates by

The Legends of the Jews

which the moon goes out, and those by which she enters. In the middle of the fourth heaven he saw an armed host, serving the Lord with cymbals and organs and unceasing voices.

In the fifth heaven he saw many hosts of the angels called Grigori. Their appearance was like men, and their size was greater than the size of the giants, their countenances were withered, and their lips silent. On his question who they were, the angels leading him answered, "These are the Grigori, who with their prince Salamiel rejected the holy Lord." Enoch then said to the Grigori, "Why wait ye, brethren, and serve ye not before the face of the Lord, and why perform ye not your duties before the face of the Lord, and anger not your Lord to the end?" The Grigori listened to the rebuke, and when the trumpets resounded together with a loud call, they also began to sing with one voice, and their voices went forth before the Lord with sadness and tenderness.

In the seventh heaven he saw the seven bands of archangels who arrange and study the revolutions of the stars and the changes of the moon and the revolution of the sun, and superintend the good or evil conditions of the world. And they arrange teachings and instructions and sweet speaking and singing and all kinds of glorious praise. They hold in subjection all living things, both in heaven and on earth. In the midst of them are seven phoenixes, and seven cherubim, and seven six-winged creatures, singing with one voice.

When Enoch reached the seventh heaven, and saw all the {134} fiery hosts of great archangels and incorporeal powers and lordships and principalities and powers, he was afraid and

trembled with a great terror. Those leading him took hold of him, and brought him into the midst of them, and said to him, "Be of good cheer, Enoch, be not afraid," and they showed him the Lord from afar, sitting on His lofty throne, while all the heavenly hosts, divided in ten classes, having approached, stood on the ten steps according to their rank, and made obeisance to the Lord. And so they proceeded to their places in joy and mirth and boundless light, singing songs with low and gentle voices, and gloriously serving Him. They leave not nor depart day or night, standing before the face of the Lord, working His will, cherubim and seraphim, standing around His throne. And the six-winged creatures overshadow all His throne, singing with a soft voice before the face of the Lord, "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts; heaven and earth are full of His glory." When he had seen all these, the angels leading him said to him, "Enoch, up to this time we were ordered to accompany thee." They departed, and he saw them no more. Enoch remained at the extremity of the seventh heaven, in great terror, saying to himself, "Woe is me! What has come upon me!" But then Gabriel came and said unto him, "Enoch, be not afraid, stand up and come with me, and stand up before the face of the Lord forever." And Enoch answered: "O my lord, my spirit has departed from me with fear and trembling. Call the men to me who have brought me to the place! Upon them I have relied, and with them I would go before the face of the Lord." And Gabriel hurried him away like a leaf carried off by the wind, and set him {135} before the face of the Lord. Enoch fell down and worshipped the Lord, who said to him: "Enoch, be not afraid! Rise up and stand before My face forever." And Michael lifted him up, and at the command of the Lord took his earthly robe from him,

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and anointed him with the holy oil, and clothed him, and when he gazed upon himself, he looked like one of God's glorious ones, and fear and trembling departed from him. God called then one of His archangels who was more wise than all the others, and wrote down all the doings of the Lord, and He said to him, "Bring forth the books from My store-place, and give a reed to Enoch, and interpret the books to him." The angel did as he was commanded, and he instructed Enoch thirty days and thirty nights, and his lips never ceased speaking, while Enoch was writing down all the things about heaven and earth, angels and men, and all that is suitable to be instructed in. He also wrote down all about the souls of men, those of them which are not born, and the places prepared for them forever. He copied all accurately, and he wrote three hundred and sixty-six books. After he had received all the instructions from the archangel, God revealed unto him great secrets, which even the angels do not know. He told him how, out of the lowest darkness, the visible and the invisible were created, how He formed heaven, light, water, and earth, and also the fall of Satan and the creation and sin of Adam. He narrated to him, and further revealed to him that the duration of the world will be seven thousand years, and the eighth millennium will be a time when there is no computation, no end, neither years, nor months, nor weeks, nor days, nor hours. {136}

The Lord finished this revelation to Enoch with the words: "And now I give thee Samuil and Raguil, who brought thee to Me. Go with them upon the earth, and tell thy sons what things I have said to thee, and what thou hast seen from the lowest heaven up to My throne. Give them the works written out by thee, and they

shall read them, and shall distribute the books to their children's children and from generation to generation and from nation to nation. And I will give thee My messenger Michael for thy writings and for the writings of thy fathers, Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kenan, Mahalalel, and Jared thy father. And I shall not require them till the last age, for I have instructed My two angels, Ariuk and Mariuk, whom I have put upon the earth as their guardians, and I have ordered them in time to guard them, that the account of what I shall do in thy family may not be lost in the deluge to come. For on account of the wickedness and iniquity of men, I will bring a deluge upon the earth, and I will destroy all, but I will leave a righteous man of thy race with all his house, who shall act according to My will. From their seed will be raised up a numerous generation, and on the extinction of that family, I will show them the books of thy writings and of thy father, and the guardians of them on earth will show them to the men who are true and please Me. And they shall tell to another generation, and they, having read them, shall be glorified at last more than before."

Enoch was then sent to earth to remain there for thirty days to instruct his sons, but before he left heaven, God sent an angel to him whose appearance was like snow, and his hands were like ice. Enoch looked at him, and his face {137} was chilled, that men might be able to endure the sight of him. The angels who took him to heaven put him upon his bed, in the place where his son Methuselah was expecting him by day and by night. Enoch assembled his sons and all his household, and instructed them faithfully about all things he had seen, heard, and written down, and he gave his books to his sons, to keep them and read them,

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admonishing them not to conceal the books, but tell them to all desiring to know. When the thirty days had been completed, the Lord sent darkness upon the earth, and there was gloom, and it hid the men standing with Enoch. And the angels hastened and took Enoch, and carried him to the highest heaven, where the Lord received him and set him before His face, and the darkness departed from the earth, and there was light. And the people saw, and did not understand how Enoch was taken, and they glorified God.

Enoch was born on the sixth day of the month of Siwan, and he was taken to heaven in the same month, Siwan, on the same day and in the same hour when he was born. And Methuselah hastened and all his brethren, the sons of Enoch, and built an altar in the place called Achuzan, whence Enoch was taken up to heaven. The elders and all the people came to the festivity and brought their gifts to the sons of Enoch, and made a great festivity, rejoicing and being merry for three days, praising God, who had given such a sign by means of Enoch, who had found favor with them.⁶⁰

⁶⁰. An extract from Slavonic (=2) Enoch. The Ethiopic book of Enoch, though it is older than the Slavonic, is not of a uniform character. It consists of a series of revelations which were made to Enoch during the time of his wanderings through heaven and earth and his intercourse with the angels. These revelations, varied in their contents, embracing the laws of nature, as well as the history of the kingdom of God, were entered into this book by Enoch to teach mankind. Six quotations from "the book of Enoch" are found in Zohar (I, 37b; 72b; II, 55a; III, 240a; 248b; 253b); but, as may be seen from the nature of their contents, they

were taken from a much later kabbalistic book, which has nothing in common with the pseudepigraphic work bearing that name. Comp. further Kaneh 19b and 107a (this passage is identical with Zohar I, 37b, where בספריה is to be deleted) concerning “the book of Enoch preserved in heaven, which no eye can see.” On the other rabbinic books of Enoch, comp. the following note.—Some parallels to the Slavonic Enoch from rabbinic and other sources may be mentioned here. Enoch had three sons (1. 10); so Yashar Bereshit, 11b. The statement about the two hundred angels, which guide the stars (4. 1), is related to the corresponding number of rebellious angels in Enoch 6. 5; the stars had already revolted at the beginning of creation: Enoch 18. 15, comp. note 57. On the oil and the tree of life (6; 8. 7; 22. 8; 56. 2), comp. note 113 on vol. I, p. 93. The description of the fallen angels reads (7. 3): Who obeyed not the commandments of God, etc. This is found literally in Zadokite Fragments, 2. The tree of life as God’s residence (8. 3) is also met with in rabbinic sources; comp. vol. I, p. 23. Similarly the view that this tree covers the entire paradise (7. 4) is also found in Perek Gan ‘Eden, where, as in this pseudepigraphic work (7. 5), the four streams, of honey, wine, milk, and oil are mentioned; comp. vol. I, p. 20, and note appertaining thereto. The hell-fire burns and freezes (10. 2); so also in Seder Rabba di-Bereshit, 17. Concerning the chariot on which the sun is riding, and on the angels which accompany it, comp. the parallels in vol. I, pp. 24–25. The phoenixes and Chalkadri (more accurately, Chalkydri χαλκύδρα, “brazen serpents”) on the chariot of the sun (13) are unknown in rabbinic literature; but on the view that the singing of celestial beings causes the birds to sing their morning songs (15), comp. vol. I, pp. 44–45, and the note appertaining thereto. That there are angels, who, unlike the Cherubim, possess twelve Wings (12. 1), is also stated in PRE 13. The seven hosts of angels who arrange the course of the heavenly bodies and guide the universe (19. 1, seq.) are met with in Jewish magic texts as

seven archangels; comp. Stube, *Jüdisch-babylonische Zaubertexte*, 22, where *מהפכין* means “setting in motion”, and not “transforming”, as Stube translates. The idea that there is “an angel over each single blade of grass” (19.4) occurs also in rabbinic writings; comp. BR 10. 6 (Mazzal = angel; comp. Tehillim 104, 440, which reads: Everything has an angel in charge of it. See further Zohar II, 80b and 171b; III, 86a, and note 101 on vol. I, p. 85). The division of the angels into ten groups (20. 1) is very often referred to in rabbinic literature; comp. note 64 on vol. I, p. 16 (below). Michael, the chief captain (22. 6), is based directly on Dan. 12. 1, whence also the title of the archangel in Hullin 40a, whereas Tosefta 2. 18 reads *שר צבא הגדול*. Instead of Vretil, the angel who becomes Enoch's teacher (22. 12), read Uriel, in accordance with Enoch 10. 1. The remark (24. 1): “Sit thou on my left hand with Gabriel” proves the antiquity of the view, found in rabbinic writings (PRE 4; comp. further note 440 on vol. III, 231-232), concerning Gabriel's position on the left. The “song of triumph” of the angels, mentioned in 31. 2 and 42. 4, is perhaps due to a misunderstanding which goes back to an erroneous translation of *שיר נצח* (“eternal song”) as “song of triumph”, comp. the similar phrase, *ולנצח נצחים קדושתך נקדש* in the Amidah. The statement (33. 4) “My word is reality” literally corresponds to BR 44. 22; comp. note 2 on vol. I, p. 49. The names of the two angels (33. 6) are perhaps composed of *שמיא* and *ארעא* with *אל*; the angel of heaven and the angel of earth were charged to accompany him on his journey from earth to heaven and back. The angels who watch over the book of Enoch, Oriokh and Mariokh (33. 11) have no connection whatsoever with the fallen angels Harut and Marut of the Arabic legend (supposedly Persian; comp. Bousset, *Religion*, 560); they rather seem to be theophorous names with *יה* and *יו*, or similar abbreviations of the first part of the Tetragrammaton. Thus *אוריו* means “God is light” (comp. *אוריה*, *אוריאל*) and *מריו* signifies

THE TRANSLATION OF ENOCH

“God is master”. In order to avoid the pronunciation of God’s name, people said “ioġ” instead of “io” (to this very day Jews say אלקים instead of אלהים). The parable about the appearance before a prince (38. 8) is found almost literally in Berakot 28b and ARN 25, 79, where it is ascribed to the dying Rabban Johanan B. Zaccai (comp. also note 132 on vol. 1, page 99). The fact that Enoch finds Adam and Eve, as well as his other ancestors, in the lower world (41. 1 and 42. 5) has nothing to do with the Christian doctrine (not the Jewish, as Charles asserts) of the damnation of mankind until the advent of the Messiah. It merely wishes to say that Enoch’s ancestors were there as a punishment for their sins. This author, on the other hand, admits the possibility of absolute sinlessness (45. 2). On the view that God formed Adam with His own hands (44. 1), comp. vol. I, p. 49. On the rejection of the oath (49.11), see the rabbinic parallels in Ginzberg, *Unbekannte Sekte*, 130–132. On the protest against the belief in the intercession of the dead (53. 1), comp. vol. IV, p. 39, and note 19 appertaining to it. Concerning the attitude of the Synagogue on this important point it is not uninteresting to note the following words of the first paitan of the Synagogue, Jose b. Jose. This paitan, after enumerating the pious men of the Bible and describing the reward they received from God, who always accepted their prayers, observes: “O God, I trust in Thee, and not in the distinguished pious men; for they are in the grave, but Thy name is everlasting” (Zikronot in the Ashkenazic Mahzor). The great reverence for the pious, especially for those of biblical times, has not gone so far as to make them intercessors between God and Israel. In his prayers the Jew knows only his God, and thinks of no intercessors among the angels or the pious.—On the transformation of Enoch from man to angel (see 22.9-10; 37; 56) comp. the preceding note, as well as vol. I, p. 140. With respect to the reward and punishment of animals (mentioned in 55. 5), comp. 4 Ezra 7. 66, and Index, s. v.), “Animals”. The Halakah that animals must be bound at

The sinfulness of men was the reason why Enoch was

the time of slaughter (59. 3) is not altogether new; comp. *Tamid* 4. 1, and *Shabbat* 54a, with respect to the temple sacrifices (where, however, binding in the manner perscribed in this pseudepigraphic work is prohibited); with regard to other animals, see *Eldad*, XLIV and Ginzberg, *Tamid, the Oldest Treatise*, 206. The parting scene (64 and 67) is related to the one given in *Yashar* (comp. vol. I, pp. 129–130). The View that the entire creation was for the sake of man (65. 3) is also frequently mentioned in rabbinic sources; comp. vol. I, p. 49. It is questionable whether the words “and God set him before His face” (67. 2) are related to the usual designation found in geonic mysticism of Metatron-Enoch (comp. the following note) as the “prince of the face”, or not, since in this pseudepigraphic book the phrase “to be found in God’s presence” is of frequent occurrence; comp. 21. 1; 22. 6; 52. 4. The assertion that Enoch was translated to heaven on the anniversary of the day and the hour on which he was born (28) goes back to a view prevalent in rabbinic writings that the pious die on their birthday. Comp. *Tosefta Sotah* 11. 7–8; *Babli* 13b; *Kiddushin* 38a; *Seder ‘Olam* 10, according to the reading of the older authors (see Ratner, note 12). The statement that it was the sixth of Sivan on which Enoch was born, and later translated, certainly proves that by this author this day was considered the day of the Revelation (comp. *Seder ‘Olam* 5; *Tosefta ‘Arakin* 1. 9, and the detailed discussion appertaining to it in *Shabbat* 86a–88a). In other words, this author regards Pentecost as the Festival of Revelation, a view with which we meet for the first time in the rabbinic sources of the middle of the second century of the common era. It may be remarked that the text is not quite in order, since if Enoch (68) reached heaven on the first of Sivan (one text reads Nisan; comp. also 1. 2 where the first month = Nisan), remained there for sixty days, and after a stay of thirty days on earth was translated for ever, his translation must have taken place in

translated to heaven. Thus Enoch himself told Rabbi Ishmael. {138} When the generation of the deluge transgressed, and spoke to God, saying, "Depart from us, for we do not desire to know Thy ways," Enoch was carried to heaven, to serve there as a witness that God was not a cruel God in spite of the destruction decreed upon all living beings on earth.

Elul (as in the case of Moses; comp. vol. III, p. 339). The number of books composed by Enoch (68) is given as 366, which is very likely to be corrected to 365 as it is connected with the 365 years of Enoch's life; comp., however, *Liber Johannis Apocryphus*, 890 (in a passage, where our pseudepigraphic work is made use of, the number of books given is 66). Ezra, to whom, in 4 Ezra, Enoch's part is ascribed, wrote seventy books; comp. vol. IV, p. 358. By the place Achuzan (68.5; also written Aruzan; comp. the Melchizedek fragment in the appendix to the Slavonic Enoch, 88) Jerusalem is to be understood as may be seen from the above-mentioned fragment 91, which reads as follows: He (Melchizedek) shall be priest and king in the place Achuzan, that is to say, in the middle of the earth where Adam was created; there shall at last be his grave. Since Melchizedek was king of Jerusalem (vol. I, p. 233), and the dust of the forming of Adam's body was taken from the site of the altar at Jerusalem (vol. I, pp. 55, 101), there cannot be any doubt about the identification of Achuzan. Moreover, Jerusalem is said to be the centre of the earth (vol. I, p. 12). The only difficult question is about the etymology of the word Achuzan; comp. note 109 on vol. I, p. 89. It is perhaps to be emended to Arauna, since the site of the altar at Jerusalem belonged to Arauna the Jebusite; comp. Index, s. v. This is, of course, no proof that this pseudepigraphic work had a Hebrew original; still less would it prove that it is of Palestinian origin, although both assumptions appear probable. These two questions, it is hoped, will be discussed more fully in some other connection.

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When Enoch, under the guidance of the angel 'Anpiel, was carried from earth to heaven, the holy beings, the ofanim, the seraphim, the cherubim, all those who move the throne of God, and the ministering spirits whose substance is of consuming fire, they all, at a distance of six hundred and fifty million and three hundred parasangs, noticed the presence of a human being, and they exclaimed: "Whence the odor of one born of woman? How comes he into the highest heaven of the fire-coruscating angels?" But God replied: "O My servants and hosts, ye, My cherubim, ofanim, and seraphim, let this not be an offense unto you, for all the children of men denied Me and My mighty dominion, and they paid homage to the idols, so that I transferred the Shekinah from earth to heaven. But this man Enoch is the elect of men. He has more faith, justice, and righteousness than all the rest, and he is the only reward I have derived from the terrestrial world."

Before Enoch could be admitted to service near the Divine throne, the gates of wisdom were opened unto him, and the gates of understanding, and of discernment, of life, peace, and the Shekinah, of strength and power, of might, loveliness, and grace, of humility and fear of sin. Equipped by God with extraordinary wisdom, sagacity, judgment, knowledge, learning, compassionateness, love, kindness, grace, humility, strength, power, might, splendor, beauty, shapeliness, {139} and all other excellent qualities, beyond the endowment of any of the celestial beings, Enoch received, besides, many thousand blessings from God, and his height and his breadth became equal to the height and the breadth of the world, and thirty-six wings were attached to

his body, to the right and to the left, each as large as the world, and three hundred and sixty-five thousand eyes were bestowed upon him, each brilliant as the sun. A magnificent throne was erected for him beside the gates of the seventh celestial palace, and a herald proclaimed throughout the heavens concerning him, who was henceforth to be called Metatron in the celestial regions: "I have appointed My servant Metatron as prince and chief over all the princes in My realm, with the exception only of the eight august and exalted princes that bear My name. Whatever angel has a request to prefer to Me, shall appear before Metatron, and what he will command at My bidding, ye must observe and do, for the prince of wisdom and the prince of understanding are at his service, and they will reveal unto him the sciences of the celestials and the terrestrials, the knowledge of the present order of the world and the knowledge of the future order of the world. Furthermore, I have made him the guardian of the treasures of the palaces in the heaven 'Arabot, and of the treasures of life that are in the highest heaven."

Out of the love He bore Enoch, God arrayed him in a magnificent garment, to which every kind of luminary in existence was attached, and a crown gleaming with forty-nine jewels, the splendor of which pierced to all parts of the seven heavens and to the four corners of the earth. In the {140} presence of the heavenly family, He set this crown upon the head of Enoch, and called him "the little Lord." It bears also the letters by means of which heaven and earth were created, and seas and rivers, mountains and valleys, planets and constellations, lightning and thunder, snow and hail, storm and whirlwind—these and also all things needed in the world, and the mysteries of creation. Even

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the princes of the heavens, when they see Metatron, tremble before him, and prostrate themselves; his magnificence and majesty, the splendor and beauty radiating from him overwhelm them, even the wicked Samael, the greatest of them, even Gabriel the angel of the fire, Bardiel the angel of the hail, Ruhiel the angel of the wind, Barkiel the angel of the lightning, Za'miel the angel of the hurricane, Zakkiel the angel of the storm, Su'iel the angel of the earthquake, Za'fiel the angel of the showers, Ra'miel the angel of the thunder, Ra'shiel the angel of the whirlwind, Shalgriel the angel of the snow, Maṭriel the angel of the rain, Shamshiel the angel of the day, Leliel the angel of the night, Galgriel the angel of the solar system, Ofaniel the angel of the wheel of the moon, Kokabiel the angel of the stars, and Rahtiel the angel of the constellations.

When Enoch was transformed into Metatron, his body was turned into celestial fire—his flesh became flame, his veins fire, his bones glimmering coals, the light of his eyes heavenly brightness, his eyeballs torches of fire, his hair a flaring blaze, all his limbs and organs burning sparks, and his frame a consuming fire. To right of him sparkled flames of fire, to left of him burnt torches of fire, and on all sides he was engirdled by storm and whirlwind, hurricane and thundering.⁶¹{141}

⁶¹. Hekalot 6, 170~171 (abbreviated in Sefer Hanok, 116). The seventy names (on שמות 70, Hanok, p. 116, comp. Alphabet R. Akiba ed. Wertheimer, p. 13) of Metatron, which are very important for the history of mysticism, are given in *Sha'ar ha-Heshek*. To the Metatron-Enoch

literature belong also both versions of Alphabet of R. Akiba, as well as the different Hekalot books. The oldest source assuming the identity of Enoch and Metatron (to this still enigmatic name of the angel, which occurs very frequently in the Talmud, the Syriac *מאמרא אפיתרוניו*, *λόγοι ἐπιθρόνιοι* is closely related) is Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 5. 24, where the text, however, has certainly not been preserved in its original form, as may be seen from *אתנגיד*, “was carried away.” Comp. 2 Targum Yerushalmi, *ad loc.* On the Enoch-Metatron cycle of legends, comp. especially the numerous extracts from the older kabbalistic literature in Yalkut Reubeni Gen. 5. 24; Kanah, 106d (Midrash Aggada, Gen, *loc. cit.*, is based on this passage or on an older source from which both borrowed independently). See further Jellinek, *Einleitung to BHM* II, 30-32; IV, 41-43, as well as Theodor on BR 25. 1. It is questionable whether in BaR 12. 12 Metatron is identical with Enoch, or not. The designation of Metatron here as the “youth” is independent of this identification; comp. Tosafot on Yebamot 16b and Hullin 60a. The relation of the Metatron-Enoch legend cycle to the legends found in the pseudepigraphic books of Enoch is not quite clear. There can be no doubt that there exists no literary relationship between the so-called rabbinic books of Enoch (the term “rabbinic” is here employed in absence of a better name; as a matter of fact the “Rabbis” were opposed to this literature) and with pseudepigraphic literature bearing the same name. This is quite obvious to any one familiar with both literatures. Yet as has been pointed out in the preceding note many conceptions are common to both, as, for instance, Enoch’s transformation into an angel (mentioned in 2 Enoch and in Hekalot) on his entrance into heaven. This, however, proves only that, despite the fact that the leaders of the Synagogue had no high respect for Enoch (comp. note 58, where reference is likewise made to Wisdom and Philo; hence this need not necessarily be ascribed to anti-Christian tendencies), the older esteem of

Enoch was not only retained in popular circles, but it was even enlarged until it reached its highest pinnacle in the identification of Enoch with Metatron. The Babylonian Nebo, the heavenly scribe, gave Enoch to the Palestinian, Metatron to the Babylonian Jews, and nothing could be more natural than the final combination of Enoch-Metatron. It is quite probable that a number of other elements were added to this combination, as, for instance, Philonian speculations on the Logos, and possibly also Christological conceptions; it is thus extremely difficult to separate it in its original component parts. Between the "official" deprecation of Enoch and his apotheosis in popular-mystical literature, some of the rabbinic sources have retained a middle course, and basing their views on the literal interpretation of Gen. 5. 24, maintain that Enoch belonged to those few (various numbers are given: seven, nine, ten, thirteen) who entered paradise during their life-time; comp. Derek Erez Zuta (end); PRK, 83; 2 Alphabet of Ben Sira 38; Yalkut I, 42, and (two sources) Ezek., 367; Aggadat Aggadot (Carmoly) 12; Kimhi on 2 Kings 2. 1. Comp. on these "immortals" note 67 and note 307 on vol. I, pp. 74 and 297 respectively. None of the sources just cited can be designated with certainty as old. It is true that Derek Erez Zuta is old (comp. Ginzberg in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, IV, 528–529), but it is doubtful whether the original text counted Enoch among the "immortals"; comp. Tawrogi, *ad loc.*, and further Mahzor Vitry, 721, whose author does not seem to have had the passage about the immortals in his text of Derek Erez Zuta. The view, however, that Enoch's abode is in paradise is old (comp. note 58), and is frequently found in Christian legends; comp. Irenaeus 2. 66 (Enoch is said to have taught the disciples of the apostles); the Gospel of Nicodemus 9 (Latin version), etc. In Christian legends it is stated that Enoch and Elijah will also die at the end of time (it is even said that the anti-Christ will kill them); see History of Joseph

METHUSELAH

After the translation of Enoch, Methuselah was proclaimed ruler of the earth by all the kings. He walked in the footsteps of

the Carpenter 31-32 (as "immortals" are mentioned here: Shila and Tabitha); Nicodemus, *loc. cit.*; Revelation of John (beginning). In Midrash Alphabetot, 89a, it is stated that before the creation of the new world, everything, even the most high angels, will disappear, so that God's unity will be seen by all. Comp. also Tertullian, *Adversus Hermog.*, 34, and Sanhedrin, 92a-92b.—On the twenty angels enumerated in Hekalot 175, (Sammael, the head of all the Satans, is described as "the greatest of all the angels"; read מלאכי instead of מלכיות; comp., however, *Seder Ruhot*, 179, where Satan is distinguished from Sammael, "the prince of Rome"; see also DR 11. 9, which reads: Sammael, the head of all the Satans), comp. note 57. It is noteworthy that these angels are exclusively in charge of natural phenomena and heavenly bodies. Furthermore, it is strange that Michael is not mentioned among them, and that all the stars are assigned to the charge of one angel. On the other hand, an old tradition states (Al-Barceloni, 247) that each one of the seven planets has its own angel as follows; the sun has Raphael; Venus, Aniel; Mercury, Michael; the moon, Gabriel; Saturn, Kafziel; Jupiter, Zadkiel; Mars, Sammael. These seven planets and their seven an'gels, it is further said, correspond to the seven hours (? Read, perhaps, שרים "princes" or משרתים "attendants"); these are: Kewan, Nebo, Shamsa, Bel (instead of כיל read ביל), Sin, Belti, and ארים. The last-named must not be changed into ארמי, Hermes, since this text contains the chief gods of the Babylonian Pantheon: On the functions of the seven planets, comp. Shabbat 156a; Baraita de-Mazzalot, 27-28; Pifick, *Assyrisches und Talmudisches*, 17-19. Al-Barceloni's words are: ואלו הם כוכבים בעולם חנ"ל' שעות כון נבו שמשא כיל (ביל) בלתי שצ"ם אלו שבעה מושלים יסודי עולם כנגדן ז' שעות כון נבו שמשא כיל (ביל) בלתי ארים ועליהם ז' ממונים ז' מלאכים חמה מלאכו רפאל וכו

his father, teaching truth, knowledge, and fear of God to the children of men all his life, and deviating from the path of rectitude neither to the right nor the left.⁶² He delivered the world

⁶². Yashar Bereshit, 13a, where it is said that the sinfulness of the generation of the flood did not begin before the end of Methuselah's life. The Melchizedek fragment 1-2 in appendix to 2 Enoch states that Methuselah was installed as ruler and leader after his father's translation, and that man's apostasy did not take place till after his death, as God had previously told him. The election of Methuselah had been announced through a clear sign that it was acceptable to God; for while he was praying, the altar shook, and a knife leaped into Methuselah's hand in the presence of all the people. The Jewish legend (comp. the following note) about Methuselah's wonderful sword is, of course, not to be dissociated from this "knife", and is closely related to the name Methuselah, since שלח may mean both "he sent" and "sword". Is the statement made in an anonymous Midrash (cited in Yalkut II, 367, Ezek. 27) that Methuselah is one of those whom death did not destroy (in addition to him, there are: Enoch; Eliezer, Abraham's servant; Hiram, king of Tyre; Ebed-melech; Bithiah, Pharaoh's daughter; Serah, Asher's daughter; the three sons of Korah; Elijah; the Messiah, and R. Joshua b. Levi, comp. preceding note and note 67 on vol. I, p. 74), connected with the etymology given by Philo (*De Posterit. Caini*, 13) "sending away of death" (= מיתת משולחת)? It is more probable, however, that we have here a reminiscence of a Christian legend. According to the chronology of the Septuagint with regard to the ante-diluvian patriarchs, Methuselah was still alive at the time of the flood. Now, since according to the Bible he was not among the inmates of the ark, the only solution of the difficulty was that he was taken away from this world to live in paradise at least for some time. Comp. Jerome, Gen. 5; Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphicus*, 224-227; Shalshelet, 93b.

from thousands of demons, the posterity of Adam which he had begotten with Lilith, that she-devil of she-devils. These demons and evil spirits, as often as they encountered a man, had sought to injure and even slay him, until Methuselah appeared, and supplicated the mercy of God. He spent three days in fasting, and then God gave him permission to write the Ineffable Name upon his sword, wherewith he slew ninety-four myriads of the demons in a minute, until Agrimus, the first-born of them, came to him and entreated him to desist, at the same time handing the names of the demons and imps over to him. And so Methuselah placed their kings in iron fetters, while the remainder fled away and hid themselves in the innermost chambers and recesses of the ocean. And it is on account of the wonderful sword by means of which the demons were killed that he was called Methuselah.⁶³

He was so pious a man that he composed two hundred and

⁶³ Yerahmeel 23. 1-4; *Sifte Kohen*, Bereshit (end) and Noah, 4d. A Genizah fragment in the library of Cambridge University containing this legend in detailed form was published by Ginzberg, *Ha-Goren* IX, 66-68. Comp. also Vital, *Likkute Torah*, Bereshit (end), about Methuselah's sword. See further Yalkut David on Gen. 12. 1, who cites *Sifte Kohen*, as authority for the statement that Abraham came in possession of this sword, with which he conquered the kings, and further that Esau thus received it, as heirloom, from Isaac, since he was the first-born. This sword passed to Jacob when he purchased the birth-right. This is not found in *Sifte Kohen*, but something similar occurs in other sources. Comp. vol. I, p. 321, and further the quotation from MS. in *Midbar Kedemot*, s. v. מְתוּשֶׁלַח. Agrimus is identical with Angro-Mainyu, also called Ahriman, the lord of Daeves, of the Persians. Comp. Ginzberg, *Ha-Goren*, loc. cit. 59-61.

thirty parables in praise of God for every word he uttered. When he died, the people heard a great commotion in the heavens, and they saw nine hundred rows of mourners corresponding to the nine hundred orders of the Mishnah which he had studied, and tears flowed from the eyes of the holy beings down upon the spot where he died. Seeing the grief of the celestials, the people on earth also {142} mourned over the demise of Methuselah, and God rewarded them therefor. He added seven days to the time of grace which He had ordained before bringing destruction upon the earth by a flood of waters.⁶⁴

⁶⁴. Yerahmeel 23. 5–6; Midrash Aggada, Gen. 5. 25; an anonymous Midrash in Yalkut I, 42 (in later edition Abkir is given as the source); Aggadat Bereshit (introduction), 38; Sikli, who cites *Huppah Eliyyahu* as the source in his MS. work Yalkut Talmud Torah (comp. Poznanski, *Ha-Zofeh* III, 11–12, and Ginzberg, *ibid.*, IV, 28; the latter refers to Sabba, Bereshit, 9a, who is acquainted with a similar legend). Comp. further *Kad ha-Kemah* s. v. אבל, 12a–13a, who made use of the same source as Sikli, and not the one of the Yalkut. All the sources state that the flood was postponed for a week in order to allow the people to mourn for a week for the “righteous Methuselah”; comp. Tosefta Sotah 10. 3, and the passages cited in note 20 on vol. I, p. 154. Of the ante-diluvian patriarchs, Jared and Methuselah lived the longest, because both of them were very modest and humble, as their names indicate: Jared = “he who condescended”, and Methuselah = “he who is humble (שח), even as though he were dead” (מת). The shortest lives were those of Enoch and Lamech, because they bore the same names as the wicked descendants of Cain; Hasidim 247. The later Kabbalists (comp. Yalkut Reubeni, Gen. 5. 22, end of 27a) assert that Enoch was a shoe-maker who praised God with every stitch he made. I venture to suggest that instead of Enoch,

Methuselah should be read, as this is very likely based on the fact that the numerical value of מתושלח בן חנוך corresponds to the value of the words הוא היה תופר בנעלים “he made shoes”. Attention is to be called to the fact that שלח in mishnaic Hebrew means skin; comp. also note 62. Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed*, II, 39, speaks of Methuselah and his court of justice; Maimonides’ source is not known.

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IV

NOAH

THE BIRTH OF NOAH

THE PUNISHMENT OF THE FALLEN ANGELS

THE GENERATION OF THE DELUGE

THE HOLY BOOK

THE INMATES OF THE ARK

THE FLOOD

NOAH LEAVES THE ARK

THE CURSE OF DRUNKENNESS

NOAH'S DESCENDANTS SPREAD ABROAD

THE DEPRAVITY OF MANKIND

NIMROD

THE TOWER OF BABEL

IV
NOAH

THE BIRTH OF NOAH

Methuselah took a wife for his son Lamech, and she bore him a man child. The body of the babe was white as snow and red as a blooming rose, and the hair of his head and his long locks were white as wool, and his eyes like the rays of the sun. When he opened his eyes, he lighted up the whole house, like the sun, and the whole house was very full of light.¹ And when he was taken from the hand of the midwife, he opened his mouth and praised the Lord of righteousness.² His father Lamech was afraid of him, and fled, and came to his own father Methuselah. And he said to him: "I have begotten a strange son; he is not like a human being, but resembles the children of the angels of heaven, and his nature is different, and he is not like us, and his eyes are as the rays of the sun, and his countenance is glorious."³ And it seems to me that

¹ Light at the birth of heroes is a favorite motive of legend; comp. vol. II, p. 264, and the note appertaining to it. Shu'aib, Noah 4d, reports the same incident concerning Noah. See note 3.

² On the speech of new-born babes, comp. vol. II, p. 264, and vol. III, p. 464. In the Melchizedek fragments it is stated that Melchizedek, immediately after his birth, spoke with his lips, and blessed the Lord; comp. note 16.

³ On the idea that light is a sign of heavenly origin, comp. vol. I, pp.

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he is not sprung from me, but from the angels, and I fear that in his days a wonder may be wrought on the earth. And now, my father, I am here to petition thee and implore thee, that thou mayest go to Enoch, our father, and learn from him the truth, for his dwelling place is among the angels.”

And when Methuselah heard the words of his son, he went to Enoch, to the ends of the earth, and he cried aloud, and Enoch heard his voice, and appeared before him, and asked {146} him the reason of his coming. Methuselah told him the cause of his anxiety, and requested him to make the truth known to him. Enoch answered, and said: “The Lord will do a new thing in the earth. There will come a great destruction on the earth, and a deluge for one year. This son who is born unto thee will be left on the earth, and his three children will be saved with him, when all mankind that are on the earth shall die. And there will be a great punishment on the earth, and the earth will be cleansed from all impurity. And now make known to thy son Lamech that he who was born is in truth his son, and call his name Noah, for he will be left to you, and he and his children will be saved from the destruction which will come upon the earth.” When Methuselah had heard the words of his father, who showed him all the secret things, he returned home, and he called the child Noah, for he would cause the earth to rejoice in compensation for all destruction.⁴

105, 106. See also note 1.

⁴ Enoch 106–107. While in this pseudepigraphic work it is

By the name Noah he was called only by his grandfather Methuselah; his father and all others called him Menahem. His generation was addicted to sorcery, and Methuselah apprehended that his grandson might be bewitched if his true name were known, wherefore he kept it a secret. Menahem, Comforter, suited him as well as Noah; it indicated that he would be a consoler, if but the evil-doers of his time would repent of their misdeeds.⁵ At

Methuselah who learns everything about the future and imparts the knowledge thereof to his son, in rabbinic sources it is Lamech, Noah's father, who, as a prophet at the time of the birth of his son, foresaw that his son was destined for great things; comp. *Da'at* and *Hadar* on Gen. 5. 29, and Sabba, Bereshit, 9b; Ephraim, I, 47. Whether Lamech to whom a pseudepigraphic work is ascribed (comp. Schürer, *Geschichte*, III, 358) is Lamech the father of Noah, or his name-sake, the descendant of Cain, is doubtful; comp. Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 22, where this Cainite is credited with the gift of prophecy and comp. also BR 23. 2; comp. note 6. It is an old tradition that Noah was a prophet; Seder 'Olam 21; Philo, *Quis... Haeres Sit*, 52. Comp. further his remarks in *Quaestiones*, Gen. 1, 87, with reference to the naming of Noah by his father, according to which, the patriarchs (*i. e.*, the ante-diluvians) prophesied sometimes. Philo agrees on this point with Jub., according to whose author (8. 18), not only Noah, but also Adam, Seth, Enosh, Mahalalel, Enoch, and Shem were prophets, as may be inferred from 19. 24. Comp. Ginzberg, *Unbekannte Sekte*, 296–297. On the meaning of the name Noah, comp. the following note.

⁵ Aggadat Bereshit (introduction) 38; Yalkut I, 42, quoting an unknown Midrash (later editions give Abkir as source, but this is not found in the first edition); Sikli in his MS. work Yalkut Talmud Torah (comp. Ginzberg's note in *Ha-Zofeh* IV, 28–29) quotes this legend from *Huppat Eliyyahu*; *Da'at* on Gen. 5. 29; Vital, *Likkute Torah*, Bereshit (end). The last author adds that at the time of Noah's birth, the magic

his very birth it was felt that he would bring consolation and deliverance. When the Lord said to Adam, "Cursed is the ground for thy sake," he asked, "For how long a time?" and the answer

sword of Methuselah (comp. vol. I, p. 141 and note 63 appertaining thereto), with which he destroyed demons and evil spirits, lost its power. That is the reason why Methuselah feared the power of witchcraft. According to Yashar Bereshit, 13b, Methuselah named his grandson Noah, because the earth was appeased, while Lamech called him Menahem, "a consolation", as stated in the Bible, *loc. cit.* The explanation of the name Noah as given in the Bible did not satisfy the later readers, since ינחמנו, "he will console us", could only apply to מנחם or a similar name. BR 25. 2 gives no less than five explanations of the name Noah. He was called "he that caused rest"; 1) because it was in his time that the rebellion of animals against man came to an end; 2) because the earth then enjoyed rest from the waters of the sea (vol. I, p. 147); 3) because the heavenly bodies rested during the time of the flood; comp. note 41; 4) because the ark was at rest. According to others, this name signifies "the pleasant one" (נח=ניחוח), because his sacrifice was pleasant to God. Some of these explanations are also found in pseudepigraphic and patristic literature; comp. Enoch 106. 18 (the Ethiopic version reads: Call his name Noah, for he shall be left to you, thus connecting נח with הניח "left behind", while the Latin version reads: *Qui Interpretatur requies quia requiem praestabit in Arcam*, and accordingly connects נח with הניח "caused one to find rest"), and 107. 3, which reads: Noah, for he will comfort the earth after all the destruction; Philo, *Aleg.*, 3. 24; *De Abrahamo*, 5; *Quaestiones in Gen.* 1, 87; 2, 245; Theophilus, 3. 19; Ephraim, I, 47 F; Jerome, *Gen.* 5. 29. Comp. also Tan. Bereshit 11. The translation of the Septuagint, διαναπαύσει ἡμᾶς does not render ינחמנו, but יניחנו; comp. BR, *loc. cit.* 2 (he should have called him ינחמנו). See Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 73-74, and vol. I, p. 16.

made by God was, “Until a man child shall be born whose conformation is such that the rite of circumcision need not {147} be practiced upon him.” This was fulfilled in Noah, he was circumcised from his mother’s womb.

Noah had scarcely come into the world when a marked change was noticeable. Since the curse brought upon the earth by the sin of Adam, it happened that wheat being sown, yet oats would sprout and grow. This ceased with the appearance of Noah: the earth bore the products planted in it. And it was Noah who, when he was grown to manhood, invented the plough, the scythe, the hoe, and other implements for cultivating the ground. Before him men had worked the land with their bare hands.⁶

⁶. Tan. Bereshit 11 (this implies that Lamech was no prophet, but had good reasons to call his son ‘comforter’; comp. note 4; BR 25. 2; Abkir in Yalkut I, 42). The last-named Midrash is introduced in *Pa’aneah*, Gen. 5.29, as a source for the legend that until Noah the hand of human beings consisted of one piece, the fingers not having been separated from one another. Seeing the new form of Noah’s hand, his father Lamech concluded that henceforth men would have to till the ground, for which they would need flexible fingers. Before this time they did not cultivate the ground, and therefore they did not need such fingers. For the legend itself, without Abkir as its source, see Tosafot and R. Asher, in *Hadar* on Gen. *loc. cit.*, who cite R. Judah Hasid as their authority. See also Zohar I, 38a and 58a–58b. The curse on the earth after Adam’s fall lasted until his death, which took place not long before the birth of Noah; *Hadar* (Pesikta de-R. Eliezer is cited as source; but neither Pirke R. Eliezer, nor Pesikta R. Tobiah b. Eliezer has it) and *Da’at* on Gen., *loc. cit.* On those born with the sign of the Abrahamic covenant on them, see note 318 on vol. I, p. 306.

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There was another token to indicate that the child born unto Lamech was appointed for an extraordinary destiny. When God created Adam, He gave him dominion over all things: the cow obeyed the ploughman, and the furrow was willing to be drawn. But after the fall of Adam all things rebelled against him: the cow refused obedience to the ploughman, and also the furrow was refractory. Noah was born, and all returned to its state preceding the fall of man.

Before the birth of Noah, the sea was in the habit of transgressing its bounds twice daily, morning and evening, and flooding the land up to the graves. After his birth it kept within its confines. And the famine that afflicted the world in the time of Lamech, the second of the ten great famines appointed to come upon it, ceased its ravages with the birth of Noah.⁷

THE PUNISHMENT OF THE FALLEN ANGELS

Grown to manhood, Noah followed in the ways of his grandfather Methuselah, while all other men of the time {148} rose up against this pious king. So far from observing his precepts, they pursued the evil inclination of their hearts, and perpetrated all sorts of abominable deeds.⁸ Chiefly the fallen angels and their

⁷ BR 25. 2. On the dominion of man over the animal kingdom, comp. vol. I, pp. 71, 94, and notes appertaining to them. Concerning the overflowing of the sea, comp. vol. I, p. 123. On the ten famines see vol. I, p. 221, as well as Yashar Bereshit, 13a.

giant posterity caused the depravity of mankind. The blood spilled by the giants cried unto heaven from the ground, and the four archangels accused the fallen angels and their sons before God, whereupon He gave the following orders to them: Uriel was sent to Noah to announce to him that the earth would be destroyed by a flood, and to teach him how to save his own life. Raphael was told to put the fallen angel Azazel into chains, cast him into a pit of sharp and pointed stones in the desert Dudael, and cover him with darkness, and so was he to remain until the great day of judgment, when he would be thrown into the fiery pit of hell, and the earth would be healed of the corruption he had contrived upon it. Gabriel was charged to proceed against the bastards and the reprobates, the sons of the angels begotten with the daughters of men, and plunge them into deadly conflicts with one another. Shemhazai's ilk were handed over to Michael, who first caused them to witness the death of their children in their bloody combat with each other, and then he bound them and pinned them under the hills of the earth, where they will remain for seventy generations, until the day of judgment, to be carried thence to the fiery pit of hell.⁹

⁸ Yashar Bereshit, 13a. Comp. note 62 on vol. I, p. 141.

⁹ Enoch 9–10. Comp. further 67–69 for the exact description of the sins of the angels. On the angels mentioned in the last passage the following is to be remarked. Yikon = אֵיקוֹן, εἰκόνιον, image, and is employed in the sense of the Hebrew פֶּסֶל “idol”, a name properly applied to the ring—leader of the rebellious angels. Peneme is, as has already been noticed by others, פְּנִימִי, and it should be added that in Tan. B. I, 17, and BR 21.1, פֶּנִי is the name of an angel. Kasbiel is practically the same

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The fall of Azazel and Shemhazai came about in this way. When the generation of the deluge began to practice idolatry, God was deeply grieved. The two angels Shemhazai and Azazel arose, and said: "O Lord of the world! It has happened, that which we foretold at the creation of the {149} world and of man, saying, 'What is man, that Thou art mindful of him?'" And God said, "And what will become of the world now without man?" Whereupon the angels: "We will occupy ourselves with it." Then said God: "I am well aware of it, and I know that if you inhabit the earth, the evil inclination will overpower you, and you will be more iniquitous than ever men." The angels pleaded, "Grant us but permission to dwell among men, and Thou shalt see how we will sanctify Thy Name." God yielded to their wish, saying, "Descend and sojourn among men!"

When the angels came to earth, and beheld the daughters of men in all their grace and beauty, they could not restrain their passion. Shemhazai saw a maiden named Istehar, and he lost his heart to her. She promised to surrender herself to him, if first he taught her the Ineffable Name, by means of which he raised himself to heaven. He assented to her condition. But once she knew it, she pronounced the Name, and herself ascended to heaven, without fulfilling her promise to the angel. God said, "Because she kept herself aloof from sin, we will place her among the seven stars, that men may never forget her," and she was put

as Kaspriel, and is derived from כשף "sorcery"; hence it is the name of "the chief of the oath".

in the constellation of the Pleiades.

Shemḥazai and Azazel, however, were not deterred from entering into alliances with the daughters of men, and to the first two sons were born. Azazel began to devise the finery and the ornaments by means of which women allure men.

Thereupon God sent Metatron to tell Shemḥazai that He had resolved to destroy the world and bring on a deluge. The fallen angel began to weep and grieve over the fate of the world and the fate of his two sons. If the world went {150} under, what would they have to eat, they who needed daily a thousand camels, a thousand horses, and a thousand steers?

These two sons of Shemḥazai, Hiwwa and Hiyya by name, dreamed dreams. The one saw a great stone which covered the earth, and the earth was marked all over with lines upon lines of writing. An angel came, and with a knife obliterated all the lines, leaving but four letters upon the stone. The other son saw a large pleasure grove planted with all sorts of trees. But angels approached bearing axes, and they felled the trees, sparing a single one with three of its branches.

When Hiwwa and Hiyya awoke, they repaired to their father, who interpreted the dreams for them, saying, "God will bring a deluge, and none will escape with his life, excepting only Noah and his sons." When they heard this, the two began to cry and scream, but their father consoled them: "Soft, soft! Do not grieve. As often as men cut or haul stones, or launch vessels, they shall invoke your names, Hiwwa! Hiyya!" This prophecy soothed them.

Shemḥazai then did penance. He suspended himself between heaven and earth, and in this position of a penitent sinner he

hangs to this day. But Azazel persisted obdurately in his sin of leading mankind astray by means of sensual allurements. For this reason two he-goats were sacrificed in the Temple on the Day of Atonement, the one for God, that He pardon the sins of Israel, the other for Azazel, that he bear the sins of Israel.¹⁰

¹⁰. An unknown Midrash in Yalkut I, p. 44 (in later editions the source is given as Abkir, but not in the first edition); Aggadat Bereshit (introduction) 38; *Pugio Fidei*, 837–838, whose text is more correct than that of Yalkut. The episode of the woman who was transformed into a star is found, with some variations (she caused the angels to give her wings, with which she flew up to the heavenly throne, in order to seek shelter with God, who rewarded her for her constancy by transforming her into the star Virgo), in *Hadar*, Gen. 6. 2 and 28. 13 (also in BHM V, 156, with the erroneous reference to the source). This passage also adds that both of these angels had to remain behind on earth, because they had given away their wings to the virgin, and only reached heaven by means of Jacob's ladder. According to this version of the legend, it is assumed that, though the angels had entertained evil thoughts, they never carried them out, otherwise their return to heaven would hardly have been conceivable. Accordingly the Midrash found in Yalkut, *Pugio Fidei*, and Yerahmeel 25, concerning the fall of the angels, is composed of different sources. Concerning the old legend about the angels opposing the creation of man, comp. vol. I, pp. 52–64. See also Hekalot VI, 172, where it is said that Uzza and Azzael, during the sinful generation of the flood, called attention to the fact that their opposition to man's creation was justified (the text is not entirely in order; the expression *לא מביהם הללו שנאבדו בימי המבול* clearly proves that this passage was borrowed from an Ascension of Moses; comp. vol. III, pp. 109–110). Whereupon (this is to be added) these angels descended on

Unlike Istehar, the pious maiden, Naamah, the lovely sister of

earth in order to prove that they were by far superior to man. This motive for the descent of the angels is rather old, since it is already found in the Clementine *Homilies*, 8. 11–12; comp. further ER 29, 162; EZ 25, 49 (the fallen angels are: Azza, Uzzi, and Azzael. This is surely the combination of a double reading, as we find the pair Azza and Azzael next to Uzza and Azzael; comp. note 56 on vol. I, p. 124); PR 34, 159a; DR (end). The transformation of the chaste virgin into a star is rather a later legend, and is hardly of Jewish origin, as may be seen from her foreign name Istehar. The account that Metatron, as God's messenger, was sent to the fallen angels is a later version of the part ascribed to Michael (in Enoch 10. 11–12). This corresponds to the angelology of the Babylonian Talmud, which transfers to Metatron all the functions that had formerly been ascribed to Michael. Hiwwa and Hiyya, the sons of the fallen angels, are directly borrowed from Niddah 61a, where Shemhazai's son is called Ahiah. Hence also the remark in *Pugio Fidei*, *loc. cit.* (where the names are written חייא and חייא) that these were the ancestors of Sihon and Og (comp. vol. III, p. 340). Although the Talmud knows only of a son of Shemhazai, but not of one of Azazel, the dependence of those works on the Talmud is obvious. In opposition to this statement, that Shemhazai suspended himself between heaven and earth as a sign of repentance (one foot on the ground, and the head in heaven), it is affirmed in DR (end) that these fallen angels have been suspended by God between heaven and earth as a punishment. This has been amplified in later sources, which assert that these angels were fastened to the "mountains of darkness" by chains, and they teach witchcraft to those who seek them. Comp. Aggadat Bereshit (introduction) 39; Zohar I, 96 and 126a; III, 208a and 221a; Zohar Ruth, 99a (beginning נחמיה 7); 'Emek ha-Melek, 107C. Comp. further EZ 25, 19, as well as Enoch 7. 3. Azazel as the seducer to sensuality is not only found in Enoch 8. 1, but also in Yoma 67b, where also the ceremony of the scapegoat on the Day of

Tubal-cain, led the angels astray with her beauty, and from her

Atonement is explained on the basis of this legend. It may, however, be noted that neither in this talmudic passage nor in Niddah 61a, where Shemhazai is mentioned, is he or Azazel designated as a fallen angel. Another legend has it that Azazel was originally an angel, and once on the day of Atonement he accused Israel before God, saying: "Why hast Thou mercy on them when they provoke Thee? Thou shouldst rather destroy them." And God replied: "If thou wouldst be among them (men), thou wouldst also sin." Azazel then requested to be tested. When, with God's permission, he descended on earth, the evil inclination overcame him and he fell a victim to Na'amah (comp. the following note), a very beautiful woman. Thereupon God said: "Since he sinned and cannot return to heaven, he should remain in the desert until the end of time, so that he should close the mouths of the accusers; for they will be warned by his fate, and will be silent." On the Day of Atonement, therefore, the scapegoat is sent to the desert, the dwelling-place of Azazel, in order to remind the accusers of his fate. *Imre No'am*, Ahare Mot (end). Comp. also Yoma 20a, and PRE 46, with respect to the silencing of Satan "the accuser" on the Day of Atonement. *Imre No'am* gives the source of this legend in a very vague manner (כתוב בהגדה), and the text is somewhat obscure. The accusation of Israel by Azazel is certainly to be understood to mean that, in the beginning of creation, he was the one to oppose the forgiving of Israel's sins on the Day of Atonement as foreseen in the Torah. The view given in Zohar I, 23a, 25a, and 37a, concerning the fall of Azza and Azrael goes back to a source identical with the one found in Aggadat Bereshit (introduction) 38. This source is *Huppah Eliyyahu*, which is explicitly named by Sikli in his MS. work, Yalkut Talmud Torah (comp. Ginzberg's note in *Ha-Zofeh*, IV, 29-30). Besides the passages referred to in this note and in the two that follow, there is hardly any other passage in rabbinic literature dealing with the fall of the angels. On

union with Shamdon sprang the devil Asmodeus.¹¹ {151} She was as shameless as all the other descendants of Cain, and as prone to bestial indulgences. Cainite women and Cainite men alike were in the habit of walking abroad naked, and they gave themselves up to every conceivable manner of lewd practices. Of such were the women whose beauty and sensual charms tempted the angels from the path of virtue. The angels, on the other hand, no sooner had they rebelled against God and descended to earth than they lost their transcendental qualities, and were invested with sublunary bodies, so that a union with the daughters of men became possible. The offspring of these alliances between the angels and the Cainite women were the giants,¹² known for their

the whole question of the fallen angels comp. Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 59–61, 63–66, 75–70, 442–448; see also note 57 on vol. I, p. 125. Comp. also note 35 on vol. I, p. 64.

^{11.} PRE according to reading of Nahmanides on Gen. 4. 2; comp. MHG I, 118; Zohar I, 155a; Zohar Ruth, 99a (beginning נחמיה פתח 'ר'); Aggadat Bereshit (introduction) 38. See further note 45 on vol. I, p. 118; *Imre No'am*, Ahare Mot (end); Kanah 105b; Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 58 and 447. Na'amah, Noah's wife, was the daughter of Enoch, and is not to be confounded with the sinner bearing the same name, the daughter of the Cainite Lamech; Yashar Noah, 14b. Comp. note 42 on vol. I, p. 116.

^{12.} PRE 22; Zohar I, 58a; Zohar Hadash Ruth, 99a (beginning נחמיה 'ר), which has the addition that they could not return to heaven because they had been absent for more than a week. A passage which literally corresponds with one in PRE is that in *Ketab Tamim* 61, cited from Tosefta Sanhedrin. This is very likely based on an error, for our text of the Tosefta has no trace of this passage. Moreover, in view of the strong Opposition of the authoritative rabbinic sources to the doctrine of the fall

strength and their sinfulness; as their very name, the Emim, indicates, they inspired fear. They have many other names. Sometimes they go by the name Rephaim, because one glance at them made one's heart grow weak; or by the name Gibborim, simply giants, because their size was so enormous that their thigh measured eighteen ells; or by the name Zamzummim, because they were great masters in war; or by the name Anakim, because they touched the sun with their neck; or by the name Ivvim, because, like the snake, they could judge of the qualities of the soil; or finally, by the name Nephilim, because, bringing the world to its fall, they themselves fell.¹³

of the angels (comp. note 57 on vol. I, p. 125) any reference to this doctrine in the Tosefta is quite inconceivable. Aggadat Bereshit (introduction) 38, asserts that the angels, after their intercourse with the daughters of man, wished to return to heaven, but God said: "Ye have become defiled, and ye cannot become pure again." Similar words occur also in Clementine *Homilies*, 8. 13. Comp. further Kallah 3, 8a.

¹³. BR 26. 7 (on the text comp. *Hadar*, Deut. 2. 20); DR 1. 24; Tan. B. V. 6. On the tallness of the giants, comp. Enoch 7. 2; Zadokite Fragment, 2. See further vol. III, pp. 268–269 and 340; Clementine *Homilies*, 8. 15. Josephus, *Antiqui.*, V, 23, like his contemporary Rabban Johanan b. Zaccai (Tan., *loc. cit.*), undertakes to prove, from the skeletons found in the caves, the extraordinary tallness of the grants. The number of giants who perished in the flood, as given in the Greek Baruch 4. 10, amounts to 409,000.

THE GENERATION OF THE DELUGE

While the descendants of Cain resembled their father in his sinfulness and depravity, the descendants of Seth led a pious, well-regulated life, and the difference between the conduct of the two stocks was reflected in their habitations. {152} The family of Seth was settled upon the mountains in the vicinity of Paradise, while the family of Cain resided in the field of Damascus, the spot whereon Abel was slain by Cain.

Unfortunately, at the time of Methuselah, following the death of Adam, the family of Seth became corrupted after the manner of the Cainites. The two strains united with each other to execute all kinds of iniquitous deeds. The result of the marriages between them were the Nephilim, whose sins brought the deluge upon the world. In their arrogance they claimed the same pedigree as the posterity of Seth, and they compared themselves with princes and men of noble descent.¹⁴

¹⁴ Yerahmeel 24. 10–12. On the identification (supposed in this passage) of “the sons of God” with the descendants of Seth, and that of “the daughters of man” with the generation of Cain (the last idea occurs also in PRE 22), comp. note 45 on vol. I, p. 118, and Caster, *ad loc.*, as well as Ginzberg’s *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 75–76; Zohar Hadash Bereshit (end); *Hadar*, Gen. 6. 2. The description of the gradual fall of the descendants of Seth, given by Yerahmeel, essentially agrees with the Evangel of Seth (Preuschen, *Adamschriften*, 37–38 and 82, seq). On Damascus as the place where Abel is supposed to have been slain, comp. note 19 on vol. I, p. 109. According to another view, “the sons of God” are the descendants of Cain. They were called so because their ancestor Cain (comp. vol. I, p. 105) was of heavenly origin. After they had mingled

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The wantonness of this generation was in a measure due to the ideal conditions under which mankind lived before the flood. They knew neither toil nor care, and as a consequence of their extraordinary prosperity they grew insolent. In their arrogance they rose up against God. A single sowing bore a harvest sufficient for the needs of forty years, and by means of magic arts they could compel the very sun and moon to stand ready to do their service.¹⁵ The raising of children gave them no trouble. They were born after a few days' pregnancy, and immediately after birth they could walk and talk; they themselves aided the mother in severing the navel string. Not even demons could do them harm. Once a new-born babe, running to fetch a light whereby his mother might cut

with the descendants of Seth, they begot children who possessed the physical strength and beauty of the Cainites, but also their demoralized nature; Aggadat Bereshit (introduction) 38–39 (comp. Ginzberg's note on this passage in *Ha-Zofeh* IV, 29–30); Zohar I, 37; Kanah 102d and 107a. See further Hasidim 455, and Kozari II, 14.

¹⁵ Tan. Bereshit 12. The care-free and happy life which the ante-diluvian generations enjoyed, is frequently alluded to in the Haggadah, in order to show that the excess of good things has its bad

consequences for mankind; Tosefta Sotah 3. 6; Mekilta Shirah 2, 35b; Sifre D., 43; Mekilta RS, 58; Midrash Tannaim 36; Sanhedrin 108a; BR 26. 5; 28. 6–7; BaR 9. 14; PK 27, 169b–170a; EZ, 10, 190. Comp. Clementine *Homilies*, 8. 15, where it is said that God had given manna to the ante-diluvian giants, "suited to their various tastes" (comp. vol. III, p. 44), so that they should not be eager to eat meat. See also note 19. On the subjugation of the heavenly bodies by means of witchcraft, comp. El, 25, 49, and vol. I, p. 124.

the navel string, met the chief of the demons, and a combat ensued between the two. Suddenly the crowing of a cock was heard, and the demon made off, crying out to the child, "Go and report unto thy mother, if it had not been for the crowing of the cock, I had {153} killed thee!" Whereupon the child retorted, "Go and report unto thy mother, if it had not been for my uncut navel string, I had killed thee!"¹⁶

It was their care-free life that gave them space and leisure for their infamies. For a time God, in His long-suffering kindness, passed by the iniquities of men, but His forbearance ceased when once they began to lead unchaste lives, for "God is patient with all sins save only an immoral life."¹⁷

¹⁶. BR 36. 1; WR 5. 1 (the expression גליג לאימך also found in Koheleth 2. 20, and the Hebrew שחוק באמך occurs in PR 14, 56b); Aggadat Bereshit 10, 24; PRE 22 (only this passage has the statement that they begot six children at one time; see note 4 on vol. II, p. 245); comp. the sources cited in the preceding note, and Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 86. The crowing of the cock drives the demons away; comp. Yoma 21a. The well-known legend that heroes speak immediately after their birth (comp. note 2) is here transferred to the entire race of the ante-diluvians.

¹⁷. BR 26. 5; Yerushalmi Sotah 1, 17a; BaR 9. 33; Tan. Bereshit 12; WR 23. 9; Tan. B. I, 16 and 23-24. In some of these sources the immoral life of this wicked generation is minutely described, and it is furthermore remarked that they exhibited their shamelessness by appearing naked in public; comp. PRE 22; E2 10, 190. See further, Singer, *Buch der Jubiläen*, 82, note 1, where the talmudic passages concerning the prohibition of uncovering the body are given, comp. further note 67. That unchastity was the cause of the deluge (as well as the destruction of the sinful cities;

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The other sin that hastened the end of the iniquitous generation was their rapacity. So cunningly were their depredations planned that the law could not touch them. If a countryman brought a basket of vegetables to market, they would edge up to it, one after the other, and abstract a bit, each in itself of petty value, but in a little while the dealer would have none left to sell.¹⁸

Even after God had resolved upon the destruction of the sinners, He still permitted His mercy to prevail, in that He sent Noah unto them, who exhorted them for one hundred and twenty years to amend their ways, always holding the flood over them as a threat. As for them, they but derided him. When they saw him occupying himself with the building of the ark, they asked, "Wherefore this ark?"

Noah: "God will bring a flood upon you."

The sinners: "What sort of flood? If He sends a fire flood, against that we know how to protect ourselves. If it is a flood of

comp. vol. I, p. 253) is maintained by 2 Enoch 34, which with regard to some details agrees with the Midrashim. In Jub. 7. 21 three sins are recorded: immorality, idolatry (uncleanness = *טומאת עבודה זרה*), and violence as the causes of the flood. Similarly BR 31. 6. Comp. PRK, 69; Halakot Gedolot (Hildesheimer's edition, 588; five sins caused the flood); ER 15, 74 (eight sins); Shu'aib, Noah, 5a (the trespassing of the seven Noachite commandments); ShR 30. 13. See further notes 36 and 32; vol. III, p. 381; vol. IV, p. 369; Index, s. v. "Immoral Life."

¹⁸. BR 31. 3-5; Sanhedrin 108a; Koheleth 1. 13; Tan. Noah 4; Wehizhir I, 92. Comp. vol. I, p. 245, the description of the sins of the Sodomites.

waters, then, if the waters bubble up from the earth, we will cover them with iron rods, and if they descend from above, we know a remedy against that, too.”

Noah: “The waters will ooze out from under your feet, and you will not be able to ward them off.” {154}

Partly they persisted in their obduracy of heart because Noah had made known to them that the flood would not descend so long as the pious Methuselah sojourned among them. The period of one hundred and twenty years which God had appointed as the term of their probation having expired, Methuselah died, but out of regard for the memory of this pious man God gave them another week’s respite, the week of mourning for him. During this time of grace, the laws of nature were suspended, the sun rose in the west and set in the east. To the sinners God gave the dainties that await man in the future world, for the purpose of showing them what they were forfeiting.¹⁹[19] But all this proved

¹⁹. Sanhedrin 108a–108b (the measures against fire and water, of which they boasted, are mentioned, but the meaning of the words used in the description is obscure); BR 30. 7; Tan. Noah 5; Tan. B. I, 25 (God could have saved Noah without the ark; but its construction was to serve as a warning to the sinners to arouse them to repentance); Aggadat Bereshit 1, 2; Koheleth 9. 14; Koheleth Z., 125; PRE 22 and 23 (hereit is stated that the construction of the ark took fifty-two years); Yashar Noah, 14a–14b, where Methuselah and Noah are said to have endeavored to induce the sinners to repent. The 120 years are of course inferred from Gen. 6. 3, which these sources as well as others (Sifre N., 43, end; Midrash Tannaim 39; Mekilta Shirah 5, 38b; Mekilta RS, 32; EZ 2, 174; BR 16, 80; Onkelos and Yerushalmi Targumim on Gen., *loc. cit.*) understand to say

unavailing, and, Methuselah and the other pious men of the

that God made this time an allowance to the sinners in order that they should repent and that Noah should exert his influence as an admonisher and preacher. This conception is also prevalent in ancient Christian literature; comp. Aphraates, 138; Origen, *Contra Celsum*, III, 41; ps.-Tertullian, 3, 30; Julius Africanus (cited by Syncellus, 21); Ephraim, I, 47 E-F; Christian-Palestinian Homilies in *Anecdota Oxon., Semitic Series* I, part IX, 56; Methodius, Symposium; Evangel of Seth (in Preuschen, *Adamschriften*, 39); Jerome, Gen., *loc. cit.* Some Church Fathers like Origen, ps.-Tertullian, and Julius Africanus, speak of a 100 years, during which the ark was constructed. This is not an inaccuracy, but, as was explicitly stated by Africanus, it wishes to convey that the word of God (Gen, *loc. cit.*) reached the wicked generation when the youngest of them was twenty years old (this is to be explained in accordance with note 69 on vol. I, p. 326), and to these the opportunity of 100 years for repentance was extended. The reason for this view is to be found in the chronological difficulty which Gen., *loc. cit.*, offers; comp. Rashi, *ad loc.* Zohar I, 62, speaks of 300 years during which Noah was active as a preacher for repentance. On Noah's preaching for repentance, comp. further Clemens "First Epistle," 7. 6; Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, I, 21; *Visio Pauli*, 50 (the construction of the ark lasted 100 years); Theophilus, 3. 19; 1 Peter 3. 20. Comp. also Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 77-78. The view that Gen., *loc. cit.*, wishes to say that henceforth the duration of a man's life will not be longer than 120 years is given by Philo, *Quaestiones*, Gen., I, 91; Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 32; Lactantius, *Institutiones*, 2. 14-15. This is also the view of later rabbinic writers; comp. Ibn Ezra, *ad loc.*—On the changes of the course of the sun, comp. Ascension of Isaiah 4. 5; Enoch 80. 4-5, where this and similar miracles as preparations for the last day are mentioned. Shabbat 156b (top) reads: God causes the planet Jupiter to appear in the east

generation having departed this life, God brought the deluge upon the earth.²⁰

instead of in the west in order to teach Abraham not to attach any importance to astronomy. Comp. Steinschneider, *Hebräische Bibliographie*, XVIII, 61–62, concerning similar statements in Arabic literature. On the additional week, after the lapse of the period of respite, during which he was granted the anticipation of the enjoyment of paradise, comp. Yerushalmi Targumim on Gen. 7. 4 and 10: Tosefta Sotah 10. 3–5; ARN 32, 92; Ephraim, I, 5. 2 E, and the sources cited in the following note and note 15.

²⁰. Tosefta Sotah 10. 3–5; ARN 32, 92–93; Sanhedrin 108b (on the text comp. Lekah, Gen. 6. 3, where the reading seems to be מִיתָתָן instead of הִסְפִּידָן, according to which it is said that the death of the pious has the atoning power to avert impending misfortunes for some time; comp., however, Lekah, Gen. 7. 4); BR 3. 6 (in the week of mourning for Methuselah God caused the primordial light to shine) and 32. 7; Yerushalmi Mo'ed Katan 3, 82c; Tehillim 26, 220 (God did not wish Methuselah to die at the same time as the sinners); Yashar Noah, 14a–14b (compiled from different sources. First it is said that Noah and Methuselah were the only pious persons left one hundred and twenty years before the flood; then it is asserted that the pious people died five years before the flood; finally it is remarked that Lamech, Noah's father, died about the same time, but that he followed the path of his father and son whole-heartedly; on Lamech comp. note 64 on vol. I, p. 142, and note 4). Comp. also Philo, *Quaestiones*, 2. 13, who, together with the explanation given in rabbinic sources concerning the seven days of respite to induce the sinners to repent, mentions the view that the last week before the destruction of the world corresponds to the first week of the creation, in order to show that both came from God. The same explanation is found in Lekah, Gen. 7. 4. The last week is regarded as a week of "mourning" for the men destroyed in the flood; BR 27 (end) and

THE HOLY BOOK

Great wisdom was needed for building the ark, which was to have space for all beings on earth, even the spirits. Only the fishes did not have to be provided for.²¹ Noah acquired the necessary

32. 7; Mo'ed Katan, *loc. cit.*; Tan. B. I, 30, and III, 21; Tan. Shemini 1; ER 31, 162. God, of course, knows everything beforehand; when Scripture says (Gen. 6. 6) that He repented because He had created man, it merely implies that He repented in the same manner as a father rejoices at the birth of a son, although he knows that sooner or later he must die; for joy, as well as mourning, has its time. Comp. on this point BR and Tan, *loc. cit.*; Philo, *Quaestiones, ad loc.*; *Quod Deus sit immutabilis*, 5; Clementine *Homilies*, 3. 39. See further Sukkah 52b, and PRK, 19b, concerning four and six things, respectively, of which God repented of having created them; they are: The evil inclination, idolatry, the generation of the flood, the Chaldeans, the Ishmaelites, and Israel's captivity in Babylon. It should be observed that, with the exception of ARN, *loc. cit.* (upon which Yashar, *loc. cit.*, is dependent), which makes mention of the pious and the righteous of the antediluvian generations, the other sources know only of the pious Methuselah. Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed*, II, 39, cites the following expressions, from unknown sources: "The court of justice presided by Methuselah" and "the house of learning of Methuselah". He rightly remarks that these terms mean persons who taught their contemporaries, and endeavored to guide them in God's ways. Comp. notes 1 and 64 on vol. I, pp. 105 and 142, respectively.

^{21.} BR 31. 13 and 32. 11. On the plan of the ark comp. further BR 31. 11; Sanhedrin 108b; PRE 23; Targum Yerushalmi Gen 6. 14-15; Philo, *Moses*, 2. 11; Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 3. 2. It is to be noted that the two last-named

wisdom from the book given to Adam by the angel Raziel, in which all celestial and all earthly knowledge is recorded.

While the first human pair were still in Paradise, it once happened that Samael, accompanied by a lad, approached Eve and requested her to keep a watchful eye upon his little son until he should return. Eve gave him the promise. When Adam came back from a walk in Paradise, he found a howling, screaming child with Eve, who, in reply to his question, told him it was Samael's. Adam was annoyed, and {155} his annoyance grew as the boy cried and screamed more and more violently. In his vexation he dealt the little one a blow that killed him. But the corpse did not cease to wail and weep, nor did it cease when Adam cut it up into bits. To

authors speak of the four stories of the ark. The question as to how the different stories were divided according to the various species of animals is very exhaustively treated, and the sources differ greatly from one another as to the details; comp. also ps.-Hippolytus, 2–3. The construction of the ark was so difficult, that the “ark itself took part in the act”; BR 31. 11. Comp. Evangel of Seth 39, which reads: And when he had built the ark, the axe, the hammer, and the wood exclaimed: “Behold, there will come a flood which will destroy the earth.” Concerning the question how room could be found in the ark for so large a number of animals and food for them all, comp. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 4: 41, and the Melchizedek fragment 5, where the view is expressed that the cubit mentioned in the Bible, with regard to the measurements of the ark, is different from the ordinary one. It is further added that “according to this number the Jews keep this measure of the ark of Noah, as the Lord said to him, and so they made each measure and each rule, even up to the present time.” On this point comp. BR 30. 10 with reference to אמה תיביקין “the ark cubit”.

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rid himself of the plague, Adam cooked the remains, and he and Eve ate them. Scarcely had they finished, when Samael appeared and demanded his son. The two malefactors tried to deny everything; they pretended they had no knowledge of his son. But Samael said to them: "What! You dare tell lies, and God in times to come will give Israel the Torah in which it is said, 'Keep thee far from a false word?'"

While they were speaking thus, suddenly the voice of the slain lad was heard proceeding from the heart of Adam and Eve, and it addressed these words to Samael: "Go hence! I have penetrated to the heart of Adam and the heart of Eve, and never again shall I quit their hearts, nor the hearts of their children, or their children's children, unto the end of all generations."

Samael departed, but Adam was sore grieved, and he put on sackcloth and ashes, and he fasted many, many days, until God appeared unto him, and said: "My son, have no fear of Samael. I will give thee a remedy that will help thee against him, for it was at My instance that he went to thee." Adam asked, "And what is this remedy?" God: "The Torah." Adam: "And where is the Torah?" God then gave him the book of the angel Raziel, which he studied day and night. After some time had passed, the angels visited Adam, and, envious of the wisdom he had drawn from the book, they sought to destroy him cunningly by {¹⁵⁶} calling him a god and prostrating themselves before him, in spite of his remonstrance, "Do not prostrate yourselves before me, but magnify the Lord with me, and let us exalt His Name together." However, the envy of the angels was so great that they stole the book God had given Adam from him, and threw it in the sea.

Adam searched for it everywhere in vain, and the loss distressed him sorely. Again he fasted many days, until God appeared unto him, and said: "Fear not! I will give the book back to thee," and He called Rahab, the Angel of the Sea, and ordered him to recover the book from the sea and restore it to Adam. And so he did.²²

Upon the death of Adam, the holy book disappeared, but later the cave in which it was hidden was revealed to Enoch in a dream. It was from this book that Enoch drew his knowledge of nature, of the earth and of the heavens, and he became so wise through it that his wisdom exceeded the wisdom of Adam. Once he had committed it to memory, Enoch hid the book again.

Now, when God resolved upon bringing the flood on the earth, He sent the archangel Raphael to Noah, as the bearer of the following message: "I give thee herewith the holy book, that all the secrets and mysteries written therein may be made manifest unto thee, and that thou mayest know how to fulfil its injunction in holiness, purity, modesty, and humbleness. Thou wilt learn from it how to build an ark of the wood of the gopher tree, wherein thou, and thy sons, and thy wife shall find protection."

Noah took the book, and when he studied it, the holy spirit came upon him, and he knew all things needful for the {157} building of the ark and the gathering together of the animals. The book, which was made of sapphires, he took with him into the

²². This legend was published by Ginzberg in *Ha-Goren*, IX, 38-41, from a compilation of legends in a MS. of the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. On the attempt of the angels to worship Adam, comp. vol. I, p. 64.

ark, having first enclosed it in a golden casket. All the time he spent in the ark it served him as a time-piece, to distinguish night from day. Before his death, he entrusted it to Shem, and he in turn to Abraham. From Abraham it descended through Jacob, Levi, Moses, and Joshua to Solomon, who learnt all his wisdom from it, and his skill in the healing art, and also his mastery over the demons.²³

²³. Sefer Noah, 150–160, of which three recensions are extant. According to one, Noah received, after the flood, a medical book from the archangel Raphael (vol. I, pp. 173–174); according to the second Adam, after the fall, received a book from Razel, out of which all mysteries could be ascertained (vol. I, pp. 90–93), and it is this book from which Enoch derived his wisdom; later Noah received it from the angel Raphael, in order to be able to erect the ark. The third recension does not seem to know of any connection between Noah's book, which Razel had handed over to him before the flood, and the book given by this angel to Adam who later transmitted it to Enoch. Based on the legend recorded in vol. III, p. 119, this recension adds that the sapphire on which the book was engraved gave the light necessary for the inmates of the ark (comp. vol. I, p. 162, below). See Jellinek, *Einleitung* to BHM, III, 30–33. The second recension was made use of in Zohar I, 37b and 58b, and perhaps also 72b. 2 Enoch 33. 12 also seems to speak of the book of Enoch which was revealed by the angels to Noah and his descendants. In Enoch 10. 1–3 it is Uriel who informs Noah beforehand of the coming of the flood, and who advised him about the erection of the ark; but 67. 2 states that the angels erected it; comp. 89. 1 and BR 31. 11. Comp. also Zohar Hadash Terumah beginning of last paragraph.

THE INMATES OF THE ARK

The ark was completed according to the instructions laid down in the Book of Raziel. Noah's next task was gathering in the animals. No less than thirty-two species of birds and three hundred and sixty-five of reptiles he had to take along with him. But God ordered the animals to repair to the ark, and they trooped thither, and Noah did not have to do so much as stretch out a finger.²⁴ Indeed, more appeared than were required to come, and God instructed him to sit at the door of the ark and note which of the animals lay down as they reached the entrance and which stood. The former belonged in the ark, but not the latter. Taking up his post as he had been commanded, Noah observed a lioness with her two cubs. All three beasts crouched. But the two young ones began to struggle with the mother, and she arose and stood up next to them. Then Noah led the two cubs into the ark. The wild beasts, and the cattle, and the birds which were not accepted remained standing about the ark all of seven days, for the assembling of the animals happened one week before the flood began to descend. On the {158} day whereon they came to the ark, the sun was darkened, and the foundations of the earth trembled,

²⁴ PRE 23; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 5. 20; Philo, *Moses*, 2. 12; BR 32. 8; Tan. Noah 12; Zebachim 116a; Ephraim, I, 52 C-D; Augustine, *Civitas Dei*, 15. 27; Theodoretus, *Quaestiones in Gen.* 18 (comp. on this passage Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 80–81); Evangel of Seth 39. In all these sources it is emphasized that the animals of their own accord, by God's command (according to PRE and Targum Yerushalmi, *loc. cit.*, they were assembled by the angels), came to the ark. Comp. also the following note.

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and lightning flashed, and the thunder boomed, as never before. And yet the sinners remained impenitent. In naught did they change their wicked doings during those last seven days.

When finally the flood broke loose, seven hundred thousand of the children of men gathered around the ark, and implored Noah to grant them protection. With a loud voice he replied, and said: "Are ye not those who were rebellious toward God, saying, 'There is no God'? Therefore He has brought ruin upon you, to annihilate you and destroy you from the face of the earth. Have I not been prophesying this unto you these hundred and twenty years, and you would not give heed unto the voice of God? Yet now you desire to be kept alive!" Then the sinners cried out: "So be it! We all are ready now to turn back to God, if only thou wilt open the door of thy ark to receive us, that we may live and not die." Noah made answer, and said: "That ye do now, when your need presses hard upon you. Why did you not turn to God during all the hundred and twenty years which the Lord appointed unto you as the term of repentance? Now do ye come, and ye speak thus, because distress besets your lives. Therefore God will not hearken unto you and give you ear; naught will you accomplish!"

The crowd of sinners tried to take the entrance to the ark by storm, but the wild beasts keeping watch around the ark set upon them, and many were slain, while the rest escaped, only to meet death in the waters of the flood.²⁵ The water alone could not have

²⁵. Yashar Noah, 15a–16a, apparently based on old sources; comp. BR 31. 13 (whenever the male ran after the female, Noah took the pair into the

made an end of them, for they were giants in stature and strength. When Noah threatened {159} them with the scourge of God, they would make reply: "If the waters of the flood come from above, they will never reach up to our necks; and if they come from below, the soles of our feet are large enough to dam up the springs." But God bade each drop pass through Gehenna before it fell to earth, and the hot rain scalded the skin of the sinners. The punishment that overtook them was befitting their crime. As their sensual desires had made them hot, and inflamed them to immoral excesses, so they were chastised by means of heated water.²⁶

ark; if the female ran after the male, they were excluded from it) and 32. 8; Tan. B. I, 36; Tan. Noah 7. On the 121 years, during which Noah preached for repentance, see note 19. It should be observed that Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 3. 1, also knows of Noah's activity as a preacher. He, however, adds (this occurs nowhere else) that when Noah realized that he failed in his efforts, he emigrated to another country. By this he probably wishes to explain how the ark came to the ridge of Ararat in Armenia (comp. note 47), though Noah, like all ante-diluvian patriarchs, had lived in Palestine. On the eclipse of the sun during the flood comp. Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 8, and vol. I, p. 162 (below). On the attempt of the sinners to enter the ark by force, comp. also Evangel of Seth, 39; Shu'aib, Noah, 5b; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 7. 16; PRE 23; Aggadat Bereshit 4, 10; Yalkut I, 57 (the first part perhaps from Abkir). With respect to the animals which were included in the ark, comp. also note 32.

²⁶. Sanhedrin 108b; Rosh ha-Shanah 12a; Zebahim 113b; Yerushalmi Sanhedrin 10, 29b; WR 7. 6; Koheleth 9. 4; PRE 22; Yelammedenu in Yalkut II, 508, on Is. 64. 1 (according to this passage, punishment by fire came upon the generation of the flood because of the robberies they had

Not even in the hour of the death struggle could the sinners suppress their vile instincts. When the water began to stream up out of the springs, they threw their little children into them, to choke the flood.²⁷

It was by the grace of God, not on account of his merits, that Noah found shelter in the ark before the overwhelming force of the waters.²⁸ Although he was better than his contemporaries, he

practised; comp. also Jerome, on Is. *loc. cit.*, who reproduces this tradition somewhat inaccurately); Hashkem 15a; Tan. B. III, 13; Tan. Zaw 2; Tehillim 11, 100; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 7. 10; Aggadat Bereshit 4. 10. On the sexual dissipation of this generation (onanism, sodomy, and other abominations), comp the sources cited in note 17, as well as BR 26. 4-5, 30. 2, and 32. 7; Zohar I, 62a and 66a. See further note 39. The punishment by fire during the flood is connected with the conception of the world-conflagration which then took place for the first time; comp. Ginzberg *מכור של אש*, 19 = *Ha-Goren* IX, 51.

²⁷. Tan. B. I, 35-36; Tan. Noah 7; Aggadat Bereshit 4, 10; Makiri, Nahum 10; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 7. 12.

²⁸. BR 28. 9 and 30. 9 ("the one-eyed is regarded among the blind as keen-sighted"; Noah was the pious one when all others were sinners); Sanhedrin 108a; Tan. B. I, 31-32; Tan. Noah 5; Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 7 (also Philo's haggadic remark that "the generation of Noah" stands for his pious deeds, and that Noah is called "man" in Scripture on account of his piety, is found in rabbinic literature; comp. BR 30. 6-7; Tan. B. I, 29; Tan. Noah 2; see further the utterance of the Rabbis which is frequently quoted and usually misunderstood: Israel is called "man" *אדם*, but not the other nations; Yebamot 61a, and parallel passages; comp. notes 6, 8 on vol. I, p. 50); Jerome, Gen. 5. 9. Midrash Tannaim 226 asserts that Noah survived only on account of the merits of Moses (the latter lived

was yet not worthy of having wonders done for his sake. He had so little faith that he did not enter the ark until the waters had risen to his knees. With him his pious wife Naamah, the daughter of Enosh, escaped the peril, and his three sons, and the wives of his three sons.²⁹

120 years, as announced to Noah; comp. Gen. 6: 3). Had Noah perished, there would have been no Moses. Comp., on the other hand, 62, where it is said that the idolatrous nations existed only on the merits of Noah. In the Talmud, as well as in the Midrashim cited above, another view is also given to the effect that Noah, despite the wickedness that prevailed in his days, was a pious man. Had he lived in a better generation, he would have certainly been righteous. BR 29. 4 and Tan., *loc. cit.*, in contrast to Midrash Tannaim 62 and Jub. 4. 19, maintain that God was gracious to Noah for the sake of his descendants, *i. e.*, for the sake of the later patriarchs, prophets, and other pious men; comp. BR 30. 10, where the superiority of Abraham to Noah is emphasized. For the opposite view see Tan. B. I, 32. Noah's sons (including Ham) are similarly mentioned as pious men; Tan. B. I, 31 and Tan. Noah 2; 4 Ezra 3. 11; Clemens' First Epistle, 7. 6; comp., on the other hand, Jub., *loc. cit.*, and Aggadat Bereshit 10, 24. The title צדיק applied to Noah (Gen. 6. 9) signifies one who gives alms, because he cared for all the living during the time of the flood; Tan. B. I, 31; Tan. Noah 5; Yelammedenu quoted by Recanati on Gen., *loc. cit.* Comp. Alphabet of Ben Sira 13a; Gerson, *Justinus Martyrer and die Agada*, 46–47. See also the following note.

²⁹ BR 32. 6; an anonymous Midrash quoted by Shu'aib, Noah, 4b. Comp. Matthew 24. 38 concerning the lack of faith of this generation, which remained obstinate until the coming of the flood. According to PRE 23 and Alphabet of Ben Sira 12b–13a, Noah, on the contrary, spent a whole week in the ark before the flood came. According to the prevalent Haggadah (BR 32. 8; comp. vol. III, pp. 444–445) Noah entered the ark in

Noah had not married until he was four hundred and ninety-eight years old. Then the Lord had bidden him to take a wife unto himself. He had not desired to bring children into the world, seeing that they would all have to perish in the flood, and he had only three sons, born unto him shortly before the deluge came.³⁰ God had given him so small a number of offspring that he might be spared the necessity of building the ark on an overlarge scale in case they turned {160} out to be pious. And if not, if they, too, were

full day-light, in the presence of his wicked surroundings, in order to show that because of his faith in God he feared no one. This expresses a rather favorable view of Noah. On Noah's wife, whose good deeds equalled those of her husband, comp. BR 23. 3; Yashar Noah, 14b; Mishle 31, 111; Tobit 4. 12, where Noah is mentioned along with the three patriarchs, who married their kin. This remark wishes to convey that Noah did not marry any of the Cainitish women. According to Jub. 4. 33, Noah's wife was called Amzara, אַם זֶרַע (in the Evangel of Seth 39, she is called Noamzara = נֹעַם זֶרַע), and was the daughter of Bakiel, his father's brother. Comp. note 42 on vol. I, p. 116 and note 11.

^{30.} Tan. B. I, 25-26; Yashar Noah, 14a-14b, where Japheth is said to be the oldest, Ham the second, and Shem the youngest. In the older sources there is a difference of opinion whether Japheth or Shem was the first-born. The following authorities consider Shem the oldest: Jub. 3. 33; PRE 8; Origen, Gen. 12, 10d; Augustine, *Civitas Dei*, 16. 11; Clementine *Recognitiones*, 30; Cyprian *Epistolae*, 62.3. But most of the Rabbis consider Japheth to have been the oldest and Shem the youngest; Midrash Tannaim 73; Sanhedrin 69b; BR 26. 3; 36. 7; 37. 7; BaR 4. 8; Tan. B. I, 142; Targum Yerushalmi, Gen. 10. 21. With this view agree Septuagint, Gen., *loc. cit.*, and Philo, *Quaestiones in Gen.*, 2, 79. Comp. MHG I, 142 and 176; Aphraates, 234; see also the following note.

depraved like the rest of their generation, sorrow over their destruction would but be increased in proportion to their number.³¹

As Noah and his family were the only ones not to have a share in the corruptness of the age, so the animals received into the ark were such as had led a natural life. For the animals of the time were as immoral as the men: the dog united with the wolf, the cock with the pea-fowl, and many others paid no heed to sexual purity. Those that were saved were such as had kept themselves untainted.³²

³¹. BR 26. 2; BaR 14. 12; Tehillim 1, 11–12. These sources assume that Noah had been married long before he begot children, whereas the sources mentioned in the preceding note (comp. also Evangel of Seth 39, where it is said that he was compelled by an angel to marry against his will and that he preferred celibacy; this is a Christianization of the old Jewish legend) assert that he married late in life.

³². Sanhedrin 108a, 108b (with the exception of “Tushlami”, the animals gave up their previous manner of living after the flood); Tan. B. I, 36 and 45; Tan. Noah 12; BR 28. 8–9 (even the earth became untrue to its nature, so that when wheat was sown there grew darnel instead); Yashar Bereshit (end); 2 Alphabet of Ben Sira 35b–36a; Jub. 5. 2. Since it was man who set a bad example to the animals, he was the one to be destroyed first in the flood; Tosefta Sotah 4. 11; Sifre N., 18; Sifre Z., 25; BR 50. 8; BaR 9. 18. Comp. on this idea vol. II, p. 353. The corruption of the animal world readily explains its destruction in the flood. Another explanation is that the whole world was created for the sake of man (vol. I, p. 49), and when man, with the exception of Noah and his family, was destroyed, the animal world was no longer entitled to exist. Those animals which were saved were spared for the sake of Noah and his descendants. Comp. BR

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Before the flood the number of unclean animals had been greater than the number of the clean. Afterward the ratio was reversed, because while seven pairs of clean animals were preserved in the ark, but two pairs of the unclean were preserved.³³

One animal, the reem, Noah could not take into the ark. On account of its huge size it could not find room therein. Noah therefore tied it to the ark, and it ran on behind.³⁴ Also, he could

28. 6 (this passage gives the interesting view that the animals allured man to the eating of meat; hence they were destroyed because they were instrumental in causing sin; comp. Clementine *Homilies*, 8. 15); MHG I, 132–134, 151, 158–159 (where various old sources are cited, all of which express the same idea that the existence of the animal world depends on the existence of man); Philo, *Quaestiones in Gen.*, I, 94, and 2, 9. With regard to the animals which were found worthy of entering the ark, the following statement is made in Sanhedrin, *loc. cit.*, and Zebahim 116a: Noah caused the animals to pass in front of the ark, and those which remained firmly rooted in the ground (קולטתו is thus to be understood) were admitted into the ark.

³³. PRE 23, where the sum total of the animals is given. The text is not quite correct; comp. Luria, note 10, and Shua'ib, 5a–5b, who quotes, from PRE, the sentence, found in Hullin 65b, concerning the numberless kinds of birds. The unclean animals mentioned in Gen. 7. 2 are described in the negative (אשר לא טהורה), and not positive (טמאה), though the latter is the shorter way. Hence it is inferred that one must be careful not to use improper language; Pesahim 3a; PR 14, 57b, and the parallel passages cited by Friedmann.

³⁴. BR 31. 13 (according to one view, the young of the Re'em were in the ark); comp. also Shu'aib, 5a (below, which also has the statement that all

not make space for the giant Og, the king of Bashan. He sat on top of the ark securely, and in this way escaped the flood of waters. Noah doled out his food to him daily, through a hole, because Og had promised that he and his descendants would serve him as slaves in perpetuity.³⁵

Two creatures of a most peculiar kind also found refuge in the ark. Among the beings that came to Noah there was Falsehood asking for shelter. He was denied admission, because he had no companion, and Noah was taking in the animals only by pairs.

the animals, which were intended for the ark, were born shortly before they entered there); Zebahim 113b; Sanhedrin 108b, according to the reading of some MSS. (comp. Rabinowicz, note 2), and MHG I, 150, note 53. Concerning the Re'em see Index, s. v. A less fabulous description of this animal is found in Lekah, Num. 23. 22: its size is larger than that of a camel, its horns, which are as sharp as a sword, are five cubits long, so that no animal can resist it.

³⁵ PRE 23; Targum Yerushalmi Deut. 2. 11 and 3. 10 (a more detailed description of this legend, taken from the Targum, is found in Yalkut Reubeni on Gen. 7. 22); Zebahim 113b. In the last passage it is further remarked that the giants, who had not been carried off by the waters on account of their size, perished from the heat (concerning this point see vol. I, p. 159). The Re'em and Og had such gigantic strength that the heat had no effect upon them. Different is the version of this legend in MHG I, 159: The men of the generation of the flood were fifteen cubits high, and they tried to save themselves on the lofty mountains when the flood broke forth (comp., however, Yoma 76a and BR 32. 11), for which reason God caused the waters to rise fifteen cubits over the high places. Comp. also Tan. B. I, 36; Tan. Noah 7; Aggadat Bereshit 4, 10. On Og comp. also note 54.; and vol. III, pp. 340, 343.

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Falsehood went off to seek a partner, and he met Misfortune, whom he associated with himself on the condition that she might appropriate what Falsehood {161} earned. The pair were then accepted in the ark. When they left it, Falsehood noticed that whatever he gathered together disappeared at once, and he betook himself to his companion to seek an explanation, which she gave him in the following words, “Did we not agree to the condition that I might take what you earn?” and Falsehood had to depart empty-handed.³⁶

THE FLOOD

The assembling of the animals in the ark was but the smaller part of the task imposed upon Noah. His chief difficulty was to provide food for a year and accommodations for them. Long afterward Shem, the son of Noah, related to Eliezer, the servant of Abraham, the tale of their experiences with the animals in the ark. This is what he said: “We had sore troubles in the ark. The day animals had to be fed by day, and the night animals by night. My father knew not what food to give to the little *ziḳta*. Once he cut a pomegranate in half, and a worm dropped out of the fruit, and was devoured by the *ziḳta*. Thenceforth my father would knead bran, and let it stand until it bred worms, which were fed to the

³⁶ Tehillim 6, 68–69 (instead of מתקן *metaken* read מתווה “stipulating”). Comp. also PR 24, 125b, and E2 3, 175, which reads: God created everything with the exception of falsehood and deceit, which man invented. See further ps.-Tertullian, *Adversus Omnes Haereses*, 2.

animal. The lion suffered with a fever all the time, and therefore he did not annoy the others, because he did not relish dry food. The animal urshana my father found sleeping in a corner of the vessel, and he asked him whether he needed nothing to eat. He answered, and said: 'I saw thou wast very busy, and I did not wish to add to thy cares.' Whereupon my father said, 'May it be the will of the Lord to keep thee alive forever,' and the blessing was realized."³⁷ {162}

³⁷. Sanhedrin 108b; MHG I, 160. Yalkut Reubeni, Gen. 7. 14, cites, from Sade Raza, the statement that Noah took care of the wild animals, Shem of the domestic, Ham of the birds, and Japheth of the reptiles. The sources cited above assume that Noah took with him food for each species of animals, the kind of food fit for each one; but, on the other hand, some authorities (BR 31. 14; Tan. B. I, 29 and 37-38; Tan. Noah 2 and 9; Augustine, *Civitas Dei*, 15. 27) assert that the dried fig served as food for both man and beast. That all the animals of the ark became tame, so that Noah walked on snakes and scorpions without being injured, is asserted in Tehillim 91, 400, and also in MHG I, 158 (comp. Schechter, note 25), whereas Tan. B. I, 38, states that Noah was struck by a lion, which made him lame for the rest of his life, because he once gave him food at a late hour. In the numerous parallels to this legend (BR 30. 6, and the sources cited in note 51) it is stated that Noah's encounter with the lion occurred on leaving the ark. On the many hardships, which Noah and his family underwent in the ark on account of the animals for which they cared, see note 223 on vol. I, pp. 270-271. On the animal Urshana (the writing is doubtful), comp. Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 23 and 162-163, as well as Güdemann, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 55, seq. The word is most likely of Persian origin, but it must not be identified with the phoenix, though both of them are considered among the immortals; comp. also Lewysohn,

The difficulties were increased when the flood began to toss the ark from side to side. All inside of it were shaken up like lentils in a pot. The lions began to roar, the oxen lowed, the wolves howled, and all the animals gave vent to their agony, each through the sounds it had the power to utter.

Also Noah and his sons, thinking that death was nigh, broke into tears. Noah prayed to God: "O Lord, help us, for we are not able to bear the evil that encompasses us. The billows surge about us, the streams of destruction make us afraid, and death stares us in the face. O hear our prayer, deliver us, incline Thyself unto us, and be gracious unto us! Redeem us and save us!"³⁸

The flood was produced by a union of the male waters, which are above the firmament, and the female waters issuing from the earth.³⁹ The upper waters rushed through the space left when God

Zoologie des Talmuds, 224, 337, and 353, who misread the word פְּרִי "bran", as פֵּרִי "fruit".

³⁸. Yashar Noah, 16a; see also *ibid.*, 16b, where Noah's prayer, at the opening of the window of the ark, is given. Comp. further Tehillim 29, 233, which reads: God heard the prayer of the inmates of the ark. According to BR 32. 11, and the parallels cited by Theodor, Noah suffered very much from the cold, while the same source, 9, and Tehillim 1, 11, state that the ark, despite the mass of water, rested quietly "as a ship in port". Comp. also BR 33. 7, concerning the eleven cubits of the depth of the ark. Zohar I, 68a–68b and 69a, states that Noah by hiding in the ark escaped the angel of death.

³⁹. PRE 23. Just as the wicked generation indulged in unnatural sexual passions, even so was their punishment unnatural: The female waters

removed two stars out of the constellation Pleiades. Afterward, to put a stop to the flood, God had to transfer two stars from the constellation of the Bear to the constellation of the Pleiades. That is why the Bear runs after the Pleiades. She wants her two children back, but they will be restored to her only in the future world.⁴⁰

There were other changes among the celestial spheres during the year of the flood. All the time it lasted, the sun and the moon shed no light, whence Noah was called by his name, “the resting one,” for in his life the sun and the moon rested. The ark was illuminated by a precious stone, the light of which was more brilliant by night than by day, so enabling Noah to distinguish between day and night.⁴¹ {163}

rose from the abyss, and united themselves with the male waters which came from above; BR 32. 7. Comp. also note 42. The view that the flood was brought about by the union of the male and female waters is found also in Enoch 54. 8–9, and goes back, as has already been remarked by others, to the Babylonian conception of Apsu and Tiamat. Comp. Yerushalmi Berakot 9, 14a; Yerushalmi Ta’anit 1, 64b, Babli 6b; Tosefta 1. 4; Tehillim 42, 267; PRE 5; Koheleth Z., 87. Comp. further the designation of the rain-drops and water bubbles as bridegroom and bride (Ta’anit 6b), and the explanation of this designation by Al-Fasi in his responsum cited by Abudrahim, Berakot 8 (end). See also Tan. B. I, 24 (באו עליהם המים כמין אשה) which likewise alludes to the female waters.

⁴⁰. Berakot 58b-59a; Rosh ha-Shanah 11b-12a; MHG I, 156-157; *Ma’yan Gannim*, 125–126. The last source speaks of the theft committed by בימה “Pleiades” in carrying off two children or stars of עיש “The Great Bear”. Comp. Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 65–66.

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The duration of the flood was a whole year. It began on the seventeenth day of Heshwan, and the rain continued for forty days, until the twenty-seventh of Kislew. The punishment corresponded to the crime of the sinful generation. They had led immoral lives, and begotten bastard children, whose embryonic state lasts forty days. From the twenty-seventh of Kislew until the first of Siwan, a period of one hundred and fifty days, the water stood at one and the same height, fifteen ells above the earth. During that time all the wicked were destroyed, each one receiving the punishment due to him.⁴² Cain was among those

^{41.} BR 25. 2, 3I. II, 33. 3, and 34. II (with reference to this legend concerning the name of Noah, comp. note 5); Sanhedrin 108b; PRE 23; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 6. 16 (the glistening precious stone was fetched by Noah from the river Pishon, at God's behest; this is inferred from Gen. 2. 11–12); an anonymous Midrash in Yalkut I, 57; MHG I, 158. Comp. also vol. I, p. 157; vol. IV, pp. 24 and 249.

^{42.} BR 32. 5 and 33. 7. Comp. note 45, particularly concerning the chronology of the time of the flood. The forty days of punishment are brought into connection with the forty days of Moses' stay on Sinai; they did not obey the Torah, which Moses learned in forty days, hence they were destroyed in forty days. The other explanation of the forty days as given in the text (the author is the Amora R. Johanan; comp. Shemuel 20, 106) is also known to Philo, *Quaestiones in Gen.*, 2. 14, and Ephraim, I, 149E. Comp. note 97 on vol. I, p. 82. The tendency to find some relationship between the punishment inflicted on the wicked generation and the sins they committed is to be noticed in several passages of the Midrashim; comp. vol. I, p. 159, and note 39, where various reasons are assigned why they were punished with water. In all these Haggadot the idea of "measure for measure" is noticeable; comp. Sifre N., 43; Midrash

that perished, and thus the death of Abel was avenged.⁴³ So powerful were the waters in working havoc that the corpse of Adam was not spared in its grave.⁴⁴

Tannaim 36; Mekilta Shirah 2, 35b; Mekilta RS, 58; Tosefta Sotah 3. 9; Sanhedrin 108a; BR 32. 7; Tan. Beshallah 12; MHG I, 150–151. Opinions differ as to whether fish were among the animals which perished, or not; according to one view, punishment was not inflicted on them; according to another, Noah brought a number of fish into the ark, whence many of them escaped to the ocean; Zebahim 113b; Sanhedrin 108a; BR 32 (end).

⁴³ BR 22. 12 and 32. 5; ShR 31. 16; Koheleth 6. 3; Koheleth Z., 106. Comp. further particulars on the death of Cain in note 44 on vol. I, p. 117.

⁴⁴ BR 28. 3; Tan. B. I, 19. A further illustration of the power of the masses of the waters is given in BR, *loc. cit.*; mill-stones were entirely dissolved (this is also mentioned in BR 30. 8; WR 31. 1; Shir 4. 1), and so did the “almond bone” of the human body, which is otherwise never destroyed, so that it forms a nucleus for the new body in the time of resurrection (comp. Index, s. v. “Luz”). This legend wishes to convey that the generation of the flood will not be resurrected, as is explicitly stated in Sanhedrin 10. 3; Tosefta 13. 6; Babli 108a; Yerushalmi 10, 29b; Seder ‘Olam 4; BR 26. 6; WK 4. 1; Tehillim 1, 12; ARN 32, 93. The source just cited differs as to whether these sinners will be completely destroyed, or will suffer eternal damnation; comp. also Zohar I, 69. The remark concerning Adam’s remains is probably anti-Christian, since in the Christian versions of the Book of Adam (Book of Adam and Eve 3. 6, *seq.*; Schatzhöhle, *passim*; Preuschen, *Adamschriften*, 26; ps.-Hippolytus, 2–3) the removal of Adam’s body from the “Cave of Treasures” into the ark plays a great part. In this source the corpse is made to speak. Yerushalmi Nazir 7, 56b, remarks that after 120 years Adam’s remains were destroyed, so that only a spoonful of decayed matter was left. The same

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On the first of Siwan the waters began to abate, a quarter of an ell a day, and at the end of sixty days, on the tenth day of Ab, the summits of the mountains showed themselves. But many days before, on the tenth of Tammuz, Noah had sent forth the raven, and a week later the dove, on the first of her three sallies, repeated at intervals of a week. It took from the first of Ab until the first of Tishri for the waters to subside wholly from the face of the earth. Even then the soil was so miry that the dwellers in the ark had to remain within until the twenty-seventh day of Heshwan, completing a full sun year, consisting of twelve moons and eleven days.⁴⁵

fate awaits every human being. Comp., on the other hand, Shabbat 152b, where it is asserted that the remains of the pious, particularly those who were never jealous, will endure in their perfect state, and will be turned into dust only shortly before their resurrection. The remains of all those who perished in the flood were carried down by the waters into the lowland of Babylon, where the soil was manured with those bodies; Shabbat 113b; Zebahim 113a.

⁴⁵ Seder 'Olam 4 (a different view is also quoted here, according to which the second month in which the flood broke out was Iyar, and by this calculation the entire chronology is to begin with the spring, and with this latter view Philo, *Quaestiones*, 2, 17, 45, and 47 agrees; see also Jub., where the year commences with Nisan); Rosh ha- Shanah 11b-12a; BR 33. 7; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 7. 11 and 8. 4-5, 13; PRE 32; Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 3. 3. Comp. also note 97 on vol. I, p. 82. Just as the flood lasted twelve months, even so does, according to R. Akiba ('Eduyyot 2. 10; numerous parallel passages are cited by Theodor, BR 28, 9, 1), the punishment of the sinners in Gehenna last twelve months.

Noah had experienced difficulty all along in ascertaining the state of the waters. When he desired to dispatch the raven, the bird said: "The Lord, thy Master, hates me, and thou dost hate me, too. Thy Master hates me, for He bade {¹⁶⁴} thee take seven pairs of the clean animals into the ark, and but two pairs of the unclean animals, to which I belong. Thou hatest me, for thou dost not choose, as a messenger, a bird of one of the kinds of which there are seven pairs in the ark, but thou sendest me, and of my kind there is but one pair. Suppose, now, I should perish by reason of heat or cold, would not the world be the poorer by a whole species of animals? Or can it be that thou hast cast a lustful eye upon my mate, and desirest to rid thyself of me?" Where unto Noah made answer, and said: "Wretch! I must live apart from my own wife in the ark. How much less would such thoughts occur to my mind as thou imputest to me!"⁴⁶

⁴⁶. Sanhedrin 108; BR 33. 5 (God bade Noah to receive the raven into the ark once more, because the bird was destined, on another occasion, to bring food for Elijah; comp. 1 Kings 18. 6); 2 Alphabet of Ben Sira 26–27 (which contains many additions; comp. vol. I, pp. 38–39); PRK 32b. For particulars concerning the raven see vol. I, pp. 166. Philo, *Quaestiones*, 2, 35, observes that the raven is a bird able to foresee the future (a similar statement about the raven is to be found in Gittin 45a, where, however, the same quality is also ascribed to the dove), and that is the reason why Noah sent him. Comp. also Zohar Hadash Noah, 28b–29a, where, among other things, it is said that Noah, by sending the raven, wished to indicate that God appeared cruel to mankind, even as this bird is cruel to his children (comp. vol. I. p. 39). Although it was very impious of Noah to think of God in this manner, he was not punished for it, for "a man is not held responsible for what he does, if he is driven

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The raven's errand had no success, for when he saw the body of a dead man, he set to work to devour it, and did not execute the orders given to him by Noah. Thereupon the dove was sent out. Toward evening she returned with an olive leaf in her bill, plucked upon the Mount of Olives at Jerusalem, for the Holy Land had not been ravaged by the deluge. As she plucked it, she said to God: "O Lord of the world, let my food be as bitter as the olive, but do Thou give it to me from Thy hand, rather than it should be sweet, and I be delivered into the power of men."⁴⁷

to it by suffering." This adage is taken from Baba Batra 16b. Towards the end of the flood God's wrath was turned into mercy, and He remembered Noah's good deeds, who had cared for the animals for a whole year; He also thought of the clean animals which Noah had with him; BR 33. 3 (see the parallels cited by Theodor); Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 8. 1. BR *loc. cit.*: The wicked change God's mercy into severity, while the pious change this severity into mercy. Hence the name י"י in Gen. 6. 5 and אלהים in 8. 11, since the Tetragrammaton stands for God's mercy and אלהים for His severity. Philo, *Quaestiones*, 2, 28, in agreement with Targum Yerushalmi and Tan. B. I, 36–37, understands רוח as "the spirit of God", i. e., His mercy. Comp. Ginzberg in *Ha-Zofeh*, IV, 39; Targum Ps. 29. 10 and note 6 on vol. I, p. 4.

⁴⁷ PRE 23 (he who sends a message by an unclean person is the same as though he sent it through a fool; he who sends it by a clean person is as though he sent it by a faithful servant); BR 33. 6; WR 31 (end); Shir 1. 15 and 4. 1; Sanhedrin 108b; Zebahim 113a; 'Erubin 18b; Mishle 31, 109; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 8. 11; MHG I, 163; Evangel of Seth 40 (the statement made here that the raven did not return is in agreement with Septuagint and Vulgate on Gen. 8. 7, which have the reading ולא שב; comp. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 82–83); *Codex Naz.*, III, 72; Ephraim

NOAH LEAVES THE ARK

Though the earth assumed its old form at the end of the year of punishment, Noah did not abandon the ark until he received the command of God to leave it. He said to himself, "As I entered the ark at the bidding of God, so I will leave it only at His bidding." Yet, when God bade Noah go out of the ark, he refused, because he feared that after he {165} had lived upon the dry land for some time, and begotten children, God would bring another flood. He therefore would not leave the ark until God swore He would never visit the earth with a flood again.⁴⁸

(Lagarde 80, 22.). That the dove found an olive-tree on the mount of Olives is to be explained by the fact that the flood did not reach the Holy Land, although the vapors of the hot water caused destruction also there (comp. vol. I, p. 159). See ps.-Philo, 8D; Zebahim, *loc. cit.*, and the four Midrashim mentioned at the beginning of this note. Comp. further Yoma 67a (לכולא עלמא) and vol. III, p. 63. According to those who think that the Holy Land was also visited by the flood, the olive-leaf came from paradise, whose gates opened themselves to the dove; BR, WR, and Shir, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁸. BR 39. 3; Koheleth 10. 4; Tan. B. I, 41; Aggadat Bereshit 7, 17-18. Of the hot springs which broke out at the time of the flood, three remained (in Palestine) open; Sanhedrin 108a; BR 33. 4; MHG I, 162. On the other traces of the flood comp. Zohar I, 63, and vol. IV, 156. On the place where the ark rested, comp. Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 3. 5-6; BR 33. 4; Onkelos and Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 8. 4:. See further the literature cited by Dillmann in his commentary, *ad loc.* Reference may also be made to the following passages: Jub. 5. 28 (Lubar, one of the mountains of Ararat, is the same as in Sefer Noah, 155, beginning; for other sources dependent on Jub., comp. Rönsch, *Buch der Jubiläen*, index, s. v. "Lubar");

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When he stepped out from the ark into the open, he began to weep bitterly at sight of the enormous ravages wrought by the flood, and he said to God: "O Lord of the world! Thou art called the Merciful, and Thou shouldst have had mercy upon Thy creatures." God answered, and said: "O thou foolish shepherd, now thou speakest to Me. Thou didst not so when I addressed kind words to thee, saying: 'I saw thee as a righteous man and perfect in thy generation, and I will bring the flood upon the earth to destroy all flesh. Make an ark for thyself of gopher wood.' Thus spake I to thee, telling thee all these circumstances, that thou mightest entreat mercy for the earth. But thou, as soon as thou didst hear that thou wouldst be rescued in the ark, thou didst not concern thyself about the ruin that would strike the earth. Thou didst but build an ark for thyself, in which thou wast saved. Now that the earth is wasted, thou openest thy mouth to supplicate and pray."

Noah realized that he had been guilty of folly. To propitiate God and acknowledge his sin, he brought a sacrifice.⁴⁹ God accepted

Epiphanius, *Haer.*, I, 1. 4, and the sources cited by Malan in his notes on the Book of Adam 239 and 241–242. It is noteworthy that the rabbinic sources (besides the sources quoted above, comp. also Onkelos Gen., *loc. cit.*; Abba Gorion 37; Tosefta-Targum 2 Kings 19. 37), with unusual accord, describe Kardu (Korduene in Armenia) as the mountain on which the ark rested, just as Berosus (Richter's edition, 56), in his account of the flood, makes Xisuthros come out of his ship in Korduene. Comp. also Julius Africanus, as quoted by Syncellus, I, 21.

⁴⁹ Zohar Hadash Noah, 29a; Zohar I (supplement), 4a and 68a; Sabba,

the offering with favor, whence he is called by his name Noah.⁵⁰ The sacrifice was not offered by Noah with his own hands; the priestly services connected with it were performed by his son Shem. There was a reason for this. One day in the ark Noah forgot to give his ration to the lion, and the hungry beast struck him so violent a blow with his paw that he was lame forever after, and, having a {166} bodily defect, he was not permitted to do the offices of a priest.⁵¹

Noah, 10d. Comp. further vol. III, p. 427, concerning Noah's selfishness, who was anxious for his own safety, for which he prayed to God (MHG I, 154), but did not trouble himself about all the other people when God revealed to him their approaching doom. While in the ark, however, Noah constantly prayed to God; comp. note 38. See further Tan. B. I, 42; Tan. Noah 9; Aggadat Bereshit 7, 18; PRE 23.

⁵⁰. BR 25. 2. On the signification of this name comp. note 5. The anthropomorphic expression "and God smelled the sweet savour" (Gen. 8. 21), against which the Clementine *Homilies*, 3. 39, strongly expressed themselves, is explained in BR 34. 9 to mean that God had accepted Noah's sacrifice mercifully for the sake of his pious descendants, Abraham, the three youths in the fiery furnace, as well as many martyrs in the time of religious persecutions (in the time of Hadrian), who were ready to sacrifice their lives for the sanctification of God's name.

⁵¹. BR 30. 6 and 36. 4; PK27, 168a; WR 20. 1; Koheleth 9. 2; Koheleth Z. 119; Tan. B. I, 38, and V, 7; Tan. Noah 9 and Wa-Ethanan 1. According to some of these sources, it was when leaving the ark that Noah was hurt by the lion; this assumes that during their stay in the ark all the animals were tame; comp. note 37, and further Book of Adam 3. 11. In 2 Alphabet of Ben Sira 29b and 35b-36a it is the eagle and the raven who, after leaving the ark, set an example of immorality and murder. It was the raven who advised the animals not to obey Noah's command to lead a

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The sacrifices consisted of an ox, a sheep, a goat, two turtle doves, and two young pigeons. Noah had chosen these kinds because he supposed they were appointed for sacrifices, seeing that God had commanded him to take seven pairs of them into the ark with him. The altar was erected in the same place on which Adam and Cain and Abel had brought their sacrifices, and on which later the altar was to be in the sanctuary at Jerusalem.⁵²

monogamous life, and it was the eagle who was the first to slay a bird. At first even the rest of the birds tried to punish the eagle (God only enabled it to escape by means of its high flight), but gradually they got accustomed to it. On Shem, the priest, comp. note 102 on vol. I, p. 233. In Zohar Hadash Noah, 29b, it is said that God appointed Shem priest as a reward for his devotion to the study of the Torah, in which he first instructed his brother Japheth and subsequently Abraham. The latter then prayed to God that He should cause His Shekinah to rest in "the house of Shem" (*i. e.*, Jerusalem), and this request was granted to him. The knowledge of the Torah was directly transmitted to Shem by Enoch, who had received it from Seth, to whom Adam had imparted it. After the flood God decided that it would be better for man to observe a few important precepts of the Torah rather than possess the whole of it and neglect it on account of the vast number of the precepts. Whereupon He assigned to them seven Noachite laws, and waited for the advent of Abraham to observe the entire Torah. According to another view, Noah and his family forgot the Torah during the time of the flood because of their sufferings. After the flood God revealed to him the seven precepts. Comp. note 55 on vol. I, p. 71.

^{52.} BR 26. 1 and 34. 9; Tan. B. II, 127; Tan. Wa-Yakhel 6; ShR 50. 2; Tehillim I, 11; PRE 23 and 31 (concerning the number of the sacrifices comp. Luria's note 70 on the first passage); Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 8.

After the sacrifice was completed, God blessed Noah and his sons. He made them to be rulers of the world as Adam had been,⁵³ and He gave them a command, saying, “Be fruitful and multiply upon the earth,” for during their sojourn in the ark, the two sexes, of men and animals alike, had lived apart from each other, because while a public calamity rages continence is becoming even to those who are left unscathed. This law of conduct had been violated by none in the ark except by Ham, by the dog, and by the raven. They all received a punishment. Ham’s was that his descendants were men of dark-hued skin.⁵⁴

20 and 22. 9; Ephraim I, 148B. Jub. 6. 1, *seq.*, connects this sacrifice of Noah, and the covenant appertaining to it which God made with him on this occasion, with the feast of Pentecost, and makes them both take place in the month of Siwan; comp. note 60 on vol. I, p. 137. Mount Lubar is designated as the site of the altar (comp. note 48).

⁵³ BR 34. 12 (the complete dominion of man over the animals was not established until the time of Solomon; comp. note 113 on vol. I, p. 94); Midrash Aggada, Gen. 9. 2 (read *ומשום שהיה*); MHG I, 168. Noah did not wish to leave the ark, since the earth had no people at all. On account of this God said to him: “Be fruitful and multiply on earth”. But Noah and his family were not inclined to comply with this command, for they feared another flood. They were finally calmed only when God promised him never to destroy the earth again; MHG I, 165 (comp. Schechter, note 20); BR 34. 6; Sanhedrin 108b (this is how *למשפחותיהם לא הם* is to be explained; comp. *Pa’aneah* and *Hadar* on Gen. 8. 19; differently Midrash Aggada, *ad loc.*, according to which *למשפח* indicates that only the young of the animals, which were born in the ark, left it, but not those which entered it; comp. the midrashic quotation in Shu’aib, 56); Zohar Hadash Noah, 28b; Midrash Aggada 8, 18.

As a token that He would destroy the earth no more, God set His bow in the cloud. Even if men should be steeped in sin again, the bow proclaims to them that their sins will cause no harm to the world. Times came in the course of the ages when men were

⁵⁴ Sanhedrin 108b; BR 31. 12, 34. 7, and 36. 7; Yerushalmi Ta'anit 1, 64d; Tan. B. I, 42-43; Tan. Noah 11 and 12; PRE 23; an unknown Midrash in Yalkut II, 960 (end); it is related to, but not identical with PK 29, 189a; an unknown Midrash in *Da'at*, Gen. 7. 7; ER 31, 162; MHG I, 165 (comp. Schechter, note 18); Philo, *Quaestiones*, 2, 49; Aristas 35; Origen, *Gen. Selecta*, 7. 19; Ephraim, I, 150 C and 54 B; Book of Adam 3. 11; Evangel of Seth 40; ps.-Hippolytus, 2-3 and 4. On the statement, found in Book of Adam 3. 8, that the women had quarters in the western and the men in the eastern side of the ark, comp. vol. I, pp. 94-95. On the underlying idea of this legend expressed in the saying "the individual should participate in the suffering of the community", comp. note 190 on vol. II, p. 77, and vol. III, p. 61. Regarding the three sinners, Ham, the dog, and the raven, the following may be noted. Shemhazael (sic!) shortly before the flood had intercourse with the wife of Ham, who, in order to protect his wife, trespassed the commandment of abstinence in the ark, and claimed the bastards Sihon and Og as his own children (comp. Index, s. v.); Yalkut Reubeni, Gen. 7. 7, and R. Bahya, Hukkat (end), who cites this legend in an abbreviated form. The dog followed Ham's bad example secretly (as a punishment the male remains attached to the body of the female after copulation). Finally the raven followed this example openly, and called upon the other animals to violate Noah's prohibition. See 2 Alphabet of Ben Sira 35b. Different is the reading *ibid.*, 26b-27a, and in the older sources cited at the beginning of this note. Comp. also MHG I, 162 (end). On the punishment of the raven, comp. vol. I, pp. 38-39, and on that of the dog, note 178 on vol. I, p. 39.

pious enough not to have to live in dread of punishment. In such times the bow was not visible.⁵⁵

God accorded permission to Noah and his descendants to use the flesh of animals for food, which had been forbidden from the time of Adam until then. But they were to abstain {167} from the

⁵⁵ BR 35. 2 (מסגן) in MS. כ cited by Theodor means “going through” = “studying”; comp. רהט and סוגיא; Yerushalmi Berakot 9, 13d; Ketubot 77b; PR 10, 87b; Tehillim 36, 252. On the question whether God’s oath (comp. Shebu’ot 36a; MHG I, 172, and the sources cited by Schechter, on the sevenfold oath not to destroy the world), not to bring a flood again, precludes His destruction of the world by other means, or not, see Ginzberg, מבול של אש 14, *seq.*, where all the material bearing on this subject, found in ancient literature, has been collected. See further Philo, *Quaestiones*, 2. 63. The rainbow is a sign to the effect that God laid aside His weapon, the bow, with which He had destroyed the world during the flood: it was stretched at that time, but never again; Lekah, Gen. 9. 16, undoubtedly based on older sources; comp. the Midrash in MHG I, 172, where reference is made to Hab. 3. 9 concerning the bow as God’s weapon. A different view is given in BR 35. 3, where the rainbow is conceived as the reflection of God’s majesty. On the basis of an old tannaitic tradition (comp. vol. I, p. 83), according to which the rainbow, which first became visible in Noah’s days, belonged to the primordial creations, we meet, in the old sources, the rationalistic explanation of Gen. 9. 12. This explanation takes this verse to mean that during the time of the flood, on account of the uninterrupted pour of rain, no rainbow was seen, since it is only visible in clear weather; comp. Sa’adya Gaon, quoted by Kimhi, *ad loc.*, who bases his view on BR, though our text of that Midrash contains nothing to that effect. See further MHG I, 173. Philo, *Quaestiones*, 2, 64, opposes the view which considers the rainbow as God’s weapon.

use of blood. He ordained the seven Noachian laws, the observance of which is incumbent upon all men, not upon Israel alone. God enjoined particularly the command against the shedding of human blood. Whoso would shed man's blood, his blood would be shed. Even if human judges let the guilty man go free, his punishment would overtake him. He would die an unnatural death, such as he had inflicted upon his fellow-man. Yea, even beasts that slew men, even of them would the life of men be required.⁵⁶

⁵⁶. BR 36. 6 and 34. 13–14 (in the first passage the view is also cited, according to which animals are not punished); Sanhedrin 57a–57b; MHG I, 171; Onkelos and Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 9. 6. Comp. also DR 2. 25. On the seven Noachite laws, comp. note 51 and note 55 on vol. I, p. 71. On the reward and punishment of the animals, comp. Slavonic Enoch 58, and Ginzberg's *Compte Rendu*, 34. Some authorities contest the view that Adam was forbidden to eat meat; comp. BR 16 (end); Tan. B. I, 30; Tan. Shemini 8 (middle). The Church Fathers also differ on the point whether Adam was permitted to eat meat or not; comp. Justin Martyr, Dialogue, 20; Theodoretus, Gen. 9. 3, and 29; Aphraates, 310. Comp. also note 56 on vol. I, p. 71. Justin Martyr and Aphraates, *loc. cit.*, as well as Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, 2. 1, oppose the Jewish dietary laws on the basis of Gen. 3. 3, and we have the answer to this in the Tanhuma, *loc. cit.*, as well as in Tehillim 146, 535, in the sentence that a son of Noah (*i. e.*, a non-Jew) was permitted to eat all kinds of meat; but on mount Sinai God gave laws and precepts to Israel, which restricted the enjoyment of meat, in order to grant them reward for the observance thereof.

THE CURSE OF DRUNKENNESS

Noah lost his epithet “the pious” when he began to occupy himself with the growing of the vine. He became a “man of the ground,” and this first attempt to produce wine at the same time produced the first to drink to excess, the first to utter curses upon his associates, and the first to introduce slavery. This is the way it all came about. Noah found the vine which Adam had taken with him from Paradise, when he was driven forth. He tasted the grapes upon it, and, finding them palatable, he resolved to plant the vine and tend it.⁵⁷ On the selfsame day on which he planted it, it bore fruit, he put it in the wine-press, drew off the juice, drank it, became drunken, and was dishonored — all on one day. His assistant in the work of cultivating the vine was Satan, who had happened along at the very moment when he was engaged in planting the slip he had found. Satan asked him: “What is it thou art planting here?”

Noah: “A vineyard.”

Satan: “And what may be the qualities of what it produces?”

⁵⁷ BR 36. 3 (on other men to whom agriculture caused injury, comp. note 28 on vol. I, p. 112); Tan. B. I, 46 (in the Tanhuma the designation “a man of the soil” is considered by some as a sign of honor; similarly Philo, *De Agricultura*, 1); Tan. Noah 13; PRE 23; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 9. 20. That the grapes came from paradise is mentioned only in the two last sources; the opposite view is found in BR, *loc. cit.*; Tan. B. I, 48; Tan. Noah 15, which reads: Noah took along with him all the possible plants for the future cultivation of the ground, among them the seeds of the vine. Comp. note 59.

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Noah: "The fruit it bears is sweet, be it dry or moist. It yields wine that rejoiceth the heart of man."

Satan: "Let us go into partnership in this business of planting a vineyard."

Noah: "Agreed!"

Satan thereupon slaughtered a lamb, and then, in succession, a lion, a pig, and a monkey. The blood of each as it was killed he made to flow under the vine. Thus he conveyed to Noah what the qualities of wine are: before man drinks of it, he is innocent as a lamb; if he drinks of it moderately, he feels as strong as a lion; if he drinks more of it than he can bear, he resembles the pig; and if he drinks to the point of intoxication, then he behaves like a monkey, he dances around, sings, talks obscenely, and knows not what he is doing.⁵⁸

⁵⁸. Tan. Noah 18; Tan. B. I, 48; BR 36. 3-4; PRE 23; Abkir in Yalkut I, 61 (this passage speaks of the sheep, the lion, and the pig only), and in a MS. quoted by Epstein, *Ha-Eshkol*, II, 205; Shu'aib, Noah 5d (is probably based on a more correct text of Tan., and has the sheep, lion, ape, and pig); Midrash Aggada, Gen. 9. 21 (agrees with Shu'aib). *Hadar*, Gen, *loc. cit.*, quotes a somewhat different version of the legend, according to which the animals are: the pig, he-goat, sheep, and ape. In *Shalsholet*, 92b, it is the he-goat which became drunk on wild grapes. Whereupon Noah tried to plant grapes, and he washed the roots with the blood of a lion, pig, sheep, and ape. On the views of the old sources concerning wine, comp. 'Erubin 65a; Ketubot 65a; Sanhedrin 70a; BR 36. 4; Tan. B. I, 58, 50-51, and III, 24-26; Tan. Shemini 11; WR 12. 1; Mishle 23, 95-96.

This deterred Noah no more than did the example of Adam, whose fall had also been due to wine, for the forbidden fruit had been the grape, with which he had made himself drunk.⁵⁹

In his drunken condition Noah betook himself to the tent of his wife. His son Ham saw him there, and he told his brothers what he had noticed, and said: "The first man had but two sons, and one slew the other; this man Noah has three sons, yet he desires to beget a fourth besides." Nor did Ham rest satisfied with these disrespectful words against his father. He added to this sin of irreverence the still greater outrage of attempting to perform an operation upon his father designed to prevent procreation.

When Noah awoke from his wine and became sober, he pronounced a curse upon Ham in the person of his youngest {¹⁶⁹} son Canaan. To Ham himself he could do no harm, for God had conferred a blessing upon Noah and his three sons as they

While intoxication is said in these sources to be the cause of all sins, and the ruin of individuals, as well as nations, and therefore severely condemned, the moderate enjoyment of the vine is not only permitted, but also recommended. Similar views on the use and misuse of wine are found in Greek Baruch 4.

⁵⁹ Sanhedrin 70a; Greek Baruch 4. 8; Apocalypse of Abraham 23; Enoch 32. 4. Comp. Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 38–45, and note 70 on vol. I, 75. Origen, Gen. 9. 20, maintains that Noah's vine was the offshoot of the tree of knowledge, and this view seems to be shared by PRE 23 and Targum Yerushalmi, *loc. cit.* (comp. note 57). The whole earth is either watered from paradise or Gehenna (from their streams); where good wine grows, the soil is watered from paradise; but where bad wine grows, the soil is watered from Gehenna; BHM V, 67.

departed from the ark. Therefore he put the curse upon the last-born son of the son that had prevented him from begetting a younger son than the three he had.⁶⁰ The descendants of Ham

⁶⁰. BR 36. 4-5 and 7; Tan. B. I, 49; Tan. Noah 15; PRE 23; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 9. 24-25; Midrash Haserot 50 (while intoxicated he ventured to have intercourse with his wife, which he would not have done if he were sober, owing to the fact that the lion had hurt him and rendered him incapable of conjugal relations; comp. BR, *loc. cit.*, and vol. I, pp. 165-166; but differently in BR 25. 1, where the evil that had befallen Noah is declared to have been the punishment for his refusal, after leaving the ark, to resume conjugal relations which had been interrupted during his stay there; comp. note 53 and BR, *loc. cit.*, where, according to one view, this abstinence of Noah is highly commended); Sanhedrin 70a (according to one view Ham committed sodomy); Clementine *Recognitiones*, 1. 30; Theophilus, 3.19; Book of Adam 3. 13. The emphasis laid in Jewish sources on the fact that Ham prevented his father from begetting a fourth son seems to be directed against the view found in the Book of Adam, *loc. cit.*, and in other Christian writings, according to which Noah begot several sons after leaving the ark; comp. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 86-87. In the above-mentioned rabbinic sources, as well as in patristic literature (Justin Martyr, *Dialogue*, 139; Ephraim, I, 56 F, 57 A and B; Theodoretus and Origen, Gen, *loc. cit.*), opinions differ as to whether the fault was entirely Ham's (yet he, having been blessed, could not be cursed; comp. note 85 on vol. I, 78) or whether Canaan, Ham's son, had a share in it; comp. the following note. Noah learned of the disgrace perpetrated on him by his son through a dream; Targum Yerushalmi, *loc. cit.* According to others (Shu'aib, Noah, 5b, quoting a Midrash, perhaps BR 37. 7: בני הפסול), Noah took it for granted that only his immoral son could have committed this act (comp. vol. I, p. 166). On the interpretation of BR 36. 4 that "tent" is a metaphor for wife (= אהלה

through Canaan therefore have red eyes, because Ham looked upon the nakedness of his father; they have misshapen lips, because Ham spoke with his lips to his brothers about the unseemly condition of his father; they have twisted curly hair, because Ham turned and twisted his head round to see the nakedness of his father; and they go about naked, because Ham did not cover the nakedness of his father. Thus he was requited, for it is the way of God to mete out punishment measure for measure.

Canaan had to suffer vicariously for his father's sin. Yet some of the punishment was inflicted upon him on his own account, for it had been Canaan who had drawn the attention of Ham to Noah's revolting condition. Ham, it appears, was but the worthy father of such a son.⁶¹ The last will and testament of Canaan

אשתו), comp. Mo'ed Katan 15b and BR 39. 16. A favorite metaphor for wife is house, comp. e. g. Shabbat 118b; Yoma 13a.

⁶¹. BR 36. 7; Tan. B. I, 49; Tan. Noah 15. PRE 23 goes even a step further and asserts, in agreement with some of the Church Fathers (comp. the preceding note, and Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 84–87), that it was really Canaan who committed this disgraceful act (the castration of Noah); Ham, however, divulged the secret. Sforino, Gen. 9. 25, quotes a similar version from Berosus the Chaldean. Comp. also Philo (*De Ebrietati*, 2, 7, and 10; *Quaestiones*, 2, 65, 70, 77), who, in agreement with the Rabbis, makes Canaan participate in his father's disgraceful deed, and is also acquainted with the haggadic interpretation of BR 36. 2 and 7 concerning Gen. 9. 18 and 24 (Ham and Canaan, because they are both equally base in character, are designated as father and son; hence הקטן signifies "the debased"). It is probable that similar statements of the Church Fathers go back, directly or indirectly, to Philo.

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addressed to his children read as follows: "Speak not the truth; hold not yourselves aloof from theft; lead a dissolute life; hate your master with an exceeding great hate; and love one another."⁶²

As Ham was made to suffer requital for his irreverence, so Shem and Japheth received a reward for the filial, deferential way in which they took a garment and laid it upon both their shoulders, and walking backward, with averted faces, covered the nakedness of their father. Naked the descendants of Ham, the Egyptians and Ethiopians, were led away captive and into exile by the king of Assyria, while {170} the descendants of Shem, the Assyrians, even when the angel of the Lord burnt them in the camp, were not exposed, their garments remained upon their corpses unsinged. And in time to come, when Gog shall suffer his defeat, God will provide both shrouds and a place of burial for him and all his multitude, the posterity of Japheth.

Though Shem and Japheth both showed themselves to be dutiful and deferential, yet it was Shem who deserved the larger meed of praise. He was the first to set about covering his father. Japheth joined him after the good deed had been begun. Therefore the descendants of Shem received as their special reward the tallit, the garment worn by them, while the Japhethites have only the toga.⁶³ A further distinction accorded to Shem was

^{62.} Pesahim 113b. PRK (Schönbrum's edition, 15b and 19a) has: Love sleep, and hate work, as a part of the Testament of Canaan; comp. also Pesahim 40b, below, as well as Kiddushin 49b, concerning the indolence of slaves; see note 292 on vol. II, p. 115.

the mention of his name in connection with God's in the blessing of Noah. "Blessed be the Lord, the God of Shem," he said, though as a rule the name of God is not joined to the name of a living person, only to the name of one who has departed this life.⁶⁴

The relation of Shem to Japheth was expressed in the blessing their father pronounced upon them: God will grant a land of beauty to Japheth, and his sons will be proselytes dwelling in the academies of Shem.⁶⁵ At the same time Noah conveyed by his

^{63.} BR 36. 6 (they walked with their eyes closed); Tan. B. I, 48–50 (even after they had covered their father, they did not turn round); Tan. Noah 15. Comp. note 59 on vol. IV, p. 269, concerning the "death by fire" to which the army of Senacherib was doomed. Shem is already praised in Ecclu. 49. 16, and the rabbinic legend which identifies him with Melchizedek (comp. vol. I, p. 233, and MHG I, 187) does not only praise his piety, but considers him a prophet, who had in vain admonished the nations for 400 years about their wickedness. But he received his reward, for God blessed him with Abraham as his descendant; ER 20, 114; 24, 126–127; 28, 141–142; EZ 2, 174. The "house of study" and "court of justice" of Shem and Eber are frequently mentioned in the talmudic and midrashic literature; comp. *e. g.*, BR 63. 10, 85. 12; Makkot 23b, etc. That Eber was a prophet is already found in Seder 'Olam 1 (comp. Ratner, *ad loc.*). See vol. III, pp. 355–356.

^{64.} MHG I, 177–178; BR 26. 3. Comp. vol. I, pp. 375 and 414, concerning the combining of God's name with that of a person.

^{65.} BR 36. 8; Tan. B. I, 50; Tan. Noah 15; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 9. 27; Jerome on Gen., *loc. cit.* (who naturally conceives it in a Christian sense), and Irenaeus, *Haer.*, III, 5. 3. The Church Fathers follow the old versions (including Onkelos), which translate יַפֶּת "stretching out"; this is perhaps the view of the Midrashim just cited. Comp. the following note.

words that the Shekinah would dwell only in the first Temple, erected by Solomon, a son of Shem, and not in the second Temple, the builder of which would be Cyrus, a descendant of Japheth.⁶⁶

NOAH'S DESCENDANTS SPREAD ABROAD

When it became known to Ham that his father had cursed him, he fled ashamed, and with his family he settled in the {171} city built by him, and named Neelatamauk for his wife. Jealous of his brother, Japheth followed his example. He likewise built a city which he named for his wife, Adataneses. Shem was the only one of the sons of Noah who did not abandon him. In the vicinity of his father's home, by the mountain, he built his city, to which he also gave his wife's name, Zedeketelbab. The three cities are all near Mount Lubar, the eminence upon which the ark rested. The first lies to the south of it, the second to the west, and the third to

⁶⁶. Yoma 9b; PR 35, 160a; BR 36. 8; comp. further Onkelos, *ad loc.*; Jub. 7. 12; Philo, *De Ebrietati*, 13. The last-named author wavers between the explanation which takes Japheth to be the subject of יִשְׁכֵּן, and that which refers this verb to God. The view that the Shekinah was absent from the second temple is widespread; comp. note 341 on vol. III, p. 161, and note 36 on vol. IV, p. 355. Very popular is the interpretation that Noah's blessing contains the prophecy concerning the translation of the Scriptures into Greek: "The beauty of Japheth, the Greek translation, will be used in the tents of Shem, the houses of study of the Jews"; Megillah 9b; Yerushalmi I, 71b; BR, *loc. cit.*; DR I. I. — Wise sayings of Shem are given in *Ben ha-Melek* 21, according to Arabic sources.

the east.

Noah endeavored to inculcate the ordinances and the commands known to him upon his children and his children's children. In particular he admonished them against the fornication, the uncleanness, and all the iniquity which had brought the flood down upon the earth. He reproached them with living apart from one another, and with their jealousies, for he feared that, after his death, they might go so far as to shed human blood. Against this he warned them impressively, that they be not annihilated from the earth like those that went before. Another law which he enjoined upon them, to observe it, was the law ordaining that the fruit of a tree shall not be used the first three years it bears, and even in the fourth year it shall be the portion of the priests alone, after a part thereof has been offered upon the altar of God. And having made an end of giving his teachings and injunctions, Noah said: "For thus did Enoch, your ancestor, exhort his son Methuselah, and Methuselah his son Lamech, and Lamech delivered all unto me as his father had bidden him, and now I do exhort you, my children, as Enoch exhorted his son. When he lived, in his {172} generation, which was the seventh generation of man, he commanded it and testified it unto his children and his children's children, until the day of his death."⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Jub. 7. 13–39. Concerning Noah's daughters-in-law, comp. note 42 on vol. I, p. 116; ps.-Hippolytus, 2; in Sibyll. 3. 826 the Sibyl describes herself as one of them. Verse 20 of Jub. is perhaps an inaccurate translation of the Hebrew original, whose text may have read: והזהירם על הדין על גלוי ערוה ועל ברכת השם "And he command— ed them to mete out

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In the year 1569 after the creation of the world, Noah divided the earth by lot among his three sons, in the presence of an angel. Each one stretched forth his hand and took a slip from the bosom of Noah. Shem's slip was inscribed with the middle of the earth, and this portion became the inheritance of his descendants unto all eternity. Noah rejoiced that the lot had assigned it to Shem. Thus was fulfilled his blessing upon him, "And God in the habitation of Shem," for three holy places fell within his precincts—the Holy of Holies in the Temple, Mount Sinai, the middle point of the desert, and Mount Zion, the middle point of the navel of the earth.

The south fell to the lot of Ham, and the north became the inheritance of Japheth. The land of Ham is hot, Japheth's cold, but Shem's is neither hot nor cold, its temperature is hot and cold mixed.⁶⁸

justice, not to commit incest, and not to blaspheme God"; comp. Sanhedrin' 56b, where these are included among the seven Noachian precepts. On גלוי עריות (literally "uncovering the nakedness"=incest or unchastity), see the dictionaries on the Talmud, s. v.; comp. note 17.

^{68.} Jub. 8. 10–30, where the possessions of each of the sons of Noah are described in detail. The parallels to this legend of Jub. (some are directly borrowed from it) in Christian literature are given by Charles, *ad loc.* Comp. further Clementine *Recognitiones*, 1. 30; Ephraim, I, 153 C. This legend is entirely unknown in rabbinic sources (PRE 24 does not belong here; comp. Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 88), but Sibyll. 3. 114 seems to have made use of Jub., *loc. cit.*; comp. note 71. On Jerusalem, or rather the site of the altar, as the centre of the earth, comp. vol. I, p. 12,

This division of the earth took place toward the end of the life of Peleg, the name given to him by his father Eber, who, being a prophet, knew that the division of the earth would take place in the time of his son.⁶⁹ The brother of Peleg was called Joktan, because the duration of the life of man was shortened in his time.⁷⁰

In turn, the three sons of Noah, while they were still standing in the presence of their father, divided each his portion among his children, Noah threatening with his curse any who should stretch out his hand to take a portion not assigned to him by lot. And they all cried, "So be it! So be it!"⁷¹ {173}

Thus were divided one hundred and four lands and ninety-nine islands among seventy-two nations, each with a language of its own, using sixteen different sets of characters for writing. To

and the Melchizedek fragment 3. On Palestine as the rightful possession of Israel, the descendants of Shem, comp. note 73.

⁶⁹. Seder 'Olam 1; BR 37. 7, where one view is given, according to which at the birth of Peleg (comp. Jub. 8. 8) the earth was divided and his father therefore gave him a name alluding to this event. Concerning Eber, comp. also note 63 and Jerome, Gen. 10. 25.

⁷⁰. Yashar Noah, 17a. A different view is given in BR 6. 4 and 37. 7, according to which Joktan signifies "the modest one". As a reward for his modesty he became the progenitor of thirteen tribes. However, many of his descendants lived in great poverty. The inhabitants of Hazarmaveth lived only on herbs, and wore clothes made of paper, and daily awaited death; BR 37. 8.

⁷¹. Jub. 9. 14–15; Midrash Aggada Gen. 12, 6. Comp. note 73 and vol. III, p. 368.

Japheth were allotted forty-four lands, thirty-three islands, twenty-two languages, and five kinds of writing; Ham received thirty-four lands, thirty-three islands, twenty-four languages, and five kinds of writing; and Shem twenty-six lands, thirty-three islands, twenty-six languages, and six kinds of writing—one set of written characters more to Shem than to either of his brothers, the extra set being the Hebrew.⁷²

⁷². MHG I, 182, from an unknown source. The text is corrupt in several places, and it is therefore only possible to restore some of the names to their original form. Instead of ט"ט אייהם ס"ט read א' צ"ט; for קפרקי read קפדקי "Cappadocian"; and probably instead of צרדי read צורי "Tyrian". Less probable is the emendation of פניקי to פקפילי "Phenician", whereas רהומי for רהומי "Roman" (this is the usual orthography in Syriac) is very likely only a printer's error. It is very strange that "Jebusite" is ascribed to the Japhethic and Persian to the Hamitic system of writing, particularly in view of Gen. 10. 16. It is unknown what גוטאזכי is; it seems to be Persian. Accordingly we may say with certainty that the systems of writing known to this source are: Roman, Cappadocian, Greek, and Median, which were employed by the Japhethites; the Hamites employed the Persian, Agogian, African, Syrian, and Phenician writings; whereas the Semites used Egyptian, Libnian (comp. Sanhedrin 21ב: לבינואה), Assyrian, Hebrew, and Chaldean. On the biblical table of nations in rabbinic literature comp. Krauss, *Monatsschrift*, XXXIX, 1–11 and 49–63; Schürer, *Geschichte*, II, 406, note 42, as well as Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 90. The number of nations or "tongues" (לשונות and אומות) are used synonymously in this connection) is given in the source employed in MHG, as seventy-two. This agrees with Hippolytus 10. 26; Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, 1. 26 and other Christian authors; comp. Schürer, *loc. cit.* Other rabbinic sources usually speak of the

The land appointed as the inheritance of the twelve sons of

“seventy nations of the world”; comp. vol. I, p. 314; vol. II, p. 214; vol. III, pp. 97, 161, 351, 371, 493; vol. IV, pp. 6, 247, 360, 382, 391. See further ER 15, 76; 19, 111, 126; 31, 156; E2 15, 175 (uses, with one exception on p. 111, לשון and לשונות instead of אומות); DR 4. 9; Shir 1. 2 (end); Targum Song of Songs 1. 2 and 9; Midrash Tannaim 190; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 11. 7 and Deut. 32. 9; PRE 24; Midrash le-Hanukkah 135 (second version, 141); Sukkah 55b; PK 30, 194a, and 31, 195b; Tan. B. IV, 156; Tan. Pinehas 16; BaR 21, 24; Shir 4. 1; Tehillim 109, 465, and 9, 84. In the last-named passage a more detailed account of this number is given, in which it is asserted that the descendants of Japheth enumerated in the Bible are 14, those of Ham are 30 (with the omission of the Philistines who are designated in 10. 14 as a mixed people), and those of Shem are 26. The total is thus seventy. Different is the reading in Baraita 32 Middot in Yalkut I, 61, on Gen. 9. 18, and similarly Ephraim I, 51 J (comp. Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 91-92), according to which Japheth and Ham, and even the Philistines are included in the number, but Shem, Arpachshad, Shelah, and Eber are excluded. The descendants of Noah thus amount to seventy. With the exception of the last-mentioned four, all of them were wicked; hence these four, who were pious men, were not included. The number 72 is very likely based on the assumption that Asshur named in 10. 11 must not be identified with the person bearing the same name mentioned in 10. 22. On the basis of Song of Songs 6. 8, some authorities speak of 140 nations (comp. Sifre, D., 311; Midrash

Tannaim, *loc. cit.*; Shir 6. 8; Midrash Shir 43b; BaR 9. 14 and 14. 10. Comp. further vol. III, 205 and 209), of whom sixty have their own languages and scripts, while the remaining eighty only have languages but not scripts. MHG I, 178-179 contains an unknown Midrash which endeavors to prove that these sixty nations are in accordance with the table of nations of Gen., where ten names are those of individuals (this

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Jacob was provisionally granted to Canaan, Zidon, Heth, the Jebusites, the Amorites, the Gergashites, the Hivites, the Arkites, the Sinites, the Arvadites, the Zemarites, and the Hamathites. It was the duty of these nations to take care of the land until the rightful owners should come.⁷³

is, however, done in a very forced way), while the remaining eighty sprang up later, as, for instance, the descendants of Keturah, the Ishmaelitic tribes, *etc.* Comp. also vol. I, p. 314, according to which the number of seventy nations was only completed by including Israel and Edom. It is possible that originally the seventy-two nations stood for the seventy descendants of Noah and these two. Aggadat Bereshit 14, 32, reads: Isaiah and Obadiah (the first is one of the greatest of the prophets, and the second the least important) uttered their prophecies in seventy-one languages. If we should include the Philistines in the table of nations, we would have 71 nations and languages. Comp. de Rossi, *Meor 'Enayim*, 455, who refers to 72 languages in Augustine, *Civitas Dei*, 16. 3 and 11. Comp. Steinschneider, Z.D.M. (3., IV, 145-170, and LVII, 474, *seq.*; Krauss in Z.A.T.W., XIX, 1-4, and XX, 38-43; Poznanski, *ibid.*, XXV, 301-308. Comp. also the following note.

⁷³ MHG I, 179-180, quoting an unknown source. This, like the Haggadah referred to in the precedm'g note concerning the number seventy of Noah's descendants, is based on Deut. 32. 5. The one passage refers "the number of the sons of Israel" in this verse to the family of Jacob at the time of enfeign'g Egypt, which according to Gen. 46. 27, was 70, while the other refers it to the twelve sons of Jacob. The source of MHG is unknown. It is probably a ta'hnaitic Midrash of which traces may be found in Sifre D., 39; Batte Midrashot 1, 4 (but there mention is made of the division of the entire earth into twelve parts, and not of Palestine; comp. note 33 on vol. I, p. 11); RShBM and *Hadar* on

No sooner had the children of Noah and their children's children taken possession of the habitations apportioned to them, than the unclean spirits began to seduce men and torment them with pain and all sorts of suffering leading to spiritual and physical death. Upon the entreaties of Noah God sent down the angel Raphael, who banished nine-tenths of the unclean spirits from the earth, leaving but one-tenth for Mastema, to punish sinners through them. Raphael, supported by the chief of the unclean spirits, at that time revealed to Noah all the remedies residing in plants, that he might resort to them at need. Noah recorded them in a book, which he transmitted to his son Shem.⁷⁴

Deut., *loc. cit.* In the last-named source it is explicitly stated that twelve Canaanitish tribes had charge of the Holy Land prior to the time of Israel's settlement; but the Canaanites never owned it, for "whatever the slave possesses belongs to his master", and Canaan was made the slave of Shem, the progenitor of Israel. This is to serve as a rejoinder to the complaint against Israel for having despoiled the Canaanites of their possessions. Another Haggadah goes even further, and asserts that Canaan was the unlawful possessor of Palestine; comp. vol. I, pp. 219-220. The Torah, observes a widespread Haggadah (BR 1. 2 and parallels cited by Theodor), begins with the creation of the world, and not with the legal sections, in order that Israel should be able to retort to the accusation of the nations. The latter would assert that the Israelites were robbers, who despoiled the inhabitants of Palestine of their possessions. But Israel replies: "The world and everything therein belongs to God who created it. When He wished, He gave it to you; when He willed otherwise, He took it away from you and gave it to us." Comp. Sanhedrin 91a.

⁷⁴. Sefer Noah, 155 (it is really the first chapter of the Asaf book; comp. Venetianer, *Asaf Judäus*, Budapest, 1915. XXXVIII *Jahres-bericht der*

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This is the source to which go back all the medical books whence the {174} wise men of India, Aram, Macedonia, and Egypt draw their knowledge. The sages of India devoted themselves particularly to the study of curative trees and spices; the Arameans were well versed in the knowledge of the properties of grains and seeds, and they translated the old medical books into their language. The wise men of Macedonia were the first to apply medical knowledge practically, while the Egyptians sought to effect cures by means of magic arts and by means of astrology, and they taught the Midrash of the Chaldees, composed by Kangar, the son of Ur, the son of Kesed. Medical skill spread further and further until the time of aesculapius. This Macedonian sage, accompanied by forty learned magicians, journeyed from country to country, until they came to the land beyond India, in the direction of Paradise. They hoped there to find some wood of the tree of life, and thus spread their fame abroad over the whole world. Their hope was frustrated. When they arrived at the spot, they found healing trees and wood of the tree of life, but when they were in the act of stretching forth their hands to gather what they desired, lightning darted out of the ever-turning sword, smote them to the ground, and they were all burnt. With them disappeared all knowledge of medicine, and it

Landes-Rabbinerschule), apparently in agreement with Jub. 10. 114; comp. also Clementine *Homilies*, 7. 18–19, concerning the instructions which the angels gave to the demons (the souls of the giants who perished in the flood) after the flood. In the Zadokite Fragment 16. 5, too, Satan is called Mastemah, or to be accurate, “the angel Mastemah.”

did not revive until the time of the first Artaxerxes, under the Macedonian sage Hippocrates, Dioscorides of Baala, Galen of Caphtor, and the Hebrew Asaph.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Sefer Noah, 155–156. The legend cited by many authors of the Middle Ages concerning the sages who sought to acquire, in India, certain plants of paradise, but perished miserably in their attempt, goes back, directly or indirectly, to the Asaf book (comp. the preceding note). See Nahmanides, *Torat ha-'Adam* 30 (*Sha'ar ha-Gemul*), 102a, who refers to the book of healing of the old Greeks and to the Jew Asaf; Shu'aib, Bereshit, 3a, and Haazinu, 119a; Recanati, Gen. 3. 24; Ziyroni, Lev. 18. 21. R Makir, *Abkat Rokel*, 2. 1 (end), narrates the story of the attempt of the sages in a way which suggests, as his source, a different version of the Asaf book. This R. Makir is not, as Venetianer, p. 36 (of the book referred to in the preceding note) maintains, identical with the scholar bearing the same name who flourished at Narbonne about the beginning of the ninth century. The author of *Abkat Rokel* not only quotes Rashi (I. 2) and Bahir (2. 1), but he also made use of the Zohar, from which book (comp. note 4 on vol. II, p. 5) his explanation of the title *Zaddik* ("the just") given to Joseph is taken. Accordingly the tradition which considers this R. Makir as a pupil of R. Jacob b. Asher is well founded, at least in so far as it fixes the time. — An entirely different version of the origin of the books of healing is found in TShBZ, No. 445. The stay in the ark brought many diseases upon Noah and his family, apart from the discomfort caused by the bad odor of the spirits, demons, and Liliths. After the flood an angel took one of Noah's sons (*i. e.*, Shem) to paradise, where he revealed to him all kinds of remedies, which the latter wrote down in a book. This is the book of healing which Hezekiah (comp. vol. IV, p. 277) made use of. The motive of the legend concerning Noah's book of healing is to establish the fact that all wisdom originated with the Jews, and that the philosophers and the physicians of the Greeks have no claim to originality; comp. vol. IV, p. 97, respecting Socrates, the disciple of

THE DEPRAVITY OF MANKIND

With the spread of mankind corruption increased. While Noah was still alive, the descendants of Shem, Ham, and {¹⁷⁵} Japheth appointed princes over each of the three groups—Nimrod for the descendants of Ham, Joktan for the descendants of Shem, and Phenech for the descendants of Japheth. Ten years before Noah's death, the number of those subject to the three princes amounted to millions. When this great concourse of men came to Babylonia upon their journeyings, they said to one another: "Behold, the time is coming when, at the end of days, neighbor will be separated from neighbor, and brother from brother, and one will carry on war against the other. Go to, let us build us a city, and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven, and let us make us a great name upon the earth. And now let us make bricks, and each one write his name upon his brick." All agreed to this proposal,

Ahitophel, and the widespread legend of the relationship of Plato and Aristotle to Jeremiah and other Jewish sages, from whom they received their wisdom. Shu'aib, Re'eh, 107C, knows to record that Pythagoras (he is described as a small and ugly person) originally came from Haran. The legend wishes thereby to convey that he imported his wisdom (the gift of foreseeing the future is also ascribed to him) from the Hebrews, whose original seat was in Haran. On Kangar the son of Ur, see Graetz, *Monatsschrift*, VIII, 150–152, who correctly suggests the reading Kantar, who enjoyed a great reputation among the Sabeans (comp. Chwolson, *Szabier*, II, 514). Comp. note 95 on vol. I, p. 81. A mystical "book of Shem" is mentioned in geonic times; comp. Graetz, *loc. cit.*, 150.

with the exception of twelve pious men, Abraham among them. They refused to join the others. They were seized by the people, and brought before the three princes, to whom they gave the following reason for their refusal: "We will not make bricks, nor remain with you, for we know but one God, and Him we serve; even if you burn us in the fire together with the bricks, we will not walk in your ways." Nimrod and Phenech flew into such a passion over the twelve men that they resolved to throw them into the fire. Joktan, however, besides being a God-fearing man, was of close kin to the men on trial, and he essayed to save them. He proposed to his two colleagues to grant them a seven days' respite. His plan was accepted, such deference being paid him as the primate among the three. The twelve were incarcerated in the house of Joktan. In the night he charged fifty of his attendants to mount the prisoners upon mules and take them to the {176} mountains. Thus they would escape the threatened punishment. Joktan provided them with food for a month. He was sure that in the meantime either a change of sentiment would come about, and the people desist from their purpose, or God would help the fugitives. Eleven of the prisoners assented to the plan with gratitude. Abraham alone rejected it, saying: "Behold, to-day we flee to the mountains to escape from the fire, but if wild beasts rush out from the mountains and devour us, or if food is lacking, so that we die by famine, we shall be found fleeing before the people of the land and dying in our sins. Now, as the Lord liveth, in whom I trust, I will not depart from this place wherein they have imprisoned me, and if I am to die through my sins, then will I die by the will of God, according to His desire."

In vain Joktan endeavored to persuade Abraham to flee. He

persisted in his refusal. He remained behind alone in the prison house, while the other eleven made their escape. At the expiration of the set term, when the people returned and demanded the death of the twelve captives, Joktan could produce only Abraham. His excuse was that the rest had broken loose during the night. The people were about to throw themselves upon Abraham and cast him into the lime kiln. Suddenly an earthquake was felt, the fire darted from the furnace, and all who were standing round about, eighty four thousand of the people, were consumed, while Abraham remained untouched. Thereupon he repaired to his eleven friends in the mountains, and told them of the miracle that had befallen for his sake. They all returned with him, and, unmolested by the people, they gave praise and thanks to God.⁷⁶

⁷⁶. Ps.-Philo, 5 A, 6D–8D. Comp. also 3 (below) and 4 (top; the leader of the Japhethites is called Thanat and Theneth; perhaps תַּחְנֵנֶךְ), and Yerahmeel 28-29, who had a considerably better text of ps.-Philo before him than the printed one. But not even his text was entirely free from errors. The dependence of Yerahmeel on the Latin text of ps.-Philo becomes strikingly apparent from the names of the twelve pious men whose Hebrew names Yerahmeel did not recognize in every case. These were, as ps.-Philo clearly asserts, relatives of Joktan, and, with the exception of Abraham, Nachor, Lot, and Reu, correspond to the names given in Gen. 10. 26-29, whose Latin forms (Esar = חַצְרָמוּת in חֶצֶר; Tenute and Zaba are Latin corruptions for Evila and Uzal = חִייל and אֲזוּל, respectively; comp. ps.-Philo, 4D) Yerahmeel reproduces. As to the legend given in ps.-Philo, we have in it one of the oldest forms of a widespread legend concerning the rescue of Abraham from death by fire (comp. vol. I, pp. 201 and 216–217, as well as the notes appertaining

thereto), which is brought in relation with the erection of the Tower of Babel, just as the rabbinic sources would have it that Abraham tried to dissuade the wicked generation of the Tower from their enterprise (Tan. B. I, 99-100; PRE 24; BR 38. 6). The puzzling remark occurring in ps.-Philo, 8C, that the place where Abraham was saved from the fire was called, in the Chaldean language, Deli, "quod interpretatur deus", is very likely a haggadic interpretation of Ur (read Uri instead of Deli); comp. Eupolemus, 418d, where instead of biblical Ur, the form Uria is given which is most likely a corruption of Ura=אוריה, "the light of God"; comp. Baba Batra 25a and see further Jub. 11. 3. The depravity of mankind, according to Jub. 11. 2, *seq.*, began in the time of Serug, who is designated as an idolater, whereas ps.-Philo, 5A, excludes him and his household from the general demoralization. Comp. vol. I, pp. 185-186.

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NIMROD

The first among the leaders of the corrupt men was Nimrod.⁷⁷ His father Cush had married his mother at an advanced age, and

⁷⁷ Pesahim 94b, in an utterance of Rabban Johanan b. Zaccai's, who, connecting the name Nimrod with מרד "rebelled", maintains that it signifies "he who caused man to revolt against God". BR 37. 2-4; Megillah 11a; Tehillim 105, 449; Esther R. 1. 1; Philo, *De Gigant.*, 15 (he employs almost the same words as Rabban Johanan, his younger contemporary, in explaining the name Nimrod), and *Quaestiones*, 82 (here Nimrod is connected with נמר "spotted", hence: "nomen... interpretatus Aethiope"); ps.-Philo, 4C ("ipse initiavit esse superbus ante dominum"). Comp. also the sources cited in the following notes 78-88, concerning the wickedness of Nimrod, as well as Yerushalmi Targumim on Gen. 10.8. Another view given in a source which was made use of by Targum Yerushalmi 10. 11 (but not by 2 Targum Yerushalmi), states that Nimrod emigrated to Assyria because he refused to participate in the building of the tower. For this he was rewarded by God, and received four cities as an addition to his dominions, corresponding to the number of cities which he owned in Babylon, and which he abandoned in his emigration. A similar Haggadah is found in Ephraim, I, 15A, who states that Nimrod fought for the sake of God, against the generation of the building of the Tower. Ephraim also mentions another view, according to which, he betook himself to hunting in order to provide food for the builders of the Tower. Comp. BR 37. 4, and Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 88-89, as well as note 34 on vol. I, p. 201. In Yashar Noah, 17b-18a, also two different sources are found; according to one Nimrod went (comp. *ibid.* 17. concerning the explanation of the name Nimrod: because man at the time of his birth rebelled against God) hunting in order to prepare sacrifices for the altar he erected to God. But afterwards we read that he was instrumental in causing man to forsake God. Midrash Aggada Gen. 10. 8, asserts that Nimrod was the first who ate meat.

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Nimrod, the offspring of this belated union, was particularly dear to him as the son of his old age. He gave him the clothes made of skins with which God had furnished Adam and Eve at the time of their leaving Paradise. Cush himself had gained possession of them through Ham. From Adam and Eve they had descended to Enoch, and from him to Methuselah, and to Noah, and the last had taken them with him into the ark. When the inmates of the ark were about to leave their refuge, Ham stole the garments and kept them concealed, finally passing them on to his first-born son Cush. Cush in turn hid them for many years. When his son Nimrod reached his twentieth year, he gave them to him.⁷⁸ These garments had a wonderful property. He who wore them was both invincible and irresistible. The beasts and birds of the woods fell down before Nimrod as soon as they caught sight of him arrayed in them,⁷⁹ and he was equally victorious in his combats with men.⁸⁰ The source of his unconquerable strength was not known

⁷⁸. Yashar Noah 17a. On these garments, comp. PRE 24 (this is the source of Yashar); Pesahim 44b; notes 39 and 89 on vol. I, pp. 319 and 332 respectively. Comp. the following note.

⁷⁹. PRE 24; Midrash 'Aseret Melakim, 38-39; Zohar I, 73b and 142b: Sabba, Toledot, 28a; R. Bahya, Gen. 3. 21 (from Adam they came down to Cain, and after his death Nimrod took possession of them); *Hadar* and *Da'at* on Gen. 25. 32 and 27. 15. These splendid garments which Adam and Eve received at the time of leaving paradise were made of the skin of the female Leviathan (comp. vol. I, p. 27); *Hadar* and *Da'at* on Gen. 3. 21. Comp. BR 20. 12; Tan. B. I, 18, and Abkir in Yalkut I, 44, concerning these garments of Adam which served to the former generations as priestly garments. Comp. the preceding note.

to them. They attributed it to his personal prowess, and therefore they appointed him king over themselves.⁸¹ This was done after a conflict between the descendants of Cush and the descendants of Japheth, from which Nimrod emerged triumphant, having routed the enemy utterly with the assistance of a handful of warriors. He chose Shinar as his capital. Thence he extended his dominion farther and farther, until he rose by cunning and force to be the sole ruler of the whole world, the first mortal to hold universal {178} sway, as the ninth ruler to possess the same power will be the Messiah.⁸²

^{80.} Yashar Noah, 17b; Zohar I, 73b-74a.

^{81.} PRE 24. According to ps.-Philo, 5A, Nimrod was only the chief of the Hamites, whereas the Japhethites and Semites had their own chiefs; comp. vol. I, p. 175 (top).

^{82.} Yashar Noah, 17b-18a; comp. also 23a concerning Nimrod's war enterprises and the founding of the cities; see further vol. I, p. 229, about the identity of Nimrod with Amraphel. On the Haggadah concerning the rulers of the world, a number of versions are extant. PRE 11 reads: God, at the time of the creation of the world was the first ruler; then Nimrod, Joseph, Solomon, Ahab, Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, Alexander of Macedon, the Messiah, and at the end of time God, who was the first ruler, will also be the last. *Maamar 'Aseret Melakim*, 54-55, and *Ma'asiyyot* (ed. Gaster, beginning) go back directly to this source; both of these books are to be used for a correct text of PRE. A version of this legend closely related to that found in PRE is that of Midrash 'Aseret Melakim, 38-55, whereas 2 Targum Yerushalmi i. 1, which has (instead of Joseph, Solomon, Ahab, Cyrus, and Alexander) the following names: Pharaoh king of Egypt (either the one who ruled in the land in the time of Joseph or the Pharaoh of the Exodus), Israel, Ahasuerus, Greece, and

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His impiousness kept pace with his growing power. Since the flood there had been no such sinner as Nimrod. He fashioned idols of wood and stone, and paid worship to them. But not satisfied to lead a godless life himself, he did all he could to tempt his subjects into evil ways, wherein he was aided and abetted by his son Mardon. This son of his outstripped his father in iniquity. It was their time and their life that gave rise to the proverb, "Out of the wicked cometh forth wickedness."⁸³

Rome. At the end of this verse Targum has a second version, according to which there were only four rulers over the world, two Jews (Solomon and Ahab), and two non-Jews (Nebuchadnezzar and Ahasuerus). This is apparently based on Megillah 11a, according to the modification of the talmudic statement in *Panim Aherim*, 56. Esther R. 1. 1 cites David, Solomon, Ahab, Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, and Darius as the rulers of the world. To this list are probably to be added the first, as well as the last two names mentioned in PRE, in order to complete the number ten. 'Aktan, 12 gives the following rulers: Nimrod, Pharaoh, Solomon, Ahab, Nebuchadnezzar, Ahasuerus, Cyrus, Alexander, Vespasian, Adarshan. Comp. vol. III, pp. 146, 355; vol. IV, pp. 125, 186, 333, 407. See further *Otot ha-Mashiah*, 50 (on the expression *מכיפה לכיפה* see Megillah, *loc. cit.*), and 59; on Edom's (= Rome's) dominion of the world shortly before the advent of the Messiah for the duration of nine months. Comp. Sanhedrin 98b, top.

⁸³ Yashar Noah, 18a and 23a. Comp. note 77 for the older sources concerning Nimrod, "the one who seduced men to evil". *Recognitiones*, I, 30 and 4. 28–29, asserts that Nimrod whom the Greeks call Ninus, after whom Nineveh is named, taught the Persians to worship fire. For this purpose he made use of magic, since otherwise he could not lead men astray from God to whom they were naturally devoted. However, the first

The great success that attended all of Nimrod's undertakings produced a sinister effect. Men no longer trusted in God, but rather in their own prowess and ability,⁸⁴ an attitude to which Nimrod tried to convert the whole world.⁸⁵ Therefore people said, "Since the creation of the world there has been none like Nimrod, a mighty hunter of men and beasts, and a sinner before God."⁸⁶

sorcerer was Ham, who was later called Zoroaster (= "living star", in Greek) by his worshippers. He was called so because by magical manipulation of a demon he tried to draw sparks from a star, and was burned. The foolish crowd, instead of discerning God's punishment in Ham's death, believed to have perceived a particular significance in his death by fire, and began to worship him as a living star (Zoroaster). Having been reduced to ashes, Zoroaster was worshipped by the Persians as the celestial fire: In Clementine *Homilies*, 9. 4–6, Nimrod is identified with Zoroaster, and is designated as the one "who chose, giant-like, to devise things in opposition to God, and who, after his death by fire, was worshipped by the ignorant populace. This was the beginning of the worship of idols. Subsequent rulers demanded similar adoration to that which was accorded to Nimrod." On hero-worship as the source of idolatry, comp. note 54 on vol. I, p. 123. The view that Nimrod was one of those who claimed to be gods is frequently found in rabbinic literature; comp. the following three notes, and vol. I, p. 191. On the worship of fire in connection with Nimrod in the different versions of the Abraham legends, see BR 38. 13, and the parallel passages cited by Theodor, as well as Index, s. v. "Fire". On Ninus = Nimrod, comp. note 88.

⁸⁴. Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 4. 1–2.

⁸⁵. BR 37. 2; Pesahim 94b (top).

⁸⁶. Yerushalmi Targumim Gen. 10. 9; 2 Targum Yerushalmi states that Nimrod demanded of the people to abandon Shem's teaching and to follow his own (נִדָּן in this place is used in its Arabic sense, and means

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And not all this sufficed unto Nimrod's evil desire. Not enough that he turned men away from God, he did all he could to make them pay Divine honors unto himself. He set himself up as a god, and made a seat for himself in imitation of the seat of God. It was a tower built out of a round rock, and on it he placed a throne of cedar wood, upon which arose, one above the other, four thrones, of iron, copper, silver, and gold. Crowning all, upon the golden throne, lay a precious stone, round in shape and gigantic in size. This served him as a seat, and as he sate upon it, all nations came and paid him Divine homage.⁸⁷ {179}

“religion”).

⁸⁷. MHG I, 188; *Ma'asiyyot* (Gaster's edition, 2). This legend is only a somewhat different version of Hiram's "heavenly seat"; comp. vol. IV, p. 335, and the note appertaining to it. See further vol. II, p. 347, concerning the deification of Pharaoh, as well as *Ma'asiyyot* (Gaster's edition, 6), and MHG II, 57. The legend found in the Christian Book of Adam 3. 23 and 25 about Nimrod as a god is based on Clementine writings (comp. note 83). When the old rabbinic literature speaks of Nimrod's rebellion against God (comp. BR 42 [41]. 4, and the parallels cited by Theodor), it primarily refers to his activity as the originator of the building of the tower; comp. the following note. On Nimrod=Amraphel, comp. vol. I, p. 229. It may be remarked here that Augustine, *Civitas Dei*, 26. 17, identifies Amraphel with Ninus. This presupposes the identity of Nimrod with Amraphel. Comp. note 83. See also Eusebius, 484d, and Yerahmeel 32.

THE TOWER OF BABEL

The iniquity and godlessness of Nimrod reached their climax in the building of the Tower of Babel. His counsellors had proposed the plan of erecting such a tower, Nimrod had agreed to it, and it was executed in Shinar by a mob of six hundred thousand men. The enterprise was neither more nor less than rebellion against God, and there were three sorts of rebels among the builders. The first party spoke, Let us ascend into the heavens and wage warfare with Him; the second party spoke, Let us ascend into the heavens, set up our idols, and pay worship unto them there; and the third party spoke, Let us ascend into the heavens, and ruin them with our bows and spears.

Many, many years were passed in building the tower. It reached so great a height that it took a year to mount to the top. A brick was, therefore, more precious in the sight of the builders than a human being. If a man fell down, and met his death, none took notice of it, but if a brick dropped, they wept, because it would take a year to replace it. So intent were they upon accomplishing their purpose that they would not permit a woman to interrupt herself in her work of brick-making when the hour of travail came upon her. Moulding bricks she gave birth to her child, and, tying it round her body in a sheet, she went on moulding bricks.

They never slackened in their work, and from their dizzy height they constantly shot arrows toward heaven, which, returning, were seen to be covered with blood. They were thus fortified in their delusion, and they cried, "We have slain all who are in heaven." Thereupon God turned to the seventy angels who encompass His throne, and He spake: {180} "Go to, let us go

down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech." Thus it happened. Thenceforth none knew what the other spoke. One would ask for the mortar, and the other handed him a brick; in a rage, he would throw the brick at his partner and kill him. Many perished in this manner, and the rest were punished according to the nature of their rebellious conduct. Those who had spoken, "Let us ascend into the heavens, set up our idols, and pay worship unto them there," God transformed into apes and phantoms; those who had proposed to assault the heavens with their arms, God set against each other so that they fell in the combat; and those who had resolved to carry on a combat with God in heaven were scattered broadcast over the earth. As for the unfinished tower, a part sank into the earth, and another part was consumed by fire; only one-third of it remained standing.⁸⁸ The place of the tower has never

⁸⁸. Yashar Noah, 20b–21a, based on older sources. That Nimrod was the instigator of the building of the tower, see Hullin 89a; 'Abodah Zarah 53b (where the tower is called "the house of Nimrod"); Pesahim 94b; 'Erubin 53a; BR 23. 7, 26. 4, and 42. 4; PRE 34; Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 4. 2. Instead of Nimrod some sources (BR 38. 8; Tan. B. I, 53; Tan. Noah 1) speak of other Hamites, such as Cush (but according to BR 42. 4, this is only another name for Nimrod; see further Philo, *Quaestiones*, 2. 82), Put, Mizraim, and Canaan, who were the builders of the tower. These men are also meant by Lactantius, *Institutiones*, 2. 15, when he declares that the Hamites were the first idolaters. The three parties among the builders of the tower are already referred to in Sanhedrin 109a; Tan. Noah 18; Alphabet R. Akiba, 46–47 (where two contradictory views of the Talmud are combined into one); Tehillim I, 12. In these, as in other

lost its peculiar quality. Whoever passes it forgets all he knows.⁸⁹

haggadic passages, the reasons for building the tower are alleged to have been the revolt against God and the attempt to prevent a second deluge; comp. BR 38. 1, 5, 7 (the midrashic interpretation of מִקְדָּם occurs also in Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 5. 30), and 8; Mekilta Mishpatim 20, 101a; Tan. B. 1, 55; Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 4. 2. Comp. particularly the detailed description of this wicked plan in Tan. B. I, (on Abraham's attempt to prevent them from sinning, and the curse he pronounced against them when he failed in his effort, comp. BR, *loc. cit.*, 6; PRE 24; Tehillim 1, 12; 'Aseret ha-Dibrot, second commandment), and Yerushalim Targumim on Gen. 11. 4. In ER 15,

74, eight sins (comp. Index, s. v. "Sins, Eight") are enumerated, which caused the destruction of this generation. The view given in Hellenistic literature that the building of the tower was a revolt of the giants against God (ps.-Eupolemus; comp. Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien*, I, 92–93; Philo, *Confus. Ling.*, 2) is closely related to this Haggadah and it is most instructive that as late as the ninth century this view was still championed by Ḥiwi Al-Balkhi, according to whom the builders of the tower were the *Neflim*; comp. Davidson, *Saadia's Polemic against Ḥiwi al-Balkhi*, 54–56. In the Bible the name Babylon is associated with the building of the tower. The Haggadah goes a step further, and also finds in the name of the place Shinar (2 Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 11. 2 identifies it with Pontus) some reference to wicked Babylon; comp. Yerushalmi Berakot 4, 7b; Shabbat 113b; BR 37. 4; Ekah (introduction) 23; Koheleth 12. 7. The oldest haggadic interpretation of Shinar is the one found in Jub. 10. 26, where, in agreement with rabbinic sources, Shinar is connected with נֶעַר "emptied" (not Babel, as Charles wrongly interprets it), and hence the explanation: "And they called its name Overthrow." That the place was called Shinar in the Bible before the destruction of the tower, offers no difficulty to the Haggadah, since "God knew beforehand what would happen afterwards"; comp. BR 42. 7. In the 43

The punishment inflicted upon the sinful generation of the

years (Jub. 10. 21), during which they were occupied with the building, they succeeded in erecting the tower, but not the city which they undertook to build; BR 38. 8. The tower was of extraordinary dimensions, particularly its height; comp. Jub., *loc. cit.*; Greek Baruch 3; BR, *loc. cit.*; Tan. B. I, 54; Tan. Noah 1; ER 21, 118; PRE 24 (this is the source of Yashar which, to be sure, does not state that the height was 70 miles, as maintained by PRE, but takes it to have been ten thousand; one year's journey is, according to Pesahim 94a, about 10,950 miles); 'Aseret ha-Dibrot (second commandment), which was incorporated in Midrash Abraham 46. The last-named source also speaks of the seventy stairs (so is מעלות to be understood, and not "steps") in the east, for the purpose of ascending, and seventy stairs in the west, for the purpose of descending, that is, one stair for each nation (comp. note 91), because all the seventy nations participated in this enterprise under the direction of a thousand kings; Targum Eccl. 7. 28. When one considers the extraordinary dimensions, one marvels at the rapid progress of the building. God caused the enterprise to prosper, in order to be able to mock later at the builders all the more. First the building was erected, and then He caused it to be destroyed, Tan. B. I, 55; BR 38. 8. But they would never have succeeded in their undertaking, were it not for the fact that they found the books of wisdom of the ante-diluvian generations in the valley of Shinar, which had been carried thither by the flood (comp. note 44), and from which they derived their knowledge for the erection of the tower; comp. Zohar I, 76a, bottom. Respecting the books of wisdom comp. Berosus, 56, 39, who also states that after the flood Xisuthros found the ante-diluvian books at Sippara (Babylon). Each one of the builders of the tower engraved his name on a brick, of which they made use (this is a midrashic interpretation of וַיִּנְעֹשׂ לָנוּ שָׁם II. 4); ps.-Philo, 6 D, and hence Yerahmeel 29. 2. Comp. vol. III, p. 56 (bottom). The passage in the text

tower is comparatively lenient. On account of rapine the generation of the flood were utterly destroyed, while the generation of the tower were preserved in spite of their blasphemies and all their other acts offensive to God. The reason

concerning the pregnant women is from the Greek Baruch 3 (that they wished to bore a hole in the heavens is found in Sanhedrin 109b); comp. vol. II, p. 372, about Rachel the daughter of Shuthelah. The story about the blood-stained arrows (Yashar, *loc. cit.*) occurs also in the Titus legend, Gittin 56b. The rest of the account in Yashar occurs literally in the older sources, Sanhedrin 109a; Tehillim 1, 12; PRE 24; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 11. 7–8; Tan. Noah 18; BR 38. 10 (on the thirty nations which perished, after the flood, on account of their sins, comp. also Tan. B. I, 123, where it is likewise remarked that Abraham was made the father of thirty nations, in order to compensate for the loss of these thirty nations); Yelammedenu in 'Aruk, s. v. נִרְיָ; 'Aseret ha-Dibrot (second commandment); Ma'aseh Abraham, 46; Greek Baruch 2 and 3; ps.-Philo, 8C. In the last-named passage, however, "mutavit eorum effigies" refers to the various complexions and features of the races of mankind, and not to their transformations into apes and monsters, as maintained by the rabbinic sources and Baruch. On transformation into apes as a punishment see vol. I, p. 123. The German mystics (comp. Ziyroni, end of Noah) identify the woodmen, werewolves and similar monsters, known in German folk-lore, with the builders of the tower (their descendants?), and further maintain that they were Japhethites, who were punished in this manner; comp. also note 34 on vol. I, p. 114. Midrash Aggada, Gen. 11. 8, remarks that when the tower fell, some of the people found inside were thrown into the water, others into the forest, while still others into the desert; the first became water-sprites, the second apes, and the third demons.

⁸⁹. Sanhedrin 109a (on the text, comp. MHG I, 186); BR. 38. 11.

is that God sets a high value upon peace and harmony. Therefore the generation of the deluge, who gave themselves up to depredation, and bore hatred to one another, were extirpated, root and branch, while the generation of the Tower of Babel dwelling amicably together, and loving one another, were spared alive, at least a remnant of them.⁹⁰ {181}

Beside the chastisement of sin and sinners by the confounding of speech, another notable circumstance was connected with the descent of God upon earth—one of only ten such descents to

⁹⁰. BR 38. 6; ARN 12, 52; MHG I, 186; comp. against this view, Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 4. 1, who considers that the sin of this nation consisted in their disobeying God's repeated demand to spread out into colonies. This commandment of God was for their own benefit, so that there should not be any strife between them in case they were to settle on a small tract of land. Comp. ER 31, 158. In many rabbinic passages the great prosperity enjoyed by this generation is dwelt upon. This brought about their ruin, as had formerly happened to the generation of the flood (comp. note 15); Tosefta Sotah 3. 10; Mekilta Shirah 2, 35b; Mekilta RS 58; Sifre D. 43; Midrash Tannaim 36–37. Sanhedrin 10. 3 and Tosefta 13. 7 maintain that this generation forfeited its share in the world to come; but, on the other hand, it will be punished on the final day of judgment. Comp. note 44. That the tower was overthrown by means of a violent wind is asserted in many of the oldest sources; Sibyll, 3. 101; Jub. 10. 26; Mekilta Beshallah 4, 30b (God's judgment on the generation of the flood and later on the sinful cities was executed by means of storms); Theophilus, 2. 31. The judgment was carried out after the men refused the opportunity offered to them by God to repent; BR 38. 9; Mekilta Shirah 5, 38b; Tan. B. I, 56; Noah, 18. Comp. also Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, 2. 25.

occur between the creation of the world and the day of judgment. It was on this occasion that God and the seventy angels that surround His throne cast lots concerning the various nations. Each angel received a nation, and Israel fell to the lot of God. To every nation a peculiar language was assigned, Hebrew being reserved for Israel—the language made use of by God at the creation of the world.⁹¹

⁹¹. PRE 24; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 11. 8. and Deut. 32. 8–9; Zawwaat Naphtali (end; second version, 12–14); ‘Aseret ha-Dibrot 65; comp. vol. II., pp. 214–215. See further Midrash Tannaim 190–191. In the last passage the distribution of the nations between God, whom Israel chose, and the angels, whom the Gentiles chose, is said to have taken place at the time of the revelation at Sinai. This passage, however, reads like a learned reflection on the popular notion of the distribution of the nations by lot between God and the angels. With this learned presentation agree DR 2. 34 and Pkai 3, 133, where the entire legend is so changed that it can scarcely be recognized. The official rabbinic writings contest the conception that Deut. 4. 19 admits the justification of the worship of the heavenly bodies and the angels by the Gentiles. It is maintained that later on the sages who translated the Bible into Greek permitted themselves a very free rendering of Deut. *loc. cit.*, in order to obviate any misunderstanding; comp. Mekilta Shirah 14, 16c; Yerushalmi Megillah 1, 71d, and Babli 9a; Soferim 5; Tan. Shemot (end). Comp. further the remarks of Trypho in Justin Martyr, *Dialogue*, 55 and 121, as well as ‘Abodah Zarah 55a. It is true that “the angels of the nations” are mentioned several times in authoritative sources; but this must not be understood to mean that the nations were placed under the care of the angels, whereas Israel is God’s portion in accordance with the statement of the pseudepigraphic works (Jub. 15. 31–32; Enoch 88 and 90. 22; comp. further Septuagint Deut. 32. 8–9) and the widespread view

(besides the sources cited at the beginning of this note, it is frequently to be met with in the kabbalistic literature; comp. also Clementine *Recognitiones*, 2. 42 and 8. 50, where the distribution among the angels is set for the same time as that given in the rabbinic Haggadah) in popular Jewish literature. It rather wishes to convey that as each individual person has his own guardian angel (comp. Index s. v.), so also each nation, including Israel whose guardian angels are Michael and Gabriel, or according to some, Michael and Metatron; comp. Index under these names, as well as 'Erke ha-Kinnuyim, s. v. מטטרון; see vol. I, p. 385. The authoritative view-point of the Synagogue is emphasized by Sa'adya against the popular conception championed by his Opponent Ḥiwi al-Balkhi; comp. Davidson, *Saadia's Polemic against Ḥiwi al-Balkhi* 58. The presence of the angels at the time of the destruction of the tower is also referred to in Jub. 10. 23 and this view is based on the use of the plural (נרדה) in Gen. 11. 7. Comp. BR 38. 9, and the remarks of Theodor, *ad loc.* That Hebrew was the original language of mankind until the time of the confusion of languages, and that Eber was the only one who retained it, is a widespread view; comp. BR 18. 4 (נברא העולם signifies: God made use of this language at the time of the creation of the world which came m'to being when He uttered His word), 31. 8, and 42.8; PRE 24 (here it is said that each angel brought a language and a script for his respective nation) and 26; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 11. 1 and 8; Tan. B. I, 56; Jub. 12. 25—26 ("tongue of creation" = שבו נברא העולם in BR 18. 4). This view is also assumed explicitly or tacitly in patristic literature; comp. Charles on Jub., *loc. cit.*, See further Clementine *Recognitiones*, 1. 30; Origen, *Con. Cels.*, 5. 30; Zohar I, 75; Shu'aib, Noah (end), which reads: All the languages therefore contain some Hebrew words. On the view current among some Jews and Christians to the effect that Aramaic was the primitive speech, comp. Charles on Jub. 3.28; Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*,

63, and Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 491-93. — On the descent of God to the earth, comp. vol. III, p. 93, and note 206 appertaining thereto.

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V

ABRAHAM

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V

ABRAHAM

THE WICKED GENERATIONS

Ten generations there were from Noah to Abraham, to show how great is the clemency of God, for all the generations provoked His wrath, until Abraham our father came and received the reward of all of them.¹ For the sake of Abraham God had shown himself long-suffering and patient during the lives of these ten generations. Yea, more, the world itself had been created for the sake of his merits.² His advent had been made manifest to his

¹ Abot 5. 3; ARN 32 (36 of the second version). The number ten is obtained by including Noah, who, at the same time, is the tenth after Adam; comp. vol. I, 105. According to a quotation from an unknown midrashic source, mankind, up to the appearance of Abraham, was poor in good deeds; comp. Poznanski, *Kommentar zu Ezechiel von Eleazar aus Beaugency, Einleitung*, 228. In a passage found in an old liturgy Abraham is described as one whom God chose out of twenty generations (beginning with Adam); see *Hemdah Genuzah*, 161, and Warnheim, *Kebuzat Hakamim*, 107.

² BR 12. 9; Tan. B. I, 11 and 62; Tehillim 104, 444. Despite the statement found in tannaitic sources that the three patriarchs were of equal rank (Mekilta, beginning; Tosefta Keritot, at the end; BR 1. 15), in the legends Abraham is regarded as the favorite, and ranks above his son and grandson; comp. the numerous statements exalting him; Yelammedenu cited in Yalkut, Joshua 15 (God had performed all the

ancestor Reu, who uttered the following prophecy at the birth of his son Serug: "From this child he shall be born in the fourth generation that shall set his dwelling over the highest, and he shall be called perfect and spotless, and shall be the father of nations, and his covenant shall not be dissolved, and his seed shall be multiplied forever."³

It was, indeed, high time that the "friend of God"⁴ should make

miracles for Israel on account of the merits of Abraham); Abot 6. 10; EZ 9. 187 and 17, 20, as well as 25, 45-46; ShR 28. 1; Berakot 7b; Tan. Toledot 4; WR 31. 4; SW 7. 6. At the same time, however, there are passages in which the view is expressed that Jacob was the most prominent of the patriarchs; comp. note 35 on vol. I, 317, and also Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, p. 87ff.

³ Ps.-Philo 4D. Serug's mother is called Milcah in this pseud-epigraphical work (comp. Genesis 11. 26); in Jub. 11. 7 she is named Ora.

⁴ Already in 2 Chron. 20. 7 Abraham is styled the friend of God; but in post-biblical Hebrew literature the adjective *ידיד* not *אֹהֵב* is employed; the former word is probably preferred on account of Jeremiah 11.15, *מֵה לִי־יָדִיד*, which is taken as an allusion to Abraham. Comp. Menahot 53b; Tosefta Berakot 7. 13 (see Tosafot on Menahot 53b and Shabbat 137b); Sifre N. 115 and D. 352; Mekilta Bo 18, 22a (*אֲבִרְהָם אֹהֵבֵד* in Mekilta Shirah 10, 44a, is obviously a quotation from an old liturgy; see morning prayer, Baer's edition, 45); Ekah, Introduction, 24, 26; ER, introduction, 80, and 24, 127. This appellation occurs also in the Hellenistic and pseud-epigraphic writings as well as in Christian literature; comp. Jub. 21. 15, 20; 4 Ezra 3. 14; Prayer of Azariah 12; Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 17; I, 401 (as a quotation from Gen. 18. 17 = Targum Yerushalmi *אֲבִרְהָם רַחֲמֵי*; James 2.23; Clemens, *Instructor*, III. 2; *Stromata* II. 5; Clemens, *First Epistle*, 10. 1. One is therefore inclined to read in Sibyll. II. 245: Abraham the great friend of the Most High and the great Moses; comp., however,

his appearance upon earth. The descendants of Noah were sinking from depravity to lower and lower depths of depravity. They were beginning to quarrel and slay, eat blood, build fortified cities and walls and towers, and set one man over the whole nation as king, and wage wars, people against people, and nations against nations, and cities against cities, and do all manner of evil, and acquire weapons, and teach warfare unto their children. And they {186} began also to take captives and sell them as slaves. And they made unto themselves molten images, which they worshipped, each one the idol he had molten for himself, for the evil spirits under their leader Mastema led them astray into sin and uncleanness. For this reason Reu called his son Serug, because all mankind had turned aside unto sin and transgression. When he grew to manhood, the name was seen to have been chosen fittingly, for he, too, worshipped idols, and when he himself had a son, Nahor by name, he taught him the arts of the Chaldees, how to be a soothsayer and practice magic according to

Origen, *Princip.*, III, 2.5, where Moses is styled the friend of God; see also ARN 43, 121 (second version), where five bear the title of friend of God (ידיד): Abraham, Israel, Benjamin, Solomon, and Jerusalem; to a similar number is applied the title "beloved of God" (אהובים): Abraham, Jacob, Israel, Solomon, and Jerusalem. In the Ethiopic *Mota Muse*, Moses bears the title of friend of God; but among the Arabs (already in the Koran 4. 124) this title is exclusively applied to Abraham; comp. Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, notes 427, 431, and 950; Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, pp. 118, 121; Malter, *Monatsschrift* 51, 713; Ginzberg, *Unbekannte Sekte*, 14–15. See also *Gedulat Mosheh* 3ב (משה אהוב י"י).

signs in the heavens. When, in time, a son was born to Nahor, Mastema sent ravens and other birds to despoil the earth and rob men of the proceeds of their work. As soon as they had dropped the seed in the furrows, and before they could cover it over with earth, the birds picked it up from the surface of the ground, and Nahor called his son Terah, because the ravens and the other birds plagued men, devoured their seed, and reduced them to destitution.⁵

⁵ Jub. 11. 1-14. The beginning of the monarchy dates from Nimrod (comp. vol. I, 176-177), hence not long after the birth of Abraham. The name Serug is taken to be a contraction of סר and סג *turned away*, that is, from God. Comp. Ps. 14. 3 and 53. 4. According to ps.-Philo 4A, Serug and his sons were God-fearing, despite the wickedness of their generation. The meaning ascribed to the name Terah in Jub. is obscure, and is probably connected with the Aramaic תרי *was emaciated*: For other explanations see Charles, *Jub.*, *ad loc.*, and Beer, *op. cit.*, 95-96.

THE BIRTH OF ABRAHAM

Terah married Emtelai, the daughter of Karnabo,⁶ and the offspring of their union was Abraham. His birth had been read in the stars by Nimrod,⁷ for this impious king was a cunning astrologer, and it was manifest to him that a man would be born in his day who would rise up against him and triumphantly give the lie to his religion. In his terror at the fate foretold him in the stars, he sent for his princes and governors, and asked them to advise him in the matter. They answered, and said: "Our unanimous advice is that {187} thou shouldst build a great house,

⁶. Baba Batra 91a, which is the source for Yashar Noah, 18a and Yerahmeel 27. 7; but the Palestinian Midrash PRE seems to be independent of the Babli passage, which does not have the statement that she died in Haran. The name is written אַמְתֵּלַי, אַמְתֵּלַי (the variant אִיתְמֵלַי given by Rabbinowicz, *Variae Lectiones* to Baba Batra, *loc. cit.*, is of no value); it is uncertain whether the first part of the name is אִמָּא (mother) or אַמְתָּא (servant); the first explanation seems more probable. Comp. Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, 96, 97; Gudemann, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, 41-49, where additional literature is cited; Kohler, *Testament of Job*, 288. The explanation of this name as well as its relation to Greek Ἀμάλθεια is quite obscure; it is probably of Babylonian origin, like the name כַּרְנָבו (possibly בַּרְנָבו, i. e., Barnabas, the son of Nebo; comp. בֶּן נָבו, Tosefta Pesahim 2. 20, and Rabbinowicz, *Variae Lectiones*, Pes. 57a as well as Yashar, *loc. cit.*). Some other names are assigned to Abraham's mother and grandfather in Jub. 11. 14.

⁷. For further details concerning the appearance of Abraham's star, comp. vol. I, p. 207, and note 48. On the source of the following legends see note 34.

station a guard at the entrance thereof, and make known in the whole of thy realm that all pregnant women shall repair thither together with their midwives, who are to remain with them when they are delivered. When the days of a woman to be delivered are fulfilled, and the child is born, it shall be the duty of the midwife to kill it, if it be a boy. But if the child be a girl, it shall be kept alive, and the mother shall receive gifts and costly garments, and a herald shall proclaim, ‘Thus is done unto the woman who bears a daughter!’”

The king was pleased with this counsel, and he had a proclamation published throughout his whole kingdom, summoning all the architects to build a great house for him, sixty ells high and eighty wide. After it was completed, he issued a second proclamation, summoning all pregnant women thither, and there they were to remain until their confinement. Officers were appointed to take the women to the house, and guards were stationed in it and about it, to prevent the women from escaping thence. He furthermore sent midwives to the house, and commanded them to slay the men children at their mothers’ breasts. But if a woman bore a girl, she was to be arrayed in byssus, silk, and embroidered garments, and led forth from the house of detention amid great honors. No less than seventy thousand children were slaughtered thus. Then the angels appeared before God, and spoke, “Seest Thou not what he doth, yon sinner and blasphemer, Nimrod son of Canaan, who slays so many innocent babes that have done no harm?” God answered, and said: “Ye holy angels, I know it and I see it, for I neither slumber nor sleep. I behold and I know {188} the secret things and the things that are revealed, and ye shall witness what I will

do unto this sinner and blasphemer, for I will turn My hand against him to chastise him.”⁸

It was about this time that Terah espoused the mother of Abraham, and she was with child. When her body grew large at the end of three months of pregnancy,⁹ and her countenance became pale, Terah said unto her, “What ails thee, my wife, that thy countenance is so pale and thy body so swollen?” She answered, and said, “Every year I suffer with this malady.”¹⁰ But Terah would not be put off thus. He insisted: “Show me thy body. It seems to me thou art big with child. If that be so, it behooves us not to violate the command of our god Nimrod.”¹¹ When he passed his hand over her body, there happened a miracle. The child rose until it lay beneath her breasts, and Terah could feel nothing with his hands. He said to his wife, “Thou didst speak truly,” and naught became visible until the day of her delivery.

When her time approached, she left the city in great terror and wandered toward the desert, walking along the edge of a valley,¹²

⁸. The story of the slaughter of innocent children is modelled after the story of Moses, and is not influenced by the New Testament story about the birth of Jesus.

⁹. Pregnancy becomes outwardly noticeable after the third month; comp. Tosefta Niddah I. 7; BR 85. 10; comp. note 88 on vol. II, p. 34.

¹⁰. The same is described as קולצאני (but the manuscript reads קוליגי), which seems to be Spanish. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 128, compares it with the Italian *calcinaccio*, that is, a hardening of the belly.

¹¹. Comp. vol. I, p. 178.

¹². In consequence of an inaccurate translation of the Arabic word

until she happened across a cave. She entered this refuge, and on the next day she was seized with throes, and she gave birth to a son. The whole cave was filled with the light of the child's countenance as with the splendor of the sun, and the mother rejoiced exceedingly. The babe she bore was our father Abraham.

His mother lamented, and said to her son: "Alas that I bore thee at a time when Nimrod is king. For thy sake seventy thousand men children were slaughtered, and I am seized with terror on account of thee, that he hear of thy {189} existence, and slay thee. Better thou shouldst perish here in this cave than my eye should behold thee dead at my breast." She took the garment in which she was clothed, and wrapped it about the boy. Then she abandoned him in the cave, saying, "May the Lord be with thee, may He not fail thee nor forsake thee."¹³

Wadi, which signifies both *brook* and *valley*, the word נהר (stream) instead of נחל (valley) occurs a few times in the printed text as well as in the manuscript of this legend. This supposition is attested by the words מערה אחד בזה הנהר (27, line 10), since it is impossible that a cave should be in a river. The legend speaks below of a spring whose water Abraham used; but no mention is made of a stream; comp. also 27, line 16 שבאת לזה הנהר which is hardly possible, while לזה הנחל would suit admirably.

¹³. PRE 26 reads: When Abraham was born, Nimrod's courtiers wanted to put him to death; so he was kept in a hiding-place beneath the ground for thirteen years, during which time he did not see the sun nor the moon. A different account of Abraham's youth is given in Yashar; comp. vol. I, p. 209. Still another version of this story is found in 2 'Aseret ha-Dibrot 2; Ma'as., G. 3; Ma'aseh Abraham, Horowitz edition, 43. According to the latter sources, Abraham lived in a cave for three years. Comp.

THE BABE PROCLAIMS GOD

Thus Abraham was deserted in the cave, without a nurse, and he began to wail. God sent Gabriel down to give him milk to drink, and the angel made it to flow from the little finger of the baby's right hand, and he sucked at it until he was ten days old.¹⁴ Then he arose and walked about, and he left the cave, and went along the edge of the valley.¹⁵ When the sun sank, and the stars came forth, he said, "These are the gods!" But the dawn came, and the stars could be seen no longer, and then he said, "I will not pay worship to these, for they are no gods." Thereupon the sun came forth, and he spoke, "This is my god, him will I extol." But again the sun set, and he said, "He is no god," and beholding the moon,

Nedarim 32a; BR 30. 8; BaR 18. 21; Shir 5. 16; PR 21, 105a; Tan. Lek 3 and Behar 1; Tan. B. I, 60; III, 105; Esther R 2. 5. In almost all of these passages two views are given, one that Abraham had recognized his Creator at the age of three, the other that this took place in Abraham's forty-eighth year (Maimonides, *Yad*, 'Abodah Zarah, 1. 3, seems to have read "forty", which is perhaps based on Pirke Abot 5, at the end).

¹⁴ In the Abraham legend in BHM II, 118, we read that two spouts (read סלינות instead of חלינות) sprang up, one flowing with honey, the other with milk.

¹⁵ Comp. above, note 12. Other heroes, too, like Abraham, are supposed to have been able to walk, talk, and think in their infancy. See Index under "Cain", "Noah", and "Moses". Such "wonder children" are also known in the Christian legends, and unusual precocity is ascribed to Jesus and others; comp. Günter, *Christliche Legende*, 134 seq.

he called her his god to whom he would pay Divine homage. Then the moon was obscured, and he cried out: "This, too, is no god! There is One who sets them all in motion."¹⁶

He was still communing with himself when the angel Gabriel approached him and met him with the greeting, "Peace be with thee," and Abraham returned, "With thee be peace," and asked, "Who art thou?" And Gabriel answered, and said, "I am the angel Gabriel, the messenger of God," and he led Abraham to a spring of water near by, {190} and Abraham washed his face and his hands and feet, and he prayed to God, bowing down and prostrating himself.

Meantime the mother of Abraham thought of him in sorrow and tears, and she went forth from the city to seek him in the cave

¹⁶. That Abraham discovered the true faith by meditating on nature we are told in so early a source as the Apocalypse of Abraham (comp. vol. I, pp. 212—213), and about six versions of this legend are extant. Comp. BR 38. 13; 2 *'Aseret ha-Dibrot* 2; *Ma'aseh Abraham* (Hor. edition, 43–44); *Ma'aseh Abraham* (BHM II, 118); Yashar Noah, 20a–20b; *Ma'as. G.* 3, 4; MHG I, 189. The oldest form seems to be that of BR, where we are told that Abraham, by observing how one element subdues another, becomes convinced of the error of worshipping the elements. But even this form is not the original one, as can be seen by comparing it with the statement of R. Judah (about 150 CE.) in Baba Batra 10a, and Koheleth 7.26. Benfey, *Pantschatantra* I, 376, 377, attempts to trace this legend to a kindred Indian fable. This is, however, not likely, as the Jewish sources recording this legend are extremely old. *Recognitiones*, 7, as well as Aristides, 3–6, seems to have known it, and it is quite probable that Josephus (Antiqui. I, 7. 1) gives a rationalistic interpretation of it.

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in which she had abandoned him. Not finding her son, she wept bitterly, and said, "Woe unto me that I bore thee but to become a prey of wild beasts, the bears and the lions and the wolves!" She went to the edge of the valley, and there she found her son. But she did not recognize him, for he had grown very large. She addressed the lad, "Peace be with thee!" and he returned, "With thee be peace!" and he continued, "Unto what purpose didst thou come to the desert?" She replied, "I went forth from the city to seek my son." Abraham questioned further, "Who brought thy son hither?" and the mother replied thereto: "I had become pregnant from my husband Terah, and when the days of my delivery were fulfilled, I was in anxiety about my son in my womb, lest our king come, the son of Canaan, and slay him as he had slain the seventy thousand other men children. Scarcely had I reached the cave in this valley when the throes of travailing seized me, and I bore a son, whom I left behind in the cave, and I went home again. Now am I come to seek him, but I find him not."

Abraham then spoke, "As to this child thou tellest of, how old was it?"

The mother: "It was about twenty days old."

Abraham: "Is there a woman in the world who would forsake her new-born son in the desert, and come to seek him after twenty days?" {191}

The mother: "Peradventure God will show Himself a merciful God!"

Abraham: "I am the son whom thou hast come to seek in this valley!"

The mother: "My son, how thou art grown! But twenty days old, and thou canst already walk, and talk with thy mouth!"¹⁷

Abraham: "So it is, and thus, O my mother, it is made known unto thee that there is in the world a great, terrible, living, and ever-existing God, who doth see, but who cannot be seen. He is in the heavens above, and the whole earth is full of His glory."

The mother: "My son, is there a God beside Nimrod?"

Abraham: "Yes, mother, the God of the heavens and the God of the earth, He is also the God of Nimrod son of Canaan. Go, therefore, and carry this message unto Nimrod."

The mother of Abraham returned to the city and told her husband Terah how she had found their son. Terah, who was a prince and a magnate in the house of the king, betook himself to the royal palace, and cast himself down before the king upon his face. It was the rule that one who prostrated himself before the king was not permitted to lift up his head until the king bade him lift it up. Nimrod gave permission to Terah to rise and state his request. Thereupon Terah related all that had happened with his wife and his son. When Nimrod heard his tale, abject fear seized upon him, and he asked his counsellors and princes what to do with the lad. They answered, and said: "Our king and our god! Wherefore art thou in fear by reason of a little child? {192} There are myriads upon myriads of princes in thy realm,"¹⁸ rulers of

¹⁷. Comp. above, note 15, and Ginzberg in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, II, 608A.

¹⁸. Fabulous numbers of a similar character are also found elsewhere; comp. vol. IV, p. 267.

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thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens, and overseers without number. Let the pettiest of the princes go and fetch the boy and put him in prison.” But the king interposed, “Have ye ever seen a baby of twenty days walking with his feet, speaking with his mouth, and proclaiming with his tongue that there is a God in heaven, who is One, and none beside Him, who sees and is not seen?” All the assembled princes were horror-struck at these words.¹⁹

At this time Satan in human form appeared, clad in black silk garb, and he cast himself down before the king. Nimrod said, “Raise thy head and state thy request.” Satan asked the king: “Why art thou terrified, and why are ye all in fear on account of a little lad? I will counsel thee what thou shalt do: Open thy arsenal and give weapons unto all the princes, chiefs, and governors, and unto all the warriors, and send them to fetch him unto thy service and to be under thy dominion.”

This advice given by Satan the king accepted and followed. He sent a great armed host to bring Abraham to him. When the boy saw the army approach him, he was sore afraid, and amid tears he implored God for help. In answer to his prayer, God sent the angel Gabriel to him, and he said: “Be not afraid and disquieted, for God is with thee. He will rescue thee out of the hands of all thine adversaries.” God commanded Gabriel to put thick, dark clouds

¹⁹ The verb *תמה* is here used, as sometimes in biblical Hebrew, in the sense of “being horror-struck”, whereas in mishnic Hebrew it denotes “was astonished, marvelled.”

between Abraham and his assailants. Dismayed by the heavy clouds, they fled, returning to Nimrod, their king, and they said to him, "Let us depart and leave this realm," {193} and the king gave money unto all his princes and his servants, and together with the king they departed and journeyed to Babylon.²⁰

ABRAHAM'S FIRST APPEARANCE IN PUBLIC

Now Abraham, at the command of God, was ordered by the angel Gabriel to follow Nimrod to Babylon. He objected that he was in no wise equipped to undertake a campaign against the king, but Gabriel calmed him with the words: "Thou needest no provision for the way, no horse to ride upon, no warriors to carry on war with Nimrod, no chariots, nor riders. Do thou but sit thyself upon my shoulder, and I shall bear thee to Babylon."

Abraham did as he was bidden, and in the twinkling of an eye he found himself before the gates of the city of Babylon.²¹ At the

²⁰. No mention is made in this legend of the place where Abraham and Nimrod were until now; comp. Eupolemus in Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.*, IX. 17, 418d, who gives "Camarinu, a city also known as Uria" as Abraham's birthplace. Uria is the biblical Ur, which the Talmud (Baba Batra 91a) identifies with a Babylonian locality in talmudic times (the text of that passage is in a bad condition; but כּוּתָּא is very likely the name borne by that place; see Rabbinowicz, *Variae Lectiones*); this name is likewise found in Arabic sources, Istahri M., 54; Maras II, 519. According to the Talmud, Abraham was kept prisoner by Nimrod for ten years, first in כּוּתָּא and then in קֶרְדּוּ or כֶּרְדּוּ; Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, notes 5 and 108.

²¹. For a similar legend, comp. vol. IV, p. 348.

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behest of the angel, he entered the city, and he called unto the dwellers therein with a loud voice: "The Eternal, He is the One Only God, and there is none beside. He is the God of the heavens, and the God of the gods, and the God of Nimrod. Acknowledge this as the truth, all ye men, women, and children. Acknowledge also that I am Abraham His servant, the trusted steward of His house."

Abraham met his parents in Babylon, and also he saw the angel Gabriel, who bade him proclaim the true faith to his father and his mother. Therefore Abraham spake to them, and said: "Ye serve a man of your own kind, and you pay worship to an image of Nimrod. Know ye not that it has a mouth, but it speaks not; an eye, but it sees not; an ear, but it hears not; nor does it walk upon its feet, and there is no profit in it, either unto itself or unto others?" {194}

When Terah heard these words, he persuaded Abraham to follow him into the house, where his son told him all that had happened—how in one day he had completed a forty days' journey. Terah thereupon went to Nimrod and reported to him that his son Abraham had suddenly appeared in Babylon.²² The king sent for Abraham, and he came before him with his father.

²². As may be seen from p. 28, 1.2 from below, where the gates of Babylon are spoken of, the reference is to the city, not the land of Babylon; מדינה instead of עיר is very frequently found in works which were influenced by Arabic; this use of מדינה is also found in the Bible; comp. Ginzberg, *Geonica*, I, p. 26.

Abraham passed the magnates and the dignitaries until he reached the royal throne, upon which he seized hold, shaking it and crying out with a loud voice: "O Nimrod, thou contemptible wretch, that deniest the essence of faith, that deniest the living and immutable God, and Abraham His servant, the trusted steward of His house. Acknowledge Him, and repeat after me the words: The Eternal is God, the Only One, and there is none beside; He is incorporeal, living, ever-existing; He slumbers not and sleeps not, who hath created the world that men might believe in Him. And confess also concerning me, and say that I am the servant of God and the trusted steward of His house."²³

While Abraham proclaimed this with a loud voice, the idols fell upon their faces, and with them also King Nimrod.²⁴ For a space of two hours and a half the king lay lifeless, and when his soul returned upon him, he spoke and said, "Is it thy voice, O Abraham, or the voice of thy God?" And Abraham answered, and said, "This voice is the voice of the least of all creatures called into existence by God." Thereupon Nimrod said, "Verily, the God of Abraham is a great and powerful God, the King of all kings," and he commanded Terah to take his son and remove him, and return again unto his own city, and father and son did as the king had

²³ Despite the agreement of the manuscripts with the printed text, the reading עֶצְמִי for עֶצְמֶךָ (p. 29, l. 2. from below) is presupposed here; the latter can hardly be correct.

²⁴ That idols fall to the ground at the command of the righteous is frequently recorded in Jewish as well as in Christian legends; comp. *ps.-Matthew* 23; *Gospel of the Saviour's Infancy* 10; vol. IV, p. 165.

ordered.²⁵ {195}

THE PREACHER OF THE TRUE FAITH

When Abraham attained the age of twenty years, his father Terah fell ill. He spoke as follows to his sons Haran and Abraham, "I adjure you by your lives, my sons, sell these two idols for me, for I have not enough money to meet our expenses." Haran executed the wish of his father, but if any one accosted Abraham, to buy an idol from him, and asked him the price, he would answer, "Three manehs*," and then question in turn, "How old art thou?" "Thirty years," the reply would be. "Thou art thirty years of age, and yet thou wouldst worship this idol which I made but to-day?" The man would depart and go his way, and another would approach Abraham, and ask, "How much is this idol?" and "Five manehs" would be the reply, and again Abraham would put the question, "How old art thou?" — "Fifty years." — "And dost thou who art fifty years of age bow down before this idol which was made but to-day?" Thereupon the man would depart and go his way. Abraham then took two idols, put a rope about their necks, and, with their faces turned downward, he dragged them along the ground, crying aloud all the time: "Who will buy an idol wherein there is no profit, either unto itself or unto him that buys it in order to worship it? It has a mouth, but it speaketh not; eyes,

²⁵. For Abraham's native town, comp. above, note 20.

* A *maneh* = a *mina* - 1/60 of a talent = 60 shekels, roughly 500 mg.

but it seeth not; feet, but it walketh not; ears, but it heareth not.”

The people who heard Abraham were amazed exceedingly at his words. As he went through the streets, he met an old woman who approached him with the purpose of buying an idol, good and big, to be worshipped and loved. “Old woman, old woman,” said Abraham, “I know no profit {¹⁹⁶} therein, either in the big ones or in the little ones, either unto themselves or unto others. And,” he continued to speak to her, “what has become of the big image thou didst buy from my brother Haran, to worship it?” “Thieves,” she replied, “came in the night and stole it, while I was still at the bath.” “If it be thus,” Abraham went on questioning her, “how canst thou pay homage to an idol that cannot save itself from thieves, let alone save others, like thyself, thou silly old woman, out of misfortune? How is it possible for thee to say that the image thou worshippest is a god? If it be a god, why did it not save itself out of the hands of those thieves? Nay, in the idol there is no profit, either unto itself or unto him that adores it.”²⁶

The old woman rejoined, “If what thou sayest be true, whom shall I serve?” “Serve the God of all gods,” returned Abraham, “the Lord of lords, who hath created heaven and earth, the sea and all therein—the God of Nimrod and the God of Terah, the God of the

²⁶. The episode relating to the age of the idols as compared to that of the purchaser is excerpted from ER 5. 27 (it was taken over verbatim in Yerahmeel, 71–72; Zohar I, 77; this was overlooked by Gaster, *ad loc.*) and in the text it is interwoven in the account of *Ma’aseh Abraham*; other versions of this episode occur in BR 38. 13; *Ma’as. G.* 3; MHG I, 188; EZ 25, 47–48. Comp. also vol. I, p. 210 and Philo, *De Decalogo*, 14. 192.

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east, the west, the south, and the north. Who is Nimrod, the dog, who calleth himself a god, that worship be offered unto him?"

Abraham succeeded in opening the eyes of the old woman, and she became a zealous missionary for the true God. When she discovered the thieves who had carried off her idol, and they restored it to her, she broke it in pieces with a stone, and as she wended her way through the streets, she cried aloud, "Who would save his soul from destruction, and be prosperous in all his doings, let him serve the God of Abraham." Thus she converted many men and women to the true belief.

Rumors of the words and deeds of the old woman reached {197} the king, and he sent for her. When she appeared before him, he rebuked her harshly, asking her how she dared serve any god but himself. The old woman replied: "Thou art a liar, thou deniest the essence of faith, the One Only God, beside whom there is no other god. Thou livest upon His bounty, but thou payest worship to another, and thou dost repudiate Him, and His teachings, and Abraham His servant."

The old woman had to pay for her zeal for the faith with her life. Nevertheless great fear and terror took possession of Nimrod, because the people became more and more attached to the teachings of Abraham, and he knew not how to deal with the man who was undermining the old faith. At the advice of his princes, he arranged a seven days' festival, at which all the people were bidden to appear in their robes of state, their gold and silver apparel. By such display of wealth and power he expected to intimidate Abraham and bring him back to the faith of the king.

Through his father Terah, Nimrod invited Abraham to come before him, that he might have the opportunity of seeing his greatness and wealth, and the glory of his dominion, and the multitude of his princes and attendants. But Abraham refused to appear before the king. On the other hand, he granted his father's request that in his absence he sit by his idols and the king's, and take care of them.

Alone with the idols, and while he repeated the words, "The Eternal He is God, the Eternal He is God!" he struck the king's idols from their thrones, and began to belabor them with an axe. With the biggest he started, and with the smallest he ended. He hacked off the feet of one, and {198} the other he beheaded. This one had his eyes struck out, the other had his hands crushed.²⁷ After all were mutilated, he went away, having first put the axe into the hand of the largest idol.

The feast ended, the king returned, and when he saw all his idols shivered in pieces, he inquired who had perpetrated the mischief. Abraham was named as the one who had been guilty of the outrage, and the king summoned him and questioned him as to his motive for the deed. Abraham replied: "I did not do it; it was the largest of the idols who shattered all the rest. Seest thou not that he still has the axe in his hand? And if thou wilt not believe my words, ask him and he will tell thee."

²⁷ I read **סמא עיניו** (p. 32, line 4) instead of **שבר עיניו**. According to Baba Kama 8. 1, the correct reading of this passage is: **קטע את ידו שבר רגליו סמא עיניו**. The printed text as well as the manuscript, which offers some variants, is corrupt, as **רגליו** is repeated.

IN THE FIERY FURNACE

Now the king was exceedingly wroth at Abraham, and ordered him to be cast into prison, where he commanded the warden not to give him bread or water.²⁸ But God hearkened unto the prayer of Abraham, and sent Gabriel to him in his dungeon. For a year the angel dwelt with him, and provided him with all sorts of food, and a spring of fresh water welled up before him, and he drank of it. At the end of a year, the magnates of the realm presented themselves before the king, and advised him to cast Abraham into the fire, that the people might believe in Nimrod forever. Thereupon the king issued a decree that all the subjects of the king in all his provinces, men and women, young and old, should bring wood within forty days, and he caused it to be thrown into a great furnace and set afire.²⁹ The flames shot up to the skies, and the people were sore afraid of the fire. {199} Now the warden of the prison was ordered to bring Abraham forth and cast him in the flames. The warden reminded the king that Abraham had not had food or drink a whole year, and therefore must be dead, but

²⁸. The imprisonment of Abraham is already mentioned in the Talmud (comp. above, note 20) and PRE 25; according to these sources the imprisonment lasted ten years.

²⁹. Christian legends, too, frequently tell of angels bringing food and drink to needy saints; comp. *Protevangelium of James* 8. 1. Despite the manuscript, מגדל instead of גדר (p. 32, l. 22) is to be read, as may be seen from the word בית which follows.

Nimrod nevertheless desired him to step in front of the prison and call his name. If he made reply, he was to be hauled out to the pyre. If he had perished, his remains were to receive burial, and his memory was to be wiped out henceforth.

Greatly amazed the warden was when his cry, "Abraham, art thou alive?" was answered with "I am living." He questioned further, "Who has been bringing thee food and drink all these many days?" and Abraham replied: "Food and drink have been bestowed upon me by Him who is over all things, the God of all gods and the Lord of all lords, who alone doeth wonders, He who is the God of Nimrod and the God of Terah and the God of the whole world. He dispenseth food and drink unto all beings. He sees, but He cannot be seen, He is in the heavens above, and He is present in all places, for He Himself superviseth all things and provideth for all."

The miraculous rescue of Abraham from death by starvation and thirst convinced the prison-keeper of the truth of God and His prophet Abraham, and he acknowledged his belief in both publicly. The king's threat of death unless he recanted could not turn him away from his new and true faith. When the hangman raised his sword and set it at his throat to kill him, he exclaimed, "The Eternal He is God, the God of the whole world as well as of the blasphemer Nimrod." But the sword could not cut his flesh. The harder it was pressed against his throat, the more it broke into pieces.³⁰ {200}

³⁰. There is a similar incident in the Moses legend; comp. vol. II, p.

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Nimrod, however, was not to be turned aside from his purpose, to make Abraham suffer death by fire. One of the princes was dispatched to fetch him forth. But scarcely did the messenger set about the task of throwing him into the fire, when the flame leapt forth from the furnace and consumed him. Many more attempts were made to cast Abraham into the furnace, but always with the same success — whoever seized him to pitch him in was himself burnt, and a large number lost their lives. Satan appeared in human shape, and advised the king to place Abraham in a catapult and sling him into the fire. Thus no one would be required to come near the flame. Satan himself constructed the catapult. Having proved it fit three times by means of stones put in the machine, they bound Abraham, hand and foot, and were about to consign him to the flames. At that moment Satan, still disguised in human shape, approached Abraham, and said, "If thou desirest to deliver thyself from the fire of Nimrod, bow down before him and believe in him." But Abraham rejected the tempter with the words, "May the Eternal rebuke thee, thou vile, contemptible, accursed blasphemer!" and Satan departed from him.

Then the mother of Abraham came to him and implored him to pay homage to Nimrod and escape the impending misfortune. But he said to her: "O mother, water can extinguish Nimrod's fire, but the fire of God will not die out for evermore. Water cannot quench it."³¹ When his mother heard these words, she spake,

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³¹. According to the manuscript, *לֹא תִכְבֶּה* is to be read instead of *אֵינוֹ*

“May the God whom thou servest rescue thee from the fire of Nimrod!”

Abraham was finally placed in the catapult, and he raised his eyes heavenward, and spoke, “O Lord my God, Thou {201} seest what this sinner purposes to do unto me!”³² His confidence in God was unshakable. When the angels received the Divine permission to save him, and Gabriel approached him, and asked, “Abraham, shall I save thee from the fire?” he replied, “God in whom I trust, the God of heaven and earth, will rescue me,” and God, seeing the submissive spirit of Abraham, commanded the fire, “Cool off and bring tranquillity to my servant Abraham.”³³

מכּוּבָה of the printed edition (p. 34, line 16).

³². The text is somewhat obscure. Abraham, fastened to the catapult, prays to God, and the angels intercede in his behalf; then follows the scene in which Abraham’s mother takes part; and then come the words: “And when it came to pass, that they threw him into the catapult”. להשים should probably be read instead of וישימו. The entire passage would then become quite clear.

³³. Literally: *May cooling and comfort be granted to My servant Abraham*; this is a literal translation of Koran 21. 69, as has already been observed by Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 129. In the old sources (Pesahim, 118a; BR 44. 13; ShR 8. 5; DR 2. 29; Shir 1. 12; Tan. B. II, 100 = Introduction 144; Tan. Tezawweh 12; Tehillim 119. 48) it is stated that Gabriel (according to some, Michael) hastened to come to Abraham’s assistance, but God checked the angel, and He Himself delivered Abraham. But according to one view given in BR it was Michael who delivered Abraham. In *Ma’aseh Abraham* (Horowitz’s edition) the latter part of the text is corrupt, as two conflicting versions of Abraham’s deliverance are given. The text may be emended in accordance with 2 ‘Aseret ha-Dibrot 2, by adding the sentence

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No water was needed to extinguish the fire. The logs burst into buds, and all the different kinds of wood put forth fruit, each tree bearing its own kind. The furnace was transformed into a royal pleasance, and the angels sat therein with Abraham. When the king saw the miracle, he said: "Great witchcraft! Thou makest it known that fire hath no power over thee, and at the same time thou showest thyself unto the people sitting in a pleasure garden." But the princes of Nimrod interposed all with one voice, "Nay, our lord, this is not witchcraft, it is the power of the great God, the God of Abraham, beside whom there is no other god, and we acknowledge that He is God, and Abraham is His servant." All the princes and all the people believed in God at this hour, in the Eternal, the God of Abraham, and they all cried out, "The Lord He is God in heaven above and upon the earth beneath; there is none else."³⁴

which fell out through homoioteleuton.

³⁴ *Ma'aseh Abraham*, published by Jellinek in BHM, I, 25–34; this edition, which is rather inaccurate, is taken from *Shebet Musar* of Elijah ha-Kohen who used a Constantinople edition of this Midrash; comp. Porges, *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie*, X, 159, and Ginzberg, *ibid.*, IX, p. 125. I cannot state with certainty whether the MS. of this Midrash, found in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (No. 33 Steinschneider), goes back to the Constantinople edition or not, as only Elijah ha-Kohen's edition is accessible to me. The MS. text differs from that given in *Shebet Musar*, but is not always superior to it. As was already remarked by Jellinek, *op. cit.*, *Einleitung*, 16, and Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 130, *seq.*, this Midrash is a translation from the Arabic. This supposition may be proved by the phrase אֱמֶר הַמֶּלֶךְ (= קֵאל אֶלְקַאִיל) which

Abraham was the superior, not only of the impious king Nimrod and his attendants, but also of the pious men of his time, Noah, Shem, Eber, and Asshur.³⁵ Noah gave himself no concern

is of frequent occurrence, and many other Arabisms. The author of the original, however, was a Jew, and not a Mohammedan, since parallels from rabbinic literature might be given to a great part of this booklet. Some of these parallels have already been pointed out in the preceding notes (see, e. g., note 9). It may be further observed that the scene in the furnace is most likely a reminiscence of the Haggadah concerning the three youths in the furnace; comp. vol. IV, pp. 328–330, and the notes referring to them. Attention is drawn to the following details: The light at the birth of Abraham (p. 188) has its parallel in the birth of Moses and other heroes (comp. vol. II, p. 262). Gabriel appears to Abraham to show him a well of water which he needed for an ablution before praying; this is genuinely Jewish and not Mohammedan, as has been maintained by many; comp. Ginzberg, *Unbekannte Sekte*, 112. The appearance of Satan in human form (pp. 192 and 200) is frequently met with in Jewish legends; comp. note 226. The dark cloud, which separated Abraham from his enemies (p. 192), naturally goes back to Exodus 14. 19; comp. also vol. I, p. 420. The description of God as “He who sees but cannot be seen” (p. 199), though found in the Koran (6.100), is of frequent occurrence in rabbinic literature; comp., e. g., Yerushalmi Peah 21b (towards the end); Hagigah 5b; Targum Yerushalmi, Gen. 4. 2; 2 Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 22. 14; Sibyll., Prooemium 8, and 4. 12. Recently an Arabic text closely related to that of the *Ma’aseh Abraham* has been published in *R.E.J.*, LXIX, 86 seq.—LXX, 36, seq., by Shapira who claims Kob al-Ahbar as the author of this Abraham legend.

³⁵ The building of the tower, a veritable rebellion against God (comp. vol. I, p. 179), took place ten years after the death of Noah; comp. Seder ‘Olam I.

whatsoever in the matter of spreading the pure faith in God. He took an interest in planting his vineyard, and was immersed in material pleasures. Shem and {202} Eber kept in hiding, and as for Asshur, he said, "How can I live among such sinners?" and departed out of the land.³⁶ The only one who remained unshaken was Abraham. "I will not forsake God," he said, and therefore God did not forsake him, who had hearkened neither unto his father nor unto his mother.

The miraculous deliverance of Abraham from the fiery furnace, together with his later fortunes, was the fulfilment and explanation of what his father Terah had read in the stars. He had seen the star of Haran consumed by fire, and at the same time fill and rule the whole world. The meaning was plain now. Haran was irresolute in his faith, he could not decide whether to adhere to Abraham or the idolaters. When it befell that those who would not serve idols were cast into the fiery furnace, Haran reasoned in this

³⁶. This is a midrashic explanation of Gen. 10. 11; comp. BR 37. 4; ER 20, 114; EZ 24, 45. Targum Yerushalmi, Gen., *loc. cit.*, takes אשור to refer to Assyria, and accordingly maintains that Nimrod emigrated to Assyria, because he did not want to participate in the building of the tower; God rewarded him for this pious act. In view of the fact that Targum Yerushalmi, in a preceding verse, described Nimrod as a very wicked man, the sentence ... חדיית בעי דלא is very likely to be regarded as a later insertion, based on the above mentioned Midrashim, and refers not to Nimrod but to Asshur. Comp., however, Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, I, 88-89, as well as Targum Yerushalmi, *ad loc.* (אשור = אתורא = Asshur!), and PR 34, 156a. Comp. note 77 on vol. I, p. 177.

manner: "Abraham, being my elder, will be called upon before me. If he comes forth out of the fiery trial triumphant, I will declare my allegiance to him; otherwise I will take sides against him." After God Himself had rescued Abraham from death, and Haran's turn came to make his confession of faith, he announced his adherence to Abraham. But scarcely had he come near the furnace,³⁷ when he was seized by the flames and consumed, because he was lacking in firm faith in God. Terah had read the stars well, it now appeared: Haran was burnt, and his daughter Sarah³⁸ became the wife of Abraham, whose descendants fill the earth.³⁹ In another way the death of Haran was noteworthy. It was

³⁷. Comp. vol. I, p. 200, and note 34.

³⁸. Ischah (Gen. 11. 29) is taken as another name for Sarah, who was so called on account of her prophetic gift (from שבה = סבה to look); comp. Josephus, *Antiqui.* I, 6. 5.; Sanhedrin 69a; Megillah 14a; Seder 'Olam 21; Jerome, *Quaestiones, ad loc.*; Ephraim I, 59E.

³⁹. Tehillim 118, 484; Hallel 107. The text of the first-named source is very corrupt (Buber misunderstood it entirely); nor is the second quite correct. A good text of Tehillim is found in Sikli's Talmud Torah; comp. *Hazofeh* III, 18, and Ginzberg, *ibid.*, IV, 32. Comp. also Yalkut I, 77, where the correct reading is found at the beginning and at the end of the quotations from Tehillim: twice במזלו של הרן. According to these sources, Haran was the younger brother of Abraham, and this is in agreement with the prevalent view of the Haggadah (comp. Seder 'Olam II; BR 38. 14; Sanhedrin 69b), which maintains that Abraham was one year older than Nahor, who was one year older than Haran; the latter, at the age of eight, begot Sarah. Yashar Noah, 17a and 18a, regards Nahor and Haran as twin-brothers who were much older than Abraham. BaR 4. 8 seems to agree with the latter view. The death of Haran, as a

the first instance, since the creation of the world, of a son's dying while his father was still alive.⁴⁰ {203}

punishment for his vacillation, is already mentioned in BR 38. 13.

^{40.} *Recognitiones*, I, 31 (a Midrash on Gen. 11. 28) gives the explanation that Haran's death was a punishment for an "incestuous crime". This legend makes Haran suffer for the crime of his son Lot, or presupposes that the latter only followed in the footsteps of his father. The Midrashim (MHG I, 191; *Ma'as*. G. 5; Yelammedenu, according to the extract published by Ginzberg in *Hazofeh*, IV, 32, from Siklī's Talmud Torah; Zohar I, 77b; Lekah Gen. *loc. cit.*) explain Haran's premature death (Abel was killed by his brother, and his death cannot be regarded as a precedent to that of Haran who died by the hand of God) in different ways. He was punished for not being steadfast in his religion; comp. the preceding note; Yashar Noah, 25b; Targum Yerushalmi Gen., *loc. cit.* People believed that Abraham was delivered from the fire by means of Haran's witch-craft—or on account of the latter's piety—and his premature death proved that they were wrong; comp. Yelammedenu, *loc. cit.*; Zohar, *loc. cit.*; Targum Yerushalmi, *loc. cit.* Haran attempted to extinguish the flames into which Abraham was cast, and thereby lost his life; comp. Lekah Gen. *loc. cit.* Jub. 12. 12 narrates that Abraham burned all the idols of his father; when Haran attempted to rescue them, he was himself consumed by the flames; comp. also Ephraim, I, 156D–157A, who very likely borrowed this legend from Jub. According to the Apocalypse of Abraham 8, Terah and his entire household were burned by a fire which came down from heaven as a punishment for their idolatry, which they did not renounce in spite of Abraham's exhortations to mend their ways. Yerahmeel 35. 1 reads: The Chaldeans came to immerse both Haran and Abraham in fire, for it was their custom to immerse their children in fire, as some mothers immerse their babies in water. Gaster refers to Comestor, Gen. 41, who has the same statement.

The king, the princes, and all the people, who had been witnesses of the wonders done for Abraham, came to him, and prostrated themselves before him. But Abraham said: "Do not bow down before me, but before God, the Master of the universe, who hath created you. Serve Him and walk in His ways, for He it was who delivered me from the flames, and He it is who hath created the soul and the spirit of every human being, who formeth man in the womb of his mother, and bringeth him into the world. He saveth from all sickness those who put their trust in Him."

The king then dismissed Abraham, after loading him down with an abundance of precious gifts, among them two slaves who had been raised in the royal palace. Ogi was the name of the one, Eliezer the name of the other. The princes followed the example of the king, and they gave him silver, and gold, and gems. But all these gifts did not rejoice the heart of Abraham so much as the three hundred followers that joined him and became adherents of his religion.

Comp. also ps.-Philo 5A, where it is said that shortly before Abraham's birth mothers began to throw their children into the fire. Jerome, *Quaestiones*, II. 28, says: Haran was burned because he refused to worship fire which the Chaldeans regarded as their god; Abraham, however, was saved by God. Bar-Hebraeus' statement concerning Haran (*Historia Dynastiarum*, 13) is directly borrowed from Ephraim, *loc. cit.*, which goes back to Jub., *loc. cit.*, and Charles on Jub. is to be corrected accordingly. Comp. note 76 on vol. I, p. 176.

ABRAHAM EMIGRATES TO HARAN

For a period of two years Abraham could devote himself undisturbed to his chosen task of turning the hearts of men to God and His teachings.⁴¹ In his pious undertaking he was aided by his wife Sarah, whom he had married in the meantime. While he exhorted the men and sought to convert them, Sarah addressed herself to the women.⁴² She was a helpmeet worthy of Abraham. Indeed, in prophetic powers she ranked higher than her husband.⁴³ She was sometimes called Ischah, "the seer," on that account.⁴⁴ {204}

At the expiration of two years it happened that Nimrod dreamed a dream. In his dream he found himself with his army near the fiery furnace in the valley into which Abraham had been cast. A man resembling Abraham stepped out of the furnace, and he ran after the king with drawn sword, the king fleeing before

^{41.} Yashar Noah, 27a. Ogi—so in editio princeps, but in later editions it was corrupted to *וּגִי*—is no one else but Og, who, already in old sources, is identified with Eliezer, while Yashar considers Ogi and Eliezer as companions. Comp. Index, s. v. "Og" and vol. III, p. 344.

^{42.} BR 40. 14; PR 43, 181a; Tan. Lek 12; Shir 1. 3; ARN 12, 53, and second version 26, 54; Onkelos and the Yerushalmi Targumim Gen. 15. 5; Sifre D. 32; Midrash Tannaim 25; BaR. 14. 11.

^{43.} Tan. Shemot, at the beginning.

^{44.} See the references given in note 38, to which is to be added Shu'aib, Hayye Sarah, 10d, who quotes an unknown midrashic source: Sarah who is also called Ischah, on account of her prophetic gift, foresaw Israel's history, and prayed to God to assist them in their tribulations.

him in terror. While running, the pursuer threw an egg at Nimrod's head, and a mighty stream issued therefrom, wherein the king's whole host was drowned. The king alone survived, with three men. When Nimrod examined his companions, he observed that they wore royal attire, and in form and stature they resembled himself. The stream changed back into an egg again, and a little chick broke forth from it, and it flew up, settled upon the head of the king, and put out one of his eyes.

The king was confounded in his sleep, and when he awoke, his heart beat like a trip-hammer, and his fear was exceeding great. In the morning, when he arose, he sent and called for his wise men and his magicians, and told them his dream. One of his wise men, Anoko by name, stood up, and said: "Know, O king, this dream points to the misfortune which Abraham and his descendants will bring upon thee. A time will come when he and his followers will make war upon thy army, and they will annihilate it. Thou and the three kings, thy allies, will be the only ones to escape death. But later thou wilt lose thy life at the hands of one of the descendants of Abraham. Consider, O king, that thy wise men read this fate of thine in the stars, fifty-two years ago, at the birth of Abraham. As long as Abraham liveth upon the ground, thou shalt not be stablished, nor thy kingdom." {205} Nimrod took Anoko's words to heart, and dispatched some of his servants to seize Abraham and kill him. It happened that Eliezer, the slave whom Abraham had received as a present from Nimrod, was at that time at the royal court. With great haste he sped to Abraham to induce him to flee before the king's bailiffs. His master accepted his advice, and took refuge in the house of Noah and Shem, where he lay in hiding a whole month. The king's

officers reported that despite zealous efforts Abraham was nowhere to be found. Thenceforth the king did not concern himself about Abraham.

When Terah visited his son in his hiding-place, Abraham proposed that they leave the land and take up their abode in Canaan, in order to escape the pursuit of Nimrod. He said: "Consider that it was not for thy sake that Nimrod overloaded thee with honors, but for his own profit. Though he continue to confer the greatest of benefactions upon thee, what are they but earthly vanity? for riches and possessions profit not in the day of wrath and fury. Hearken unto my voice, O my father, let us depart for the land of Canaan, and serve the God that hath created thee, that it may be well with thee."

Noah and Shem aided and abetted the efforts of Abraham to persuade Terah, whereupon Terah consented to leave his country, and he, and Abraham, and Lot, the son of Haran, departed for Haran with their households. They found the land pleasant, and also the inhabitants thereof, who readily yielded to the influence of Abraham's humane spirit and his piety. Many of them obeyed his precepts and became God-fearing and good.⁴⁵ {206}

⁴⁵ Yashar Noah, 27b–28a. Anoko (אנוקו) is very likely identical with the poet-philosopher איניקש, mentioned in *Musare ha-Pilosofim* (Loewenthal's edition 3, 4); the latter is none other than Ibicus (יב) who was misread as (ג) who is famous in Greek legends. The comparatively favorable opinion of Terah agrees with ER 5. 27, 28, where it is related that Terah left his native country in the north because its inhabitants were idolatrous;

Terah's resolve to quit his native land for the sake of Abraham and take up his abode in strange parts, and his impulse to do it before even the Divine call visited Abraham himself—this the Lord accounted a great merit unto Terah, and he was permitted to see his son Abraham rule as king over the whole world. For when the miracle happened, and Isaac was born unto his aged parents, the whole world repaired to Abraham and Sarah, and demanded to know what they had done that so great a thing should be accomplished for them. Abraham told them all that had happened between Nimrod and himself, how he had been ready to be burnt for the glory of God, and how the Lord had rescued him from the flames. In token of their admiration for Abraham and his teachings, they appointed him to be their king, and in commemoration of Isaac's wondrous birth, the money coined by Abraham bore the figures of an aged husband and wife on the obverse side, and of a young man and his wife on the reverse side, for Abraham and Sarah both were rejuvenated at the birth of Isaac, Abraham's white hair turned black, and the lines in Sarah's face were smoothed out.

For many years Terah continued to live a witness of his son's

comp. note 47. This view is also found in Augustine's *Civit. Dei*, 17. 13; but a different opinion prevails in rabbinic sources. Comp. notes 50, 54 and end of 119. On Abraham's missionary activity, comp. the references given in notes 42 and 61, as well as Yelammedenu in Yalkut II, 296, on Jer. 17, and Zohar I, 79a. On the identity of Nimrod with Amraphel and on his death by the hand of Esau, alluded to in this legend, see note 85, as well as vol. I, pp. 229, 318, 319, and the notes referring to them.

glory, for his death did not occur until Isaac was a youth of thirty-five.⁴⁶ And a still greater reward waited upon his good deed. God accepted his repentance, and when he departed this life, he entered into Paradise, and not into hell, though he had passed the larger number of his days in sin. Indeed, it had been his fault that Abraham came near losing his life at the hands of Nimrod.⁴⁷ {207}

THE STAR IN THE EAST

Terah had been a high official at the court of Nimrod, and he was held in great consideration by the king and his suite. A son

⁴⁶. ER 5. 28. On the coins struck by Abraham, comp. Baba Kamma 97b and BR 12. 11. In the latter passage mention is also made of the coins struck by Joshua (a steer on the obverse and an antelope on the reverse), by David (a shepherd's crook, a bag, and a tower), and by Mordecai (a sack, ashes, and a golden crown). On Abraham as king, see Josephus, *Antiqui.* I, 7. 2, who quotes Nicolaus of Damascus to the effect that Abraham was king of Damascus, in the neighborhood of which there is a place called "The Habitation of Abraham." Comp. also BR 55. 1; BaR 15. 4; DR 3. 33; Tan. B. IV, 52; Tan. Beha'aloteka 9; Kohelet 2. 14. Philo, *De Nobilit.* 5, says: Abraham is designated as king (Genesis 23. 6), not because of the external circumstances, for he was really a private individual, but on account of the greatness of his soul, as he was possessed of a kingly mind. The Rabbis similarly remark that scholars are called kings; comp. Gittin 62a. See vol. I, p. 232, where it is related that Abraham declined the royal throne offered to him by the nations.

⁴⁷. Comp. note 114. MHG I, 188, adds that Terah decided to go to Palestine before God had instructed Abraham to do so; comp. note 45.

was born unto him whom he called Abram, because the king had raised him to an exalted place. In the night of Abraham's birth, the astrologers and the wise men of Nimrod came to the house of Terah, and ate and drank, and rejoiced with him that night. When they left the house, they lifted up their eyes toward heaven to look at the stars, and they saw, and, behold, one great star came from the east and ran athwart the heavens and swallowed up the four stars at the four corners. They all were astonished at the sight, but they understood this matter, and knew its import. They said to one another: "This only betokens that the child that hath been born unto Terah this night will grow up and be fruitful, and he will multiply and possess all the earth, he and his children forever, and he and his seed will slay great kings and inherit their lands."

They went home that night, and in the morning they rose up early, and assembled in their meeting-house. They spake, and said to one another: "Lo, the sight that we saw last night is hidden from the king, it has not been made known to him, and should this thing become known to him in the latter days, he will say to us, Why did you conceal this matter from me? and then we shall all suffer death. Now, let us go and tell the king the sight which we saw, and the interpretation thereof, and we shall be clear from this thing." And they went to the king and told him the sight they had seen, and their interpretation thereof, and they added the advice that he pay the value of the child to Terah, and slay the babe. {208}

Accordingly, the king sent for Terah, and when he came, he spake to him: "It hath been told unto me that a son was born to thee yesternight, and a wondrous sign was observed in the heavens at his birth. Now give me the boy, that we may slay him

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before evil comes upon us from him, and I will give thee thy house full of silver and gold in exchange for him." Terah answered: "This thing which thou promisest unto me is like the words which a man spoke to a mule, saying, 'I will give thee a great heap of barley, a houseful thereof, on condition that I cut off thy head!' The mule replied, 'Of what use will all the barley be to me, if thou cuttest off my head? Who will eat it when thou givest it to me?' Thus also do I say: What shall I do with silver and gold after the death of my son? Who shall inherit me?" But when Terah saw how the king's anger burned within him at these words, he added, "Whatever the king desireth to do unto his servant, that let him do, even my son is at the king's disposal, without value or exchange, he and his two older brethren."

The king spake, however, saying, "I will purchase thy youngest son for a price." And Terah made answer, "Let my king give me three days' time to consider the matter and consult about it with my family." The king agreed to this condition, and on the third day he sent to Terah, saying, "Give me thy son for a price, as I spoke unto thee, and if thou wilt not do this, I will send and slay all thou hast in thy house, there shall not be a dog left unto thee."

Then Terah took a child which his handmaid had borne unto him that day, and he brought the babe to the king, and received value for him, and the king took the child and {209} dashed his head against the ground, for he thought it was Abraham. But Terah took his son Abraham, together with the child's mother and his nurse, and concealed them in a cave, and thither he carried provisions to them once a month, and the Lord was with Abraham in the cave, and he grew up, but the king and all his servants

thought that Abraham was dead.

And when Abraham was ten years old, he and his mother and his nurse went out from the cave, for the king and his servants had forgotten the affair of Abraham.

In that time all the inhabitants of the earth, with the exception of Noah and his household, transgressed against the Lord, and they made unto themselves every man his god, gods of wood and stone, which could neither speak, nor hear, nor deliver from distress. The king and all his servants, and Terah with his household, were the first to worship images of wood and stone. Terah made twelve gods of large size, of wood and of stone, corresponding to the twelve months of the year, and he paid homage to them monthly in turn.⁴⁸

⁴⁸. Yashar Noah, 18a-19a; *Ma'aseh Abraham*, ed. Horowitz, 43; *Ma'aseh Abraham* in BHM, II, 18; 2 *'Aseret ha-Dibrot*, 2; *Ma'as.* G. 2, 3; MHG I, 188; see also the references given in note 13. The proverbial phrase of p. 208, line 9, is already found in Sifre N., 95. Yashar and 2 Alphabet of Ben Sira 22b recast the form of this phrase, and this rather shows the poor taste of these writings. Baraita di-Masseket Niddah 23 reads: In olden times children were brought up by their grandparents. When Abraham was four years old, his father Terah entrusted him to the care of Nahor, who attempted to teach him to worship idols; but in vain, for Abraham was destined to devote himself to the service of God. Comp. Jub. 15. 8, where the wickedness of Abraham's grandfather is spoken of; comp. also note 5.

THE TRUE BELIEVER

Once Abraham went into the temple of the idols in his father's house, to bring sacrifices to them, and he found one of them, Marumath by name, hewn out of stone, lying prostrate on his face before the iron god of Nahor. The idol was too heavy for him to raise it alone, and he called his father to help him put Marumath back in his place. While they were handling the image, its head dropped off, and Terah took a stone, and chiselled another Marumath, setting {210} the head of the first upon the new body. Then Terah continued and made five more gods, and all these he delivered to Abraham, and bade him sell them in the streets of the city.

Abraham saddled his mule, and went to the inn where merchants from Fandana in Syria put up on their way to Egypt. He hoped to dispose of his wares there. When he reached the inn, one of the camels belonging to the merchants belched, and the sound frightened his mule so that it ran off pell-mell and broke three of the idols. The merchants not only bought the two sound idols from him, they also gave him the price of the broken ones, for Abraham had told them how distressed he was to appear before his father with less money than he had expected to receive for his handiwork.

This incident made Abraham reflect upon the worthlessness of idols, and he said to himself: "What are these evil things done by my father? Is not he the god of his gods, for do they not come into being by reason of his carving and chiselling and contriving? Were it not more seemly that they should pay worship to him than he

to them, seeing they are the work of his hands?" Meditating thus, he reached his father's house, and he entered and handed his father the money for the five images, and Terah rejoiced, and said, "Blessed art thou unto my gods, because thou didst bring me the price of the idols, and my labor was not in vain." But Abraham made reply: "Hear, my father Terah, blessed are thy gods through thee, for thou art their god, since thou didst fashion them, and their blessing is destruction and their help is vanity. They that help not themselves, how can they help thee or bless me?" {211}

Terah grew very wrathful at Abraham, that he uttered such speech against his gods, and Abraham, thinking upon his father's anger, left him and went from the house. But Terah called him back, and said, "Gather together the chips of the oak wood from which I made images before thou didst return, and prepare my dinner for me." Abraham made ready to do his father's bidding, and as he took up the chips he found a little god among them, whose forehead bore the inscription "God Barisat." He threw the chips upon the fire, and set Barisat up next to it, saying:

"Attention! Take care, Barisat, that the fire go not out until I come back. If it burns low, blow into it, and make it flame up again." Speaking thus, he went out. When he came in again, he found Barisat lying prone upon his back, badly burnt. Smiling, he said to himself, "In truth, Barisat, thou canst keep the fire alive and prepare food," and while he spoke, the idol was consumed to ashes. Then he took the dishes to his father, and he ate and drank and was glad and blessed his god Marumath. But Abraham said to his father, "Bless not thy god Marumath, but rather thy god Barisat, for he it was who, out of his great love for thee, threw himself into the fire that thy meal might be cooked." "Where is he

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now?" exclaimed Terah, and Abraham answered, "He hath become ashes in the fierceness of the fire." Terah said, "Great is the power of Barisat! I will make me another this day, and to-morrow he will prepare my food for me."

These words of his father made Abraham laugh in his mind, but his soul was grieved at his obduracy, and he proceeded to make clear his views upon the idols, saying: "Father, no matter which of the two idols thou blessest, thy {²¹²} behavior is senseless, for the images that stand in the holy temple are more to be worshipped than thine. Zucheus, the god of my brother Nahor, is more venerable than Marumath, because he is made cunningly of gold, and when he grows old, he will be worked over again. But when thy Marumath becomes dim, or is shivered in pieces, he will not be renewed, for he is of stone. And the god Joauv, who stands above the other gods with Zucheus, is more venerable than Barisat, made of wood, because he is hammered out of silver, and ornamented by men, to show his magnificence. But thy Barisat, before thou didst fashion him into a god with thy axe, was rooted in the earth, standing there great and wonderful, with the glory of branches and blossoms. Now he is dry, and gone is his sap. From his height he has fallen to the earth, from grandeur he came to pettiness, and the appearance of his face has paled away, and he himself was burnt in the fire, and he was consumed unto ashes, and he is no more. And thou didst then say, 'I will make me another this day, and to-morrow he will prepare my food for me.' Father," Abraham continued, and said, "the fire is more to be worshipped than thy gods of gold and silver and wood and stone, because it consumes them. But also the fire I call not god, because

it is subject to the water, which quenches it. But also the water I call not god, because it is sucked up by the earth, and I call the earth more venerable, because it conquers the water. But also the earth I call not god, because it is dried out by the sun, and I call the sun more venerable than the earth, because he illumines the whole world with his rays. But also the sun I call not god, because his light is obscured when darkness cometh up. Nor {²¹³} do I call the moon and the stars gods, because their light, too, is extinguished when their time to shine is past. But hearken unto this, my father Terah, which I will declare unto thee, The God who hath created all things, He is the true God, He hath empurpled the heavens, and gilded the sun, and given radiance to the moon and also the stars, and He drieth out the earth in the midst of many waters, and also thee hath He put upon the earth, and me hath He sought out in the confusion of my thoughts.”⁴⁹

⁴⁹. Apocalypse of Abraham 1–7. On the text comp. Ginzberg, in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 1, 91, *seq.* On Marumath (מְחֻרְמֶת=מְחֻרְמֶת), see ZDMG 66, 590; Zucheus is very likely to be derived from זוּחַ was *magnificent*, זוּחַא *splendid, magnificent* (Syriac). Similarly Joauv (variants: Joavon, Juav, and Jav; comp. Bonwetsch, *ad loc.*) is connected with Hebrew יָפִי *beauty*, and has nothing to do with Gnostic Jao (=יָה; comp. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1, 30; 4. 5). In *Sefer ha-Tappuah* the name of the idol that was chiseled by Terah was יָאֻנִּים, which is described as the moon god (Juno?), to whom children were sacrificed. On the last point comp. note 40. Instead of “was rooted in the earth” (p. 212, line 12) the text reads: “was uprooted from the earth”, which gives no satisfactory sense, and is very likely due to a faulty translation of the Hebrew שָׂרַשׁ which signifies both rooted and uprooted. The description which the Apocalypse gives of Abraham’s discovery of God’s existence and of his making the belief in idols appear ridiculous is

very closely related to the midrashic legends dealing with the same incident (comp. vol. I, p. 189, seq., and the notes referring to them, especially note 16) and in Jub. 11. 16–12. 21. In the last-mentioned source we are told that Abraham, while yet a child (see above, note 13), became convinced of the wickedness of idolatry, and in order not to be forced to worship idols, he left his father at the early age (comp. PRE 26) of fourteen. It was then that, at Abraham's command, the ravens (comp. vol. I, p. 186; this is only found in Jub. and in Ephraim; comp. Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.* 97, 98) ceased to despoil the earth. He also invented an instrument, by which the seeds were made safe against the ravens. After that he began to preach to his father and brothers about the wickedness of idolatry. Terah admitted "that Abraham's arguments were sound, but at the same time admonished him to keep quiet, in order not to arouse the hostility of the people against himself. His brothers, however, became enraged against Abraham on account of his free speech. And in the night when Abraham threw his father's idols into the fire, Haran his brother (comp. note 40) attempted to rescue them, and thus lost his life. Whereupon Terah left the land of the Chaldeans, to settle in Palestine (comp. note 47), and on his way he stopped for some time in Haran. It is noteworthy that in all the sources (comp. the references given in notes 16 and 108) stress is laid upon the fact that Abraham came to know God through his own reasoning about the universe and its ruler who must necessarily exist. BaR 14. 2 (comp. also PR 33, 150) enumerates three men who acquired the knowledge of God "by themselves". They are: Abraham, Job, Hezekiah, and the fourth will be the Messiah. This Haggadah probably wishes to call attention to the fact that although these pious men lived during a godless age, they did not succumb to the influence of their surroundings. Bonwetsch, *Apocalypse Abrahams*, 49-53, Charles, in his notes on Jub., *loc. cit.*, and

THE ICONOCLAST

But Terah could not be convinced, and in reply to Abraham's question, who the God was that had created heaven and earth and the children of men, he took him to the hall wherein stood twelve great idols and a large number of little idols, and pointing to them he said, "Here are they who have made all thou seest on earth, they who have created also me and thee and all men on the earth," and he bowed down before his gods, and left the hall with his son.

Abraham went thence to his mother, and he spoke to her, saying: "Behold, my father has shown those unto me who made heaven and earth and all the sons of men. Now, therefore, hasten and fetch a kid from the flock, and make of it savory meat, that I may bring it to my father's gods, perhaps I may thereby become acceptable to them." His mother did according to his request, but when Abraham brought the offering to the gods, he saw that they had no voice, no hearing, no motion, and not one of them stretched forth his hand to eat. Abraham mocked them, and said, "Surely, the savory meat that I prepared doth not please you, or perhaps {²¹⁴} it is too little for you! Therefore I will prepare fresh savory meat to-morrow, better and more plentiful than this, that I may see what cometh therefrom." But the gods remained mute and without motion before the second offering of excellent savory meat as before the first offering, and the spirit of God came over

Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 95–98, give many references to Christian sources where Abraham legends of Jewish origin are made use of. On Mohammedan parallels to these legends, see Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 90 seq.

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Abraham, and he cried out, and said: "Woe unto my father and his wicked generation, whose hearts are all inclined to vanity, who serve these idols of wood and stone, which cannot eat, nor smell, nor hear, nor speak, which have mouths without speech, eyes without sight, ears without hearing, hands without feeling, and legs without motion!"

Abraham then took a hatchet in his hand, and broke all his father's gods, and when he had done breaking them he placed the hatchet in the hand of the biggest god among them all, and he went out. Terah, having heard the crash of the hatchet on the stone, ran to the room of the idols, and he reached it at the moment when Abraham was leaving it, and when he saw what had happened, he hastened after Abraham, and he said to him, "What is this mischief thou hast done to my gods?" Abraham answered: "I set savory meat before them, and when I came nigh unto them, that they might eat, they all stretched out their hands to take of the meat, before the big one had put forth his hand to eat. This one, enraged against them on account of their behavior, took the hatchet and broke them all, and, behold, the hatchet is yet in his hands, as thou mayest see."

Then Terah turned in wrath upon Abraham, and he said: "Thou speakest lies unto me! Is there spirit, soul, or power in these gods to do all thou hast told me? Are they not {²¹⁵} wood and stone? and have I not myself made them? It is thou that didst place the hatchet in the hand of the big god, and thou sayest he smote them all." Abraham answered his father, and said: "How, then, canst thou serve these idols in whom there is no power to do anything? Can these idols in which thou trustest deliver thee? Can

they hear thy prayers when thou callest upon them?” After having spoken these and similar words, admonishing his father to mend his ways and refrain from worshipping idols, he leapt up before Terah, took the hatchet from the big idol, broke it therewith, and ran away.

Terah hastened to Nimrod, bowed down before him, and besought him to hear his story, about his son who had been born to him fifty years back, and how he had done to his gods, and how he had spoken. “Now, therefore, my lord and king,” he said, “send for him that he may come before thee, and do thou judge him according to the law, that we may be delivered from his evil.” When Abraham was brought before the king, he told him the same story as he had told Terah, about the big god who broke the smaller ones, but the king replied, “Idols do neither speak, nor eat, nor move.” Then Abraham reproached him for worshipping gods that can do nothing, and admonished him to serve the God of the universe. His last words were, “If thy wicked heart will not hearken to my words, to cause thee to forsake thy evil ways and serve the Eternal God, then wilt thou die in shame in the latter days, thou, thy people, and all that are connected with thee, who hear thy words, and walk in thy evil ways.”

The king ordered Abraham to be put into prison, and at {²¹⁶} the end of ten days he caused all the princes and great men of the realm to appear before him, and to them he put the case of Abraham. Their verdict was that he should be burnt, and, accordingly, the king had a fire prepared for three days and three nights, in his furnace at Kasdim, and Abraham was to be carried thither from prison to be burnt.

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All the inhabitants of the land, about nine hundred thousand men, and the women and the children besides, came to see what would be done with Abraham. And when he was brought forth, the astrologers recognized him, and they said to the king, "Surely, this is the man whom we knew as a child, at whose birth the great star swallowed the four stars. Behold, his father did transgress thy command, and he made a mockery of thee, for he did bring thee another child, and him didst thou kill."

Terah was greatly terrified, for he was afraid of the king's wrath, and he admitted that he had deceived the king, and when the king said, "Tell me who advised thee to do this. Hide naught, and thou shalt not die," he falsely accused Haran, who had been thirty-two years old at the time of Abraham's birth, of having advised him to deceive the king. At the command of the king, Abraham and Haran, stripped of all their clothes except their hosen, and their hands and feet bound with linen cords, were cast into the furnace. Haran, because his heart was not perfect with the Lord, perished in the fire, and also the men who cast them into the furnace were burnt by the flames which leapt out over them, and Abraham alone was saved by the Lord, and he was not burnt, though the cords with which he was bound were consumed. For three days and three nights Abraham {²¹⁷} walked in the midst of the fire, and all the servants of the king came and told him, "Behold, we have seen Abraham walking about in the midst of the fire."⁵⁰

⁵⁰. Yashar Noah, 23b-26b. The incident concerning the biggest idol with

At first the king would not believe them, but when some of his faithful princes corroborated the words of his servants, he rose up and went to see for himself. He then commanded his servants to take Abraham from the fire, but they could not, because the flames leapt toward them from the furnace, and when they tried again, at the king's command, to approach the furnace, the flames shot out and burnt their faces, so that eight of their number died. The king then called unto Abraham, and said: "O servant of the God who is in heaven, go forth from the midst of the fire, and come hither and stand before me," and Abraham came and stood before the king. And the king spoke to Abraham, and said, "How cometh it that thou wast not burnt in the fire?" And Abraham made answer, "The God of heaven and earth in whom I trust, and who hath all things in His power, He did deliver me from the fire into which thou didst cast me."⁵¹

the hatchet in its hand (p. 215) is very frequently referred to in the Midrashim; comp. BR 38. 13, and the numerous parallels given by Theodor, *ad loc.*; EZ 25.47-48. Abraham, who, as a vendor of idols, nearly ruined his father's business (comp. vol. I, pp. 195-496) was made a priest by Terah. When, however, the idols refused to partake of the food offered to them, Abraham broke them in pieces, which he burned. Brought before Nimrod, Abraham asked him to change the course of the sun as a proof of his divinity, and this request not having been granted, he declared him an impostor. Nimrod ordered Terah to pronounce sentence upon Abraham, and death by fire was the verdict. In this legend Abraham is represented as a breaker of idols not as an iconoclast, while in the later legend he is both and this is an attempt to combine two different Abraham legends. On Terah comp. notes 45, 47, 54, and end of 114. comp. also note 76 on vol. I, p. 76.

ABRAHAM IN CANAAN

With ten temptations Abraham was tempted, and he withstood them all, showing how great was the love of Abraham.⁵² The first test to which he was subjected was the departure from his native land. The hardships were many and severe which he encountered, and he was loth to leave his home, besides. He spoke to God, and said, "Will not the people talk about me, and say, 'He is endeavoring to bring the nations under the wings of the Shekinah, yet he leaves his old father in Haran, and he goes away.'" But God {218} answered him, and said: "Dismiss all care concerning thy father and thy kinsmen from thy thoughts. Though they speak words of kindness to thee, yet are they all of one mind, to ruin thee."⁵³

^{51.} Yashar Noah, 27a. The continuation of this narrative is given in the first two paragraphs of vol. I, p. 203.

^{52.} Pirke Abot 5. 2; Jub. 19. 8. Opinions differ as to the events in Abraham's life which are to be considered as the temptations; comp. PRE 26; ARN 34, 94–95 (second version, 37, 94; here the Nimrod legend is disregarded!); Tehillim 18, 153, and 95, 420; for full details see Schechter's notes on ARN, *loc. cit.*; comp. further Ecclesiasticus 44. 20. I Maccabees 1. 52 is very likely dependent upon the last-named source. In 12 Testaments, Joseph 1. 7, it was Joseph who was tempted with ten temptations.

^{53.} MHG I, 201–202. partly after BR 39. 7; Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 14, also dwells on the great sacrifice made by Abraham in leaving his native country at the command of God.

Then Abraham forsook his father in Haran, and journeyed to Canaan, accompanied by the blessing of God, who said unto him, "I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great." These three blessings were to counteract the evil consequences which, he feared, would follow emigration, for travelling from place to place interferes with the growth of the family, it lessens one's substance, and it diminishes the consideration one enjoys.⁵⁴ The greatest of all blessings, however, was the word of God, "And be thou a blessing." The meaning of this was that whoever came in contact with Abraham was blessed. Even the mariners on the sea were indebted to him for prosperous voyages.⁵⁵ Besides, God held out the promise to him that in time

⁵⁴ BR 39. 7 and 11. The opinion prevailing in rabbinic sources is that Gen. 12, seg., refers to Abraham's emigration from Haran where he left his father. It is true that according to the Bible (Gen. 11.23), Terah died prior to Abraham's departure; but this statement of Scripture is taken figuratively, for the wicked are regarded as dead, even while they are yet alive; comp. BR, *loc. cit.*, and the parallels given by Theodor. See also Tan. B., II, 69; Tan. Yitro 1; MHG I, 527; Midrash Tannaim, 101; Mekilta RS, 127; note 72 on vol. I, 76. Acts 7.5 understands Scripture to speak of Abraham's emigration from the land of the Chaldeans, and this view is shared by Ibn Ezra, *ad loc.*; comp. note 114. Jub. 12.16 agrees with the rabbinic view, but remarks that Terah remained in Haran until Abraham had found a desirable residence in Palestine. Syncellus I, 176, 18, *seq.*, accepts the rabbinic view in all its details.

⁵⁵ BR 39. 11; MHG I, 202403; Targum Yerushalmi, Gen. 12. 2, *seq.*, is dependent on BR, *loc. cit.* Comp. also Theodor, *ad loc.* Philo, *De Somniis*, 28, says: The wise and virtuous is not only a blessing to himself, but is also beneficial to all men, etc. Comp. also Philo, *De Migratione Abrahami*,

to come his name would be mentioned in the Benedictions, God would be praised as the Shield of Abraham, a distinction accorded to no other mortal except David.⁵⁶ But the words, “And be thou a blessing,” will be fulfilled only in the future world, when the seed of Abraham shall be known among the nations and his offspring among the peoples as “the seed which the Lord hath blessed.”⁵⁷

When Abraham first was bidden to leave his home, he was not told to what land he was to journey—all the greater would be his reward for executing the command of God.⁵⁸ And Abraham showed his trust in God, for he said, “I am ready to go whithersoever Thou sendest me.” The Lord then bade him go to a land wherein He would reveal Himself, {219} and when he went to Canaan later, God appeared to him, and he knew that it was the

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⁵⁶. Pesahim 117b; BR 39. 11; Tan. B. I, 62; Tan. Lek 4; BaR 11. 2. The legend refers to the fact that the first benediction of the ‘Amidah concludes with the words: “Blessed art Thou, O Lord, the Shield of Abraham.”

⁵⁷. MHG, I, p. 204, excerpted, perhaps, from Yelammedenu; comp. Sabba, Wayyera, 32a. Against the Christological interpretation of Gen. 12. 3 (see Galatians 3. 8) comp. the explanation of בך in BR 39. 12 and MHG, I, 203. Shu‘aib, Lek, 6b, quotes from an unknown Midrash a lengthy explanation of Gen. 12. 2. 3, according to which Abraham received three crowns; the crown of the Torah, the crown of priesthood, and the crown of kingdom (comp. Pirke Abot 4. 17, and parallel passages). Israel inherited them later from him.

⁵⁸. BR 39. 10; comp. note 230.

promised land.⁵⁹

On entering Canaan, Abraham did not yet know that it was the land appointed as his inheritance. Nevertheless he rejoiced when he reached it. In Mesopotamia and in Aramnaharaim, the inhabitants of which he had seen eating, drinking, and acting wantonly, he had always wished, "O that my portion may not be in this land," but when he came to Canaan, he observed that the people devoted themselves industriously to the cultivation of the land, and he said, "O that my portion may be in this land!" God then spoke to him, and said, "Unto thy seed will I give this land."⁶⁰ Happy in these joyous tidings, Abraham erected an altar to the Lord to give thanks unto Him for the promise, and then he journeyed on, southward, in the direction of the spot whereon the Temple was once to stand. In Hebron he again erected an altar, thus taking possession of the land in a measure. And likewise he raised an altar in Ai, because he foresaw that a misfortune would befall his offspring there, at the conquest of the land under Joshua. The altar, he hoped, would obviate the evil results that might follow.

⁵⁹. MHG, I, 202. Ziyoni, Gen. 12. 7, on the other hand, maintains that God revealed Himself unto Abraham in the Holy Land for the first time; comp. Mekilta at the beginning; Mo'ed Katan 25a, Index s. v., "Revelation".

⁶⁰. BR 39. 8. In the extract from Yelammedenu published by Ginzberg in *Hazofeh*, IV, p. 33, it is stated that the inhabitants of Haran were very wicked, despite Abraham's preaching and exhortations; whereupon God commanded him to depart from the sinners and go to Palestine.

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Each altar raised by him was a centre for his activities as a missionary. As soon as he came to a place in which he desired to sojourn, he would stretch a tent first for Sarah, and next for himself, and then he would proceed at once to make proselytes and bring them under the wings of the Shekinah. Thus he accomplished his purpose of inducing all men to proclaim the Name of God.⁶¹

For the present Abraham was but a stranger in his promised land. After the partition of the earth among the sons {²²⁰} of Noah, when all had gone to their allotted portions, it happened that Canaan son of Ham saw that the land extending from the Lebanon to the River of Egypt was fair to look upon, and he refused to go to his own allotment, westward by the sea. He settled in the land upon Lebanon, eastward and westward from the border of the Jordan and the border of the sea. And Ham, his father, and his brothers Cush and Mizraim spoke to him, and said: "Thou livest in a land that is not thine, for it was not assigned unto us when the lots were drawn. Do not thus! But if thou persistest, ye, thou and thy children, will fall, accursed, in the land, in a rebellion. Thy settling here was rebellion, and through rebellion thy children will be felled down, and thy seed will be

⁶¹. BR 39. 15, 16; Sanhedrin 44b; MHG I, 213. On the missionary activity of Abraham, comp. above, notes 42 and 43. To the references given in those two notes the following are to be added: Zohar III, 168a; II, 147b and 198a; ARN 33, 94. Abraham is contrasted with David: The former was first for love and then for justice, while the latter was the reverse.

destroyed unto all eternity. Sojourn not in the land of Shem, for unto Shem and unto the children of Shem was it apportioned by lot. Accursed art thou, and accursed wilt thou be before all the children of Noah on account of the curse, for we took an oath before the holy Judge and before our father Noah.”

But Canaan hearkened not unto the words of his father and his brothers. He dwelt in the land of the Lebanon from Hamath even unto the entrance of Egypt, he and his sons.⁶² Though the Canaanites had taken unlawful possession of the land, yet Abraham respected their rights; he provided his camels with muzzles, to prevent them from pasturing upon the property of others.⁶³

HIS SOJOURN IN EGYPT

Scarcely had Abraham established himself in Canaan, when a devastating famine broke out—one of the ten God- {221}appointed famines for the chastisement of men. The first of them came in the time of Adam, when God cursed the ground for his sake; the second was this one in the time of Abraham; the third compelled Isaac to take up his abode among the Philistines; the ravages of the fourth drove the sons of Jacob into Egypt to buy grain for food; the fifth came in the time of the Judges, when Elimelech and his

^{62.} Jub. 10. 29-34. Midrash Aggada I, 27, and Rashi on Gen. 11. 6 quote a similar statement from a midrashic source; comp. note 73 on vol. I, p. 173.

^{63.} BR 41. 5; comp. note 228.

family had to seek refuge in the land of Moab; the sixth occurred during the reign of David, and it lasted three years; the seventh happened in the day of Elijah, who had sworn that neither rain nor dew should fall upon the earth; the eighth was the one in the time of Elisha, when an ass's head was sold for fourscore pieces of silver; the ninth is the famine that comes upon men piecemeal, from time to time; and the tenth will scourge men before the advent of Messiah, and this last will be "not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the Lord."⁶⁴

The famine in the time of Abraham prevailed only in Canaan, and it had been inflicted upon the land in order to test his faith. He stood this second temptation as he had the first. He murmured not, and he showed no sign of impatience toward God, who had bidden him shortly before to abandon his native land for a land of starvation.⁶⁵ The famine compelled him to leave Canaan

^{64.} BR 25. 3 and 40. 3; Ruth R. i. i; Shemuel 28; Targum Ruth i. i. In all these sources, except in the first-named, it is stated that the second famine occurred in the time of Lemech (the father of Noah; comp. vol. I, pp. 146, 147, and the notes referring to them), while in BR it is at first assumed that the second famine took place in Abraham's time (ב' בימי אברהם is the reading in MS א!), and then a dissenting Opini'bn is cited, according to which: א' בימי למך א' בימי אבר'ה. The commentators, whom Theodor follows, take the first passage to mean that two famines took place in Abraham's days. This interpretation is, however, unlikely. Probably ב' stands for us and accordingly the second statement is an explanation of the first. PRE 26 maintains that the very first famine occurred in the time of Abraham; comp. also Tan. Lek 5.

^{65.} PRE 26; BR 40. 2; MHG I, 207; comp. Schechter's notes on the last-

for a time, and he repaired to Egypt, to become acquainted there with the wisdom of the priests and, if necessary, give them instruction in the truth.⁶⁶

On this journey from Canaan to Egypt, Abraham first observed the beauty of Sarah. Chaste as he was, he had never before looked at her, but now, when they were wading {222} through a stream, he saw the reflection of her beauty in the water like the brilliance of the sun.⁶⁷ Wherefore he spoke to her thus, "The Egyptians are very sensual, and I will put thee in a casket that no harm befall me on account of thee." At the Egyptian boundary, the tax collectors asked him about the contents of the casket, and Abraham told them he had barley in it. "No," they said, "it contains wheat." "Very well," replied Abraham, "I am prepared to pay the tax on wheat." The officers then hazarded the guess, "It contains pepper!" Abraham agreed to pay the tax on pepper, and when they charged him with concealing gold in the casket, he did not refuse to pay the tax on gold, and finally on precious stones. Seeing that

named source.

⁶⁶. Josephus, *Antiqui.* I, 8. 1, and Zohar I, 81b. In the latter passage Abraham is blamed for travelling to Egypt, and Israel's servitude in that country is said to be a punishment for that sin. Nahmanides on Gen. 12. 10 is of the opinion that Abraham's sin consisted in his lack of trust in God; for, out of fear of the inhabitants he did not acknowledge Sarah as his wife. In Baba Kamma 60b Abraham is praised for his going to Egypt, and on the strength of this action of his the rule is given: When a famine is in a city, move quickly away therefrom.

⁶⁷. Tan. Lek S; Yashar Lek, 31a; Zohar I, 81b; comp. also Baba Batra 16a; Targum Yerushalmi, Gen. 12. 11.

he demurred to no charge, however high, the tax collectors, made thoroughly suspicious, insisted upon his unfastening the casket and letting them examine the contents. When it was forced open, the whole of Egypt was resplendent with the beauty of Sarah. In comparison with her, all other beauties were like apes compared with men. She excelled Eve herself.⁶⁸ The servants of Pharaoh outbid one another in seeking to obtain possession of her, though they were of opinion that so radiant a beauty ought not to remain the property of a private individual. They reported the matter to the king,⁶⁹ and Pharaoh sent a powerful armed force to bring Sarah to the palace,⁷⁰ and so bewitched was he by her charms that those who had brought him the news of her coming into Egypt were loaded down with bountiful gifts.⁷¹

Amid tears, Abraham offered up a prayer. He entreated God in these words: "Is this the reward for my confidence in Thee? For the sake of Thy grace and Thy lovingkindness, {²²³} let not my hope be put to shame."⁷² Sarah also implored God, saying: "O

^{68.} Tan. Lek. 5; BR 40. 5; Tan. B I, 65–66; Zohar I, 82b; Yashar, Lek 31b. The sensuality of the Egyptians is frequently referred to in Jewish literature; comp. Sifra Kedoshim (end); Yerushalmi Sotah I (p. 17a); WR 23. 7 and 25. 7; Zohar I, 117a. On Sarah's beauty and its relation to that of Eve, see vol. I, p. 60. and the note appertaining thereto, as well as note 78.

^{69.} BR 40. 15; Tan. B. I, 66; Tan. Lek 5.

^{70.} Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 8. 1.

^{71.} Yashar Lek, 31b.

^{72.} Tan. Lek 5; Tan. B. I, 66.

God, Thou didst bid my lord Abraham leave his home, the land of his fathers, and journey to Canaan, and Thou didst promise him to do good unto him if he fulfilled Thy commands. And now we have done as Thou didst command us to do. We left our country and our kindred, and we journeyed to a strange land, unto a people which we knew not heretofore. We came hither to save our people from starvation, and now hath this terrible misfortune befallen. O Lord, help me and save me from the hand of this enemy, and for the sake of Thy grace show me good.”

An angel appeared unto Sarah while she was in the presence of the king, to whom he was not visible, and he bade her take courage, saying, “Fear naught, Sarah, for God hath heard thy prayer.” The king questioned Sarah as to the man in the company of whom she had come to Egypt, and Sarah called Abraham her brother. Pharaoh pledged himself to make Abraham great and powerful, to do for him whatever she wished. He sent much gold and silver to Abraham, and diamonds and pearls, sheep and oxen, and men slaves and women slaves, and he assigned a residence to him within the precincts of the royal palace.⁷³ In the love he bore Sarah, he wrote out a marriage contract, deeding to her all he owned in the way of gold and silver, and men slaves and women slaves, and the province of Goshen besides, the province occupied

⁷³ Yashar Lek, 32a. Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 19, likewise mentions that Sarah prayed to God to save her from Pharaoh; the old Midrashim, too, refer to this incident; comp. BR 4I. 2; Tan. B I, 66; Tan. Lek, 5. On Philo’s remark that Sarah was the most beautiful of her sex, comp. above, note 68.

in later days by the descendants of Sarah, because it was their property. Most remarkable of all, he gave her his own daughter Hagar as slave, for he preferred to see his daughter the servant of Sarah to reigning as mistress in another harem.⁷⁴{224}

His free-handed generosity availed naught. During the night, when he was about to approach Sarah, an angel appeared armed with a stick, and if Pharaoh but touched Sarah's shoe to remove it from her foot, the angel planted a blow upon his hand, and when he grasped her dress, a second blow followed. At each blow he was about to deal, the angel asked Sarah whether he was to let it descend, and if she bade him give Pharaoh a moment to recover himself, he waited and did as she desired. And another great miracle came to pass. Pharaoh, and his nobles, and his servants, the very walls of his house and his bed were afflicted with leprosy, and he could not indulge his carnal desires.⁷⁵ This night in which

⁷⁴ PRE 26; Yashar Lek, 32a, 32b; BR 45. 1; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 26. 1. Ephraim I, 65, says that Hagar was given to Abraham by Pharaoh; comp. Ginzberg, *Haggada by den Kirchenv.*, 108; Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 102, refers to similar statements concerning Hagar in Mohammedan writings. The expression מוטב שתהיה (BR) is also found in Sanhedrin 99b with reference to Timna. On Goshen comp. vol. II, pp. 122, 123, and note 325 referring to them, as well as MHG I, 208.

⁷⁵ BR 40. 2 and 52. 13; Tan. B. I, 66–67; Tan. Lek, 5; Zohar I, 82a. Pharaoh deserved his punishment because, though he was informed by Sarah of the true facts, he did not keep back from his sinful intentions; BR, *loc. cit.* MHG I, 207, on the other hand, maintains that the Egyptians would rather commit murder than adultery. Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 19, remarks that the Egyptians were punished for not having protested

Pharaoh and his court suffered their well deserved punishment was the night of the fifteenth of Nisan, the same night wherein God visited the Egyptians in a later time in order to redeem Israel, the descendants of Sarah.⁷⁶

Horried by the plague sent upon him, Pharaoh inquired how he could rid himself thereof. He applied to the priests, from whom he found out the true cause of his affliction, which was corroborated by Sarah. He then sent for Abraham and returned his wife to him, pure and untouched, and excused himself for what had happened, saying that he had had the intention of connecting himself in marriage with him, whom he had thought to be the brother of Sarah.⁷⁷ He bestowed rich gifts upon the husband and the wife, and they departed for Canaan, after a three months' sojourn in Egypt.⁷⁸

against Pharaoh's actions. Comp. below note 290 on vol. I, p. 403.

⁷⁶ PRE 26. In Zohar I, 82a, and III, 52, many more parallels are pointed out between Pharaoh's punishment and that of the Egyptians "in the night of redemption." The view that many important events in the history of the patriarchs and that of Israel took place during the first night of Passover is very old (comp. Index, s. v. "Nisan, Fifteenth of") and is a favorite topic with the paitanim; comp. e. g. Yannaï's (about 600) piyyut **אז רוב ניסים** in the liturgy of the Great Sabbath in the Ashkenazic Mahzor. Comp. also ShR 18. 12 and BaR 20. 12. Comp. note 170.

⁷⁷ Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 8. 1. Similar statements in the writings of the Church Fathers are either directly derived from Josephus or are based on oral communications made to them by Jews; comp. Jerome and Theodoretus, Gen. 12. 17, as well as Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 100.

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Arrived in Canaan they sought the same night-shelters at which they had rested before, in order to pay their accounts, and also to teach by their example that it is not proper to seek new quarters unless one is forced to it.⁷⁹ {225}

Abraham's sojourn in Egypt was of great service to the inhabitants of the country, because he demonstrated to the wise men of the land how empty and vain their views were, and also he taught them astronomy and astrology, unknown in Egypt before his time.⁸⁰

^{78.} Seder 'Olam I; Jub. 13. 11. The duration of Abraham's sojourn in Egypt is given as five years; but Artapanus (Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.*, 9. 18, 420b), states that Abraham stayed twenty years in that country.

^{79.} BR 41. 3; 'Arakin 16b. This explanation of למסעיו accords with Septuagint and Vulgate, though Jerome on Gen. 13. 3 rejects it. See Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 101.

^{80.} Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 8. 2; Artapanus (see above, note 78). The Kabbalists, on the contrary, maintain that Abraham learned witchcraft from the Egyptians, as "one appreciates the benefit of light after having been in darkness". See 'Emek ha-Melek, 135C; *Maggid, Lek* 7b, and comp. note 313. In 'Abodah Zarah 14b it is stated, on the authority of an old tradition, that Abraham composed a book on the laws concerning idolatry containing four hundred chapters, while the Mishnah tractate dealing with the same subject consists only of five chapters. Sotah 46b reads: Pharaoh accompanied Abraham four steps (comp. the same phrase in Sanhedrin 96a) and for this kind act the Egyptians were the masters of Israel for four hundred years. PK 7, 65b contains a view concerning Pharaoh's relation to Sarah which differs from the one expressed in the legend given in our text. According to that source, when

THE FIRST PHAROAH

The Egyptian ruler, whose meeting with Abraham had proved so untoward an event, was the first to bear the name Pharaoh. The succeeding kings were named thus after him. The origin of the name is connected with the life and adventures of Raḳyon, Havenaught, a man wise, handsome, and poor, who lived in the land of Shinar. Finding himself unable to support himself in Shinar, he resolved to depart for Egypt, where he expected to display his wisdom before the king, Ashwerosh, the son of 'Anam. Perhaps he would find grace in the eyes of the king, who would give Raḳyon the opportunity of supporting himself and rising to be a great man. When he reached Egypt, he learnt that it was the custom of the country for the king to remain in retirement in his palace, removed from the sight of the people. Only on one day of the year he showed himself in public, and received all who had a petition to submit to him. Richer by a disappointment, Raḳyon knew not how he was to earn a livelihood in the strange country. He was forced to spend the night in a ruin, hungry as he was. The next day he decided to try to earn something by selling vegetables. By a lucky chance he fell in with some dealers in vegetables, but as

Sarah arrived in Egypt, she was impressed into service as a handmaid, and was made to work like "a donkey in a mill". Buber attempted to emend the text of this Midrash, but there is absolutely no need for corrections. The expression **כִּידְנוֹ לִרְיָחִים** corresponds exactly to the English expression "like a horse in a mill", except that in Hebrew the donkey takes the place of the horse. Comp. also PR 17, 8oc.

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he did not know the customs of the country, his new undertaking was not favored with good fortune. {226} Ruffians assaulted him, snatched his wares from him, and made a laughing-stock of him. The second night, which he was compelled to spend in the ruin again, a sly plan ripened in his mind. He arose and gathered together a crew of thirty lusty fellows. He took them to the graveyard, and bade them, in the name of the king, charge two hundred pieces of silver for every body they buried. Otherwise interment was to be prevented. In this way he succeeded in amassing great wealth within eight months. Not only did he acquire silver, gold, and precious gems, but also he attached a considerable force, armed and mounted, to his person.

On the day on which the king appeared among the people, they began to complain of this tax upon the dead. They said: "What is this thou art inflicting upon thy servants — permitting none to be buried unless they pay thee silver and gold! Has a thing like this come to pass in the world since the days of Adam, that the dead should not be interred unless money be paid therefor! We know well that it is the privilege of the king to take an annual tax from the living. But thou takest tribute from the dead, too, and thou exactest it day by day. O king, we cannot endure this any longer, for the whole of the city is ruined thereby."

The king, who had had no suspicion of Raḳyon's doings, fell into a great rage when the people gave him information about them. He ordered him and his armed force to appear before him. Raḳyon did not come empty-handed. He was preceded by a thousand youths and maidens, mounted upon steeds and arrayed in state apparel. These were a present to the king. When he

himself stepped before the king, he {²²⁷} delivered gold, silver, and diamonds to him in great abundance, and a magnificent charger. These gifts and the display of splendor did not fail of taking effect upon the king, and when Rakyon, in well-considered words and with a pliant tongue, described the undertaking, he won not only the king to his side, but also the whole court, and the king said to him, "No longer shalt thou be called Rakyon, Have-naught, but Pharaoh, Paymaster, for thou didst collect taxes from the dead."

So profound was the impression made by Rakyon that the king, the grandees, and the people, all together resolved to put the guidance of the realm in the hands of Pharaoh. Under the suzerainty of Ashwerosh he administered law and justice throughout the year; only on the one day when he showed himself to the people did the king himself give judgment and decide cases. Through the power thus conferred upon him and through cunning practices, Pharaoh succeeded in usurping royal authority, and he collected taxes from all the inhabitants of Egypt. Nevertheless he was beloved of the people, and it was decreed that every ruler of Egypt should thenceforth bear the name Pharaoh.⁸¹

⁸¹. Yashar Lek, 29b–31a, which was incorporated in BHM VI, 121–123. A slightly different version of this legend was published from a MS. (R. Joseph Kimhi's commentary on the Pentateuch is given as its source) by Berliner (Hoffmann—*Festschrift*, 283–285), who was evidently unaware that he was dealing with a well-known legend. Kaufmann, *R.E.J.*, XVI, 144–146, and Lévi, *ibid.*, XVIII, 130–131, called attention to the fact that al-Biruni (Sachau's edition, p. 280) has the same story, except that Haman takes the place of Rakyon, and in all likelihood this legend is of Arabic origin. Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, note 223, connects Rakyon with

THE WAR OF THE KINGS

On his return from Egypt Abraham's relations to his own family were disturbed by annoying circumstances. Strife developed between the herdmen of his cattle and the herdmen of Lot's cattle. Abraham furnished his herds with muzzles, but Lot made no such provision, and when the shepherds that pastured Abraham's flocks took Lot's shepherds to task on account of the omission, the latter replied: "It is {²²⁸} known of a surety that God said unto Abraham, 'To thy seed will I give the land.' But Abraham is a sterile mule. Never will he have children. On the morrow he will die, and Lot will be his heir. Thus the flocks of Lot are but consuming what belongs to them or their master." But God spoke: "Verily, I said unto Abraham I would give the land unto his seed, but only after the seven nations shall have been destroyed from out of the land. To-day the Canaanites are therein, and the Perizzites. They still have the right of habitation."

Now, when the strife extended from the servants to the masters, and Abraham vainly called his nephew Lot to account for his unbecoming behavior, Abraham decided he would have to part

Naracho, the name ascribed to this Pharaoh by Malala, *Chronologia*, 71; but this identification seems rather far-fetched. On other names supposed to have been borne by this Pharaoh, comp. Beer, *loc. cit.* See further Theophilus 2. 31, who, in agreement with Yashar, maintains that this ruler of Egypt was the first to assume the title of Pharaoh. Comp. also note 430 on vol. II, p. 169.

from his kinsman, though he should have to compel Lot thereto by force. Lot thereupon separated himself not from Abraham alone, but from the God of Abraham also, and he betook himself to a district in which immorality and sin reigned supreme, wherefore punishment overtook him, for his own flesh seduced him later unto sin.

God was displeased with Abraham for not living in peace and harmony with his own kindred, as he lived with all the world beside. On the other hand, God also took it in ill part that Abraham was accepting Lot tacitly as his heir, though He had promised him, in clear, unmistakable words, "To thy seed will I give the land." After Abraham had separated himself from Lot, he received the assurance again that Canaan should once belong to his seed, which God would multiply as the sand which is upon the sea-shore. As the sand fills the whole earth, so the offspring of Abraham would be scattered over the whole earth, from end to end; and as {229} the earth is blessed only when it is moistened with water, so his offspring would be blessed through the Torah, which is likened unto water; and as the earth endures longer than metal, so his offspring would endure forever, while the heathen would vanish; and as the earth is trodden upon, so his offspring would be trodden upon by the four kingdoms.⁸²

^{82.} BR 4I. 5-16; PR 3, 9b-10a; Yerushalmi Targumim Gen. 13. 7; Yashar Lek, 32b. The claim of the Canaanites to Palestine is here recognized as legitimate; see a different view in vol. I, p. 220, and comp. also p. 173. Shu'aib Lek, 7a, quotes the following passage from Yerushalmi (not found in our edition): "Strangers profit when brothers quarrel"; the

The Legends of the Jews

The departure of Lot had a serious consequence, for the war waged by Abraham against the four kings is intimately connected with it. Lot desired to settle in the well-watered circle of the Jordan, but the only city of the plain that would receive him was Sodom, the king of which admitted the nephew of Abraham out of consideration for the latter.⁸³ The five impious kings planned first to make war upon Sodom on account of Lot and then advance upon Abraham.⁸⁴ For one of the five, Amraphel, was none other than Nimrod, Abraham's enemy from of old. The immediate

quarrel between Abraham and Lot (not only between their servants alone; comp. *loc. cit.*) caused the Holy Land to remain in the possession of strangers. Comp. also Astruc, *Midreshe ha-Torah* 15, who used a similar source to that of Shu'aib. On Lot comp. note 171; on the comparison of Israel to sand see BaR 2. 13. The four kingdoms, *i. e.*, Assyria-Babylon, Media-Persia, Macedonia-Greece, Rome, are very often spoken of by the Rabbis; comp. the very instructive study by Senior Sachs, *Shire ha-Shirim*, 70, *seq.*, and Epstein, *Mi-Kadmoniyyot*, 31-35. Later the fourth kingdom was a designation of Edom and Ishmael, *i. e.*, Christianity and Islam; comp. Tehillim 6. 59. The four diasporas among the eight kingdoms are: 1) Babylon-Chaldea, 2) Media-Persia, 3) Macedonia-Greece, 4) Edom (=Rome) and Ishmael (=Arabia). Differently in Mekilta RS 118 (not tannaitic); BR 85. 8 (six kingdoms); Hallel 101; Midrash Aggada I, 20 and 155; *Hadar* 37a, where six, seven, and eight kingdoms are referred to.

⁸³. Zohar I, 108a; very likely dependent on an earlier source.

⁸⁴. MHG I, 215-216; very likely the same source made use of in Zohar I, 86, but not identical with BR 41. 3, where it is said that the war against Abraham was in truth a war against God. Comp. PR, 19Gb; Kallah 3. 7a, and Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, note 251.

occasion for the war was this: Chedorlaomer, one of Nimrod's generals, rebelled against him after the builders of the tower were dispersed, and he set himself up as king of Elam. Then he subjugated the Hamitic tribes living in the five cities of the plain of the Jordan, and made them tributary. For twelve years they were faithful to their sovereign ruler Chedorlaomer, but then they refused to pay the tribute, and they persisted in their insubordination for thirteen years. Making the most of Chedorlaomer's embarrassment, Nimrod led a host of seven thousand warriors against his former general. In the battle fought between Elam and Shinar, Nimrod suffered a disastrous defeat, he lost six hundred of his army, and among the slain was the king's son Mardon. Humiliated and abased, he returned to his country, and he {230} was forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of Chedorlaomer, who now proceeded to form an alliance with Arioch king of Ellasar, and Tidal, the king of several nations, the purpose of which was to crush the cities of the circle of the Jordan. The united forces of these kings, numbering eight hundred thousand, marched upon the five cities, subduing whatever they encountered in their course,⁸⁵ and annihilating the descendants of the giants. Fortified places, unwalled cities, and flat, open country,

⁸⁵. Yashar Noah, 29a, and Lek, 33a. The identification of Amraphael with Nimrod is already found in old sources; comp. 'Erubin 53a; BR 41. 1; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 14. 1; Tan. Lek 6; PR 33, 151a. These passages give several etymologies of the name Amraphel. On Amraphel = Nimrod, see also note 82 on vol. I, p. 178. Augustine, *Civit. Dei*, 16. 17, identifies Amraphel with Ninus who is supposed to have been the grandson of Nimrod; comp. Yerahmeel 32. 3 and Gaster, *ad loc.*

all fell in their hands.⁸⁶ They pushed on through the desert as far as the spring issuing from the rock at Kadesh, the spot appointed by God as the place of pronouncing judgment against Moses and Aaron on account of the waters of strife. Thence they turned toward the central portion of Palestine, the country of dates, where they encountered the five godless kings, Bera, the villain, king of Sodom; Birsha, the sinner, king of Gomorrah; Shinab, the father-hater, king of Admah; Shemeber, the voluptuary, king of Zeboiim; and the king of Bela, the city that devours its inhabitants. The five were routed in the fruitful Vale of Siddim, the canals of which later formed the Dead Sea. They that remained of the rank and file fled to the mountains, but the kings fell into the slime pits and stuck there. Only the king of Sodom was rescued, miraculously, for the purpose that he might convert those heathen to faith in God that had not believed in the wonderful deliverance of Abraham from the fiery furnace.⁸⁷

The victors despoiled Sodom of all its goods and victuals, and took Lot, boasting, "We have taken the son of Abraham's brother captive," so betraying the real object of their undertaking; their

⁸⁶. Bahya Gen. 14. 5, whose remarks are based on lost midrashic sources. On the meaning of the proper names occurring in Gen. 14, and the attempt of Jewish and Christian authors to identify them, see BR 41. 6; Kallah 3. 7a; Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, 248; Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 101–103.

⁸⁷. BR 41. 5–7; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 14. 2, *seq.*; Jerome, *Quaestiones*, 14. 2–7.

innermost desire was to strike at Abraham.⁸⁸{231}

It was on the first evening of the Passover, and Abraham was eating of the unleavened bread,⁸⁹ when the archangel Michael brought him the report of Lot's captivity. This angel bears another name besides, Palit, the escaped, because when God threw Samael and his host from their holy place in heaven, the rebellious leader held on to Michael and tried to drag him along downward, and Michael escaped falling from heaven only through the help of God.⁹⁰

When the report of his nephew's evil state reached Abraham, he straightway dismissed all thought of his dissensions with Lot from his mind, and only considered ways and means of deliverance.⁹¹ He convoked his disciples to whom he had taught the true faith, and who all called themselves by the name Abraham.⁹² He gave them gold and silver, saying at the same time:

⁸⁸. MHG I, 216; Zohar I, 86b; comp. note 84. The statement in Zohar that Lot looked like Abraham is very likely based on BR 14. 6.

⁸⁹. BR. 41. 78; DR. I. 25; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 14.13.

⁹⁰. PRE 27, where it is also stated that "the escaped" in Ezekiel 33. 21 likewise refers to the archangel Michael. Another legend identifies "the escaped", who brought Abraham the report about Lot's capture, with Og. Comp. vol. III, p. 343. On the designation of Abraham as "the Hebrew", comp. BR 41.8; Lekah 2, 144; comp. also note 31 on vol. I, p. 181.

⁹¹. Tan. B. I, 72; Tan. Lek 13; Aggadat Bereshit 13. 28. Josephus, *Antiqui.* I, 10. 1, says: Abraham undertook the war on account of his friendship with his neighbors, the inhabitants of Sodom, and in behalf of Lot. Comp. Zohar I, 112b.

⁹². Nedarim 32a and BR 42. 2—two originally different explanations of

“Know that we go to war for the purpose of saving human lives. Therefore, do ye not direct your eyes upon money, here lie gold and silver before you.” Furthermore he admonished them in these words: “We are preparing to go to war. Let none join us who hath committed a trespass, and fears that Divine punishment will descend upon him.” Alarmed by his warning, not one would obey his call to arms, they were fearful on account of their sins. Eliezer alone remained with him, wherefore God spake, and said: “All forsook thee save only Eliezer. Verily, I shall invest him with the strength of the three hundred and eighteen men whose aid thou didst seek in vain.”⁹³

The battle fought with the mighty hosts of the kings, from which Abraham emerged victorious, happened on the fifteenth of

חניכיו (Gen. 14. 14). PRE 27 says: His three disciples (=Aner, Eshkol, and Mamre).

⁹³ Tan. B I, 73; Tan. Lek 13; Aggadat Bereshit 13. 29; BR 42. 2; Nedarim 32a; Yelammedenu in supplement to Yalkut (=BHM VI, 79); PK 8, 70a (below); PR 18, 91b; WR 28.4; BaR 18. 21; PRE 27; Targum Yerushalmi. Gen. 14. 14; Tehillim 110, 466; ER 5. 28. Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 39, speaks of the three hundred warriors, all of whom were born in the house of Abraham (he had no other servants than these) and with whom, despite their small number, he undertook the campaign, trusting that God would help him. Following the method of the Jewish legend which, on the basis of the numerical value of the name Eliezer (אליעזר=318), identifies the three hundred and eighteen with this pious servant of Abraham, the Christian legend maintains that in these warriors there is an allusion to Jesus, the numerical value of whose name is three hundred and eighteen; see Barnabas, 9. 8, and Clemens, *Stromata*, 6. 11.

Nisan, the night appointed for miraculous deeds.⁹⁴ {232} The arrows and stones hurled at him effected naught,⁹⁵ but the dust of the ground, the chaff, and the stubble which he threw at the enemy were transformed into death-dealing javelins and swords.⁹⁶ Abraham, as tall as seventy men set on end, and requiring as much food and drink as seventy men, marched forward with giant strides, each of his steps measuring four miles, until he overtook the kings, and annihilated their troops. Further he could not go, for he had reached Dan, where Jeroboam would once raise the golden calves, and on this ominous spot Abraham's strength diminished.⁹⁷

His victory was possible only because the celestial powers espoused his side. The planet Jupiter made the night bright for him, and an angel, Lailah by name, fought for him.⁹⁸[98] In a

⁹⁴ PRE 17; comp. above, note 76.

⁹⁵ BR 42. 3; Tehillim 110, 466. Jewish tradition takes Ps. 110 to refer to Abraham (another view makes it refer to Hezekiah; comp. note 69 on vol. IV, p. 272), and hence the statement that Abraham, in order to be protected, was placed at the right hand of God (Tan. B. I, 74; Aggadat Bereshit 13. 29; Sanhedrin 108b; Tan. Lek 13).

⁹⁶ Sanhedrin 108b; Ta'anit 21a; BR 42. 3; Tan. B. I, 76; Tan. Lek 15; comp. vol. IV, p. 203.

⁹⁷ Tan. B. I, 73-74. Tan. Lek 13; BR 42. 3; Sanhedrin 96a; PRE 27; Aggadat Bereshit 13. 29; Soferim 20; PR, 196b. The Testament of Abraham also presupposes that Abraham was a giant; comp. the extract from this source on vol. I, p. 304:.

⁹⁸ BR 42. 3; Shabbat 196b (God moved, for Abraham's sake, the star Jupiter from the west to the east); Sanhedrin 96a (on the angel Lailah,

true sense, it was a victory of God. All the nations acknowledged his more than human achievement, and they fashioned a throne for Abraham, and erected it on the field of battle. When they attempted to seat him upon it, amid exclamations of "Thou art our king! Thou art our prince! Thou art our god!" Abraham warded them off, and said, "The universe has its King, and it has its God!" He declined all honors, and returned his property unto each man. Only the little children he kept by himself. He reared them in the knowledge of God, and later they atoned for the disgrace of their parents.

Somewhat arrogantly the king of Sodom set out to meet Abraham. He was proud that a great miracle, his rescue from the slime pit, had been performed for him, too. He made Abraham the proposition that he keep the despoiled goods for himself.⁹⁹ But Abraham refused them, and said: {233} "I have lift up mine hand unto the Lord, God Most High, who hath created the world for the sake of the pious, that I will not take a thread nor a shoe-latchet nor aught that is thine. I have no right upon any goods taken as spoils,¹⁰⁰ save only that which the young men have eaten,

comp. note 20 on vol. I, p. 59) ; ER 5. 28. WR I. 4 seems to be of the opinion that Abraham's victory was due to the direct intervention of God and not to the help of the angels. Zohar I, 86a, is very likely based on WR. Reminiscences of long-forgotten legends and myths which bring Abraham in some relation with the sun, are to be found in Tehillim I. 5; PR 20, 96b and Baba Batra 16b.

⁹⁹. BR 42 4-5; comp. ER 25. 128; Tan. B. I, 74, and see also note 46.

¹⁰⁰. Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 14. 20; BR 43. 9; Tan. B. I 74; Tan. Lek 13.

and the portion of the men who tarried by the stuff, though they went not down to the battle itself." The example of Abraham in giving a share in the spoils even unto the men not concerned directly in the battle, was followed later by David, who heeded not the protest of the wicked men and the base fellows with him, that the watchers who staid by the stuff were not entitled to share alike with the warriors that had gone down to the battle.¹⁰¹

In spite of his great success, Abraham nevertheless was concerned about the issue of the war. He feared that the prohibition against shedding the blood of man had been transgressed, and he also dreaded the resentment of Shem, whose descendants had perished in the encounter. But God reassured him, and said: "Be not afraid! Thou hast but extirpated the thorns, and as to Shem, he will bless thee rather than curse thee." So it was. When Abraham returned from the war, Shem, or, as he is sometimes called, Melchizedek, the king of righteousness, priest of God Most High, and king of Jerusalem, came forth to meet him with bread and wine.¹⁰² And this high priest instructed Abraham

Abraham was the first to declare God "the possessor of heaven and earth"; comp. Berakot 7a and EZ 25, 45.

^{101.} BR 43. 9; Lekah I, 66, and II, 279, with the additional remark that this law, promulgated by Abraham and Moses, had become obsolete in later times, and was restored in its full force by David; comp. I Sam. 30. 22-25.

^{102.} Tan. B. I, 75, 76; Tan. Lek 15. The identity of Melchizedek with Shem is presupposed in many Jewish and Christian sources; comp. Nedarim 32b (in a statement by a teacher who flourished about 100); BR 26. 4 and the parallel passages given by Theodor; Tehillim 76, 340; PRE 8 and 27;

in the laws of the priesthood and in the Torah, and to prove his

Yelammedenu quoted in Yalkut Nahum (here שלם=perfect, free from any blemish); Midrash Aggada I, 23 (read שעשאו כהן, "he appointed him priest"); Targum Yerushalmi, Gen. 14. 18. Zohar Hadash Noah, 29b (from there in Gabai's *'Abodat ha-Kodesh* II, 31, where the source is not given. On the study of Abraham in the Academy of Shem-Melchizedek mentioned in this source, comp. note 13), tells us that Shem received the name Melchizedek from God when He appointed him priest; comp. note 51 on vol. I, 166. The Church Fathers Jerome, *Quaestiones*, 14. 18, Ephraim I, 61 E and 79D as well as Epiphanius, *Haer.*, 55. 6, speak of Shem-Melchizedek. The last-mentioned Church Father attributes this identification to the Samaritans, whereas "the Jews declare Melchizedek to have been the son of a prostitute." Later Christian authors somewhat modified the rabbinic view concerning Melchizedek and considered him a descendant of Shem. This latter view is shared by Mohammedan writers. Comp. Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, note 300; Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 103–105; Friedlaender, *Chadhir Legende*, 258, seq. On the gnostic legends concerning Melchizedek, see the gnostic fragment published by Murfil-Charles as supplement to their edition of the Slavonic Enoch, 85–93. That the mysterious personality of Melchizedek occupied the fancy of the people at very early times may be seen from the 12 Testaments which, in its pre-Christian parts (Levi 17. 7), speaks of him in the highest terms of praise. The identity of Salem, Melchizedek's city, with Jerusalem, presupposed in the rabbinic sources enumerated above, is known also to Josephus, *Wars*, VI, 10; Theophilus 2. 3 (his dependence on Josephus may be proved by the phrase "the first priest" which he copied from Josephus); Clemens, *Stromata*, 1. 5; Jerome, *Epistola ad Evagrium*, 73. Comp. also Thomsen, *Loci Sancti* I, 10. On the etymological explanation of the name Jerusalem and Salem see note 253. The Samaritans identify Salem with Shechem; comp. Eupolemus 9. 17

friendship for him he blessed him, and called him the partner of God in the possession of the world, seeing that through him the Name of God had first been made known among men.¹⁰³ But Melchizedek arranged the words of his {234} blessing in an unseemly way. He named Abraham first and then God. As a punishment, he was deposed by God from the priestly dignity, and instead it was passed over to Abraham, with whose descendants it remained forever.¹⁰⁴

As a reward for the sanctification of the Holy Name, which Abraham had brought about when he refused to keep aught of the goods taken in battle,¹⁰⁵ his descendants received two commands, the command of the threads in the borders of their garments, and the command of the lachets to be bound upon their hands and to be used as frontlets between their eyes. Thus they commemorate that their ancestor refused to take so much as a thread or a lachet. And because he would not touch a shoe-latchet of the spoils, his descendants cast their shoe upon Edom.¹⁰⁶

(p. 419) and Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien*, I, pp. 85 and 87. The remark in ARN 2. 2, that Shem-Melchizedek was born with the sign of the Abrahamic covenant on him is directed against the Christian polemics concerning circumcision. Comp. note 318.

¹⁰³. BR 43. 6, 7, and the parallel passages given by Theodor; BaR 4. 8.

¹⁰⁴. Nedarim 32b; WR 25. 6. This Haggadah is very likely directed against the Christians who took Melchizedek to be a type of Jesus, the everlasting priest; comp. Hebrews 7. 1-3 and especially Justin Martyr, *Dialogue*, 33 and 96.

¹⁰⁵. ER 25, 128.

¹⁰⁶. Sotah 17a; BR 43. 9; Tan. B. I, 75; Tan. Lek 13. The Midrashim

THE COVENANT OF THE PIECES

Shortly after the war, God revealed Himself unto Abraham, to soothe his conscience as to the spilling of innocent blood, for it was a scruple that gave him much anguish of spirit. God assured him at the same time that He would cause pious men to arise among his descendants, who, like himself, would be a shield unto their generation.¹⁰⁷ As a further distinction, God gave him leave to ask what he would have, rare grace accorded to none beside, except Jacob, Solomon, Ahaz, and the Messiah. Abraham spoke, and said: "O Lord of the world, if in time to come my descendants should provoke Thy wrath, it were better I remained childless. Lot, for the sake of whom I journeyed as far as Damascus, where God was my protection, would be well pleased to be my heir. Moreover,

mentioned differ from the Talmud with regard to the nature of the two commandments which Israel received as a reward for Abraham's good deed. *Sotah*, *loc. cit.*; *Hullin* 88b; *BaR* 4. 8 mention two commandments which Israel received as a reward for Abraham's humility in saying to God: "And I am but dust and ashes." *Comp. Gen.* 18. 27.

¹⁰⁷. *BR* 44. 4-5; *comp. Yelammedenu* in supplement to *Yalkut* (= *BHM*, VI, 79) and note 102. According to another view given in *BR*, God revealed Himself to Abraham (the first revelation ever granted to a human being; *comp. MHG* I, 324) long after the war against the kings. The *Midrashim* (*BR, loc. cit.*; *Yelammedenu, loc. cit.*; *MHG*, I, 225, 226) find in the words "thy reward is very great" (*Gen.* 15. 1) a hint of the reward which Abraham and his descendants are to receive in the world to come.

I have read in {235} the stars, 'Abraham, thou wilt beget no children.'" Thereupon God raised Abraham above the vault of the skies, and He said, "Thou art a prophet, not an astrologer!"¹⁰⁸ Now Abraham demanded no sign that he would be blessed with offspring. Without losing another word, he believed in the Lord, and he was rewarded for his simple faith by a share in this world and a share in the world to come as well, and, besides, the redemption of Israel from the exile will take place as a recompense for his firm trust.¹⁰⁹

But though he believed the promise made him with a full and abiding faith, he yet desired to know by what merit of theirs his descendants would maintain themselves. Therefore God bade him

¹⁰⁸. BR 44. 8–12; Tehillim 2, 10, and 21, 179; 2 ARN 43, 122; Aggadat Shir 1. 5. The statement that God commanded Abraham not to rely on astrology is very frequently met with in rabbinic literature. Comp. Shabbat 150a; Nedarim 32a; Tan. Shofetim 11; PR 43, 179a; ShR 38. 6; BaR 2. 12; Aggadat Bereshit 28, 58, and 37, 73; see further Yoma 88b and Baba Batra 16a, as well as Philo, *Abraham*, 15 (in paraphrasing Gen. 15. 5 the expression *מאיצטגונות צא* found in the rabbinic sources mentioned above is employed here almost literally), *De Nobilitate*, 5 and *Quis rer. divin. haeres sit*, 20; Jub. 12. 16. PR 11, 45, and BaR 2. 14 explain Gen. 15. 5 in a different manner from that of the sources referred to, and in contrast to BR it is stated in DR 2. 7 that Abraham prayed to God to give him children.

¹⁰⁹. Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 15. 6; Mekilta Beshallah 6, 33b; Tan. Beshallah 10; Tan. B. II, 59; Shir 4. 8. Comp. next note. Against the Christian doctrine of justification by faith alone (Romans 4. 3) Zohar III, 148a, and Nahmanides on Gen. 15. 6 explain this verse as follows: And Abraham considered it as an act of grace.

bring Him a sacrifice of three heifers, three she-goats, three rams, a turtle dove, and a young pigeon, thus indicating to Abraham the various sacrifices that should once be brought in the Temple, to atone for the sins of Israel and further his welfare.¹¹⁰ “But what

¹¹⁰. BR 44. 14. Owing to the uncertainty of the meaning of the word *משלש*, Gen. 15. 9 (comp. *R.E.J.*, 31, 176, and *Monatsschrift*, 41, 109) the Targumim and Midrashim differ as to the number of sacrifices brought on this occasion by Abraham; comp. Onkelos and Targum Yerushalmi, *ad loc.*, as well as BR, *loc. cit.*; WR 3. 3; PRE 28. Opinions also differ with regard to the question whether or not lack of trust in God is implied in Abraham's words: “Whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it?” (Gen. 15. 8). The Church Fathers agree with the view favorable to Abraham given in our text in accordance with BR. Comp. Origen and Theodoretus, *ad loc.*, as well as Ephraim I, 64B–C, and Augustine, *Civitas Dei*, 16. 24. The Church Fathers are perhaps directly dependent on Philo, *Quis rer. divin. haeres sit*, 20, who remarks that he—Abraham—trusted God, but wished to know in what manner the promise made to him would be fulfilled. A somewhat different view is expressed by Philo in his *Quaestiones*, Gen. 2. 2. The view prevalent among the Rabbis is that Abraham is greatly to be blamed for his lack of trust in God. They even go further and assert that Israel's servitude in Egypt is the punishment for Abraham's sinful words; comp. Nedarim 32a; Tan. B. III, 79; Tan. Kedoshim 13; ER 13, 65, and EZ 2, 174; ShR 5. 22 and 30. 16; WR 11. 5; PRE 48; PR 47, 19021; Yelammedenu in Yalkut II, 819, on Psalm 78. Jerome, Is. 43. 27, accepts this view which, as may be seen from Yelammedenu, was known to the Tannaim. Shu'aib, Wa-Yesheb, 21, quotes an unknown Midrash to the effect that Abraham committed three sins: He emigrated from Palestine at the time of the famine (comp. note 66); he exposed Sarah to a great moral danger by stating that she was his sister; he further showed lack of trust in God by saying: “Whereby shall I

will become of my descendants,” asked Abraham, “after the Temple is destroyed?” God replied, and said, “If they read the order of sacrifices as they will be set down in the Scriptures, I will account it unto them as though they had offered the sacrifices, and I will forgive all their sins.”ⁱⁱⁱ And God continued and revealed to Abraham the course of Israel's history and the history of the whole world: The heifer of three years indicates the dominion of Babylon, the she-goat of three years stands for the

know, etc.” Comp. also vol. II, pp. 226 and 338, as well as vol. III, pp. 19, 89, and 480.

ⁱⁱⁱ. Megillah 31b; Ta'anit 27b; WR 7. 3; PK 6, 60b; somewhat different in Berakot 17a, where fasts take the place of sacrifices; Tan. Zaw 14 (additions); Yelammedenu in Yalkut II, 382 on Ezekiel 43 (almost identical with Tan. *loc. cit.*) and 321 on Jeremiah 33. Al- Barceloni, 159, quotes the following passage from the Midrash: God said to Abraham: Make thy children occupy themselves with the study of the Torah which will give them light in this world and in the world to come. Comp. also Zohar I, 100a. All these passages are a defence of Judaism against the attacks of the Christian polemical writers who maintain that after the destruction of the temple, Israel is no longer in possession of the means of atonement. The judge, who, in a controversy with a Jewish scholar, insisted that after the destruction of the temple Israel's sins can no longer be forgiven (second Yelammedenu passage) was undoubtedly a Christian. Comp. also Justin Martyr, *Dialogue*, 97, to whose polemics the remark in BaR 14. 4 (prayers take the place of sacrifice) seems to be a direct answer. See further Menahot 110a and PK 15, according to the reading of Makiri Malachi I. II. Rabban Johanan b. Zaccai, without any polemical or apologetical bias, remarks: We have something that secures atonement as much as the temple service, and this is loving-kindness (ARN 4, 21; *Ma'as. G.*, 133).

empire of the Greeks, the ram of three years for the Medo-Persian power, the rule of Ishmael is represented by the ram, and Israel is the innocent dove.

Abraham took him these animals and divided them in the {236} midst. Had he not done so, Israel would not have been able to resist the power of the four kingdoms. But the birds he divided not, to indicate that Israel will remain whole. And the birds of prey came down upon the carcasses, and Abraham drove them away. Thus was announced the advent of the Messiah, who will cut the heathen in pieces, but Abraham bade Messiah wait until the time appointed unto him.¹¹² And as the Messianic time was made known unto Abraham, so also the time of the resurrection of the dead. When he laid the halves of the pieces over against each other, the animals became alive again, as the bird flew over them.¹¹³

^{112.} BR 44. 14–22; PRE 28 (on the text comp. Tosafot Gen. 15. 10 *seq.*); Targum Yerushalmi Gen., *loc. cit.* In John 8. 56 and Acts 7. 7 it is presupposed that the course of Israel's history was revealed to Abraham on this occasion. Comp. also note 114.

^{113.} MHG I, 240, very likely from a version of PRE different from ours. Sa'adya Gaon was acquainted with a source similar to or identical with the one quoted in MHG; comp. Ginzberg's remarks in Geiger's *Kebuzat Maamarim* (edited by Poznanski), 414, and Davidson, *Saadia's Polemic against Hiwi*, 64. The reviving of animals is also mentioned in another Abraham legend (Testament of Abraham A 6) and in Christian legends, comp. e. g. *Acts of Pilate* 2 (MS. C.). In midrashic fashion this legend in MHG is derived from וישב (Gen. 15. 11), which is read as if its object were

While he was preparing these sacrifices, a vision of great import was granted to Abraham. The sun sank, and a deep sleep fell upon him, and he beheld a smoking furnace, Gehenna, the furnace that God prepares for the sinner; and he beheld a flaming torch, the revelation on Sinai, where all the people saw flaming torches; and he beheld the sacrifices to be brought by Israel; and an horror of great darkness fell upon him, the dominion of the four kingdoms. And God spake to him: "Abraham, as long as thy children fulfil the two duties of studying the Torah and performing the service in the Temple, the two visitations, Gehenna and alien rule, will be spared them. But if they neglect the two duties, they will have to suffer the two chastisements; only thou mayest choose whether they shall be punished by means of Gehenna or by means of the dominion of the stranger." All the day long Abraham wavered, until God called unto him: "How long wilt thou halt between two opinions? Decide for one of the two, and let it be for the dominion of the stranger!" Then God made known to him the four hundred {²³⁷} years' bondage of Israel in Egypt, reckoning from the birth of Isaac, for unto Abraham himself was the promise given that he should go to his fathers in peace, and feel naught of the arrogance of the stranger oppressor. At the same time, it was made known to Abraham that his father Terah would have a share in the world to come, for he had done penance for his sinful deeds. Furthermore it was revealed to him

פגרים, hence "and he made them fly." Another explanation of this word is "and he made them repent"; comp. BR, *loc. cit.*, 15, and Ephraim I, 64 B-C.

that his son Ishmael would turn into the path of righteousness while yet his father was alive, and his grandson Esau would not begin his impious way of life until he himself had passed away. And as he received the promise of their deliverance together with the announcement of the slavery of his seed, in a land not theirs, so it was made known to him that God would judge the four kingdoms and destroy them.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ BR 44. 21 and 49. 2; Mekilta ba-Hodesh 9, 71b; ShR 51.7; Tan. B. II, 130; Tan. Pekude 5 and 8; PK 5, 42b; PR 15, 67a; Tehillim 38, 254, and 52, 286; Targumim Yerushalmi Gen. 15. 17; Midrash Tannaim 84; Zohar III, 299; Hadar, 6b; Apocalypse of Baruch 4. 4, God showed Abraham the paradise at night between the pieces of the slain animals. 4 Ezra 3. 15 says: Thou revealedst to him — Abraham — the end of the times secretly by night; comp. note 112. On the explanation of the “smoking furnace” as Gehenna comp. Revelation 9. 2; 4 Ezra 7. 3; 12 Testaments, Joseph 2. 2 (but, perhaps, a false rendering of Hebrew אש [ה] בערת “a foolish woman” as אש בערת “burning fire”); Kiddushin 40a and 81b. Philo, *Quaestiones*, Gen. 3. 15, sees in the smoking furnace the heavenly fire which came down to consume the sacrifices. In agreement with the Rabbis Theodoretus, *ad loc.*, considers the flaming torch an allusion to the revelation on Sinai. The most detailed description of the vision at the “covenant between the pieces” is that of the Apocalypse of Abraham, the main part of which (1–32) is a Midrash on Gen. 15. 9–14, with pronounced gnostic features. The archangel Jaoel (= יהואל, the chief of the Seraphim in Masseket Azilut 21) leads Abraham to the highest heaven and shows him the glory of God reigning there. Clad in the garment of glory (comp. note 93 on vol. I, p. 80), Abraham becomes like “one of the glorified beings and takes part in the song of praise chanted by them in heaven to God.” After Abraham has been shown the heavens

and all that they contain, the angel Jaoel points out to him, from the heights of the heavens, the stars and the entire earth (similarly BR 44. 12 and parallel passages given by Theodor) with all that it contains, the abyss with its tortures (that is Gehenna), paradise with the joys of the pious, as well as the leviathan and its abode. At the same time the angel reveals to Abraham the course of human history in the present aeon (comp. BR 44. 22, where two views are given; according to one, God showed him only this world, while according to the other also the world to come was shown to him; comp. Ginzberg, *Journal of Bibl. Soc.*, 1922 p. 133) from the fall of Adam to the advent of the Messiah. Peculiar to this book is the interpretation that the smoking furnace refers to Azazel= Satan, who attempted to lead Abraham astray. From chapter 12 we infer that this interpretation is partly based on the explanation that עֵשָׂו (Gen. 15. 11) means “counsellor” (=seducer), and accordingly, it may be safely assumed that this pseudepigraph is of Semitic—Hebrew or Aramaic—origin. Comp. Ginzberg in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s. v. “Abraham, Apocalypse of.” On the 400 years of the Egyptian servitude, comp. II, p. 318, and note 124 referring to it. On Terah comp. BR 39. 7 (he died as a sinner), 30. 4, and 38. 12; Tan. B. II, 9; Tan. Shemot 18; ShR 2. 6; Ruth R. (end); Zohar I, 77b and 78b; Midrash Aggada 2. 6; Bahya on Gen. 11. 32; see further notes 45, 47, and 54, as well as vol. II, p. 314; vol. IV, pp. 264 and 281. On Ishmael, comp. sources referred to in connection with Terah, and further 2 ARN 27, 54; Baba Batra 16b; ER 13, 65 (Friedmann’s explanation of this passage is faulty, as may be seen from EZ 2, 174, which passage makes it quite clear as to what is meant by the honor shown by Ishmael to his father); comp. also Hashkem, 3a–4a, where, in contrast to the views of the older sources (comp. Schechter on ARN, *ad loc.*), it is maintained that pious children sometimes save their wicked parents from Gehenna.

THE BIRTH OF ISHMAEL

The covenant of the pieces, whereby the fortunes of his descendants were revealed to Abraham, was made at a time when he was still childless.¹¹⁵ As long as Abraham and Sarah dwelt outside of the Holy Land, they looked upon their childlessness as a punishment for not abiding within it. But when a ten years' sojourn in Palestine found her barren as before, Sarah perceived that the fault lay with her.¹¹⁶ Without a trace of jealousy she was

^{115.} According to Seder 'Olam and BR 39. 7 (see the parallel passages given by Ratner and Theodor), God made this covenant with Abraham when the latter was seventy years old. He then returned from Palestine to Haran, where he remained for five years until he settled permanently in the Holy Land. The war with the kings took place in the year when he returned to Palestine, and ten years later he married Hagar. The Apocalypse of Abraham is also of the opinion that the "covenant between the pieces" took place at the very beginning of Abraham's career, when he separated himself from his kinsfolk. Nedarim 32a, BR 44. 5, and in many other sources (comp. those referred to in note 102) give a different view, according to which this covenant took place after the war against the kings; this latter opinion, based on the order in which the events are narrated in the Bible, is also shared by Jub. 13. 17-14. 1. The covenant took place on the first night of Passover; see PRE 28; *Panim Aherim*, 74; PR, 196b (Friedmann's explanation, *ad loc.*, is untenable, as the parallel passages, just quoted, show); but according to Jub. 14. 1, it was on the new moon of the third month, *i. e.* Siwan, the month in which the revelation at Sinai occurred. Comp. note 76.

^{116.} Yebamot, Tosefta 8. 4; Yerushalmi 6, 7c, and Babli 64a; BR 45. 2-3. The Haggadah assigns a number of causes for "the sterility of the mothers." The most favored explanation is that God in His love tried the

ready to give her slave Hagar to Abraham as wife,¹¹⁷ first making her a freed woman.¹¹⁸ For Hagar was Sarah's property, not her husband's. She had received her from Pharaoh, the father of Hagar. Taught and bred by Sarah, she walked in the same path of righteousness as her mistress,¹¹⁹ and thus was a suitable

pious fathers, in order that they, in their suffering, should pray to Him for help. Comp. BR 45. 4; Shir 2. 14; Tan. Toledot 9 and Wa-Yeze 7; Yebamot 64a; ER 18, 99. In later mysticism the doctrine that God "desires" the prayers of the pious plays an important part; this conception, however, is very old; comp. Hullin 60b. According to ER, *loc. cit.*, Abraham and Sarah were married for 75 years before the birth of Isaac; comp. also the preceding note.

¹¹⁷. MHG I, 241, 242. Here also we have the statement that a childless woman is able to tell whether she or her husband is the cause of sterility, and accordingly Sarah knew that Abraham would beget children with another wife. In BR 45. 2 the sentence 'קבוע וכו' was entirely misunderstood and therefore corrupted in the editions and MSS.; it is to be translated: I know that it is my fault that we have no issue and not as they say: She—the childless woman—needs only a cup of *meon* (meum athamaticum) to be cured. קבוע or perhaps קובע is the masculine of biblical קבעת; comp. the phrase כוס של עקרים very often found in rabbinic literature. That *meon* is a cure for barrenness does not seem to be known to any other source. According to BR 25. 1, Sarah's barrenness was due to pathological defects—she had no womb.

¹¹⁸. BR 45. 6; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 16. 3.

¹¹⁹. BR 45. 2; Yashar Lek, 34a; Yerushalmi Targumim Gen. 16. 3. On Hagar, the daughter of Pharaoh, comp. above, note 74. The statement of Targum Yerushalmi that Nimrod was the father of this Pharaoh is not found elsewhere, and, on account of its strangeness, 2 Targum Yerushalmi saw it advisable to modify it. We ought, perhaps, to read ולבר

companion for Abraham, and, instructed by the holy spirit, he acceded to Sarah's proposal. {238}

No sooner had Hagar's union with Abraham been consummated, and she felt that she was with child, than she began to treat her former mistress contemptuously, though Sarah was particularly tender toward her in the state in which she was. When noble matrons came to see Sarah, she was in the habit of urging them to pay a visit to "poor Hagar," too. The dames would comply with her suggestion, but Hagar would use the opportunity to disparage Sarah. "My lady Sarah," she would say, "is not inwardly what she appears to be outwardly. She makes the impression of a righteous, pious woman, but she is not, for if she were, how could her childlessness be explained after so many years of marriage, while I became pregnant at once?"

Sarah scorned to bicker with her slave, yet the rage she felt found vent in these words to Abraham:¹²⁰ "It is thou who art doing

or ולעבד, *i. e.*, Eliezer who is said to have been a slave (son?) of Nimrod; comp. above, note 41. On the piety of Hagar see also BR 61. 4 and Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 42.

¹²⁰. BR 45. 2-4; Yashar Lek, 34a. Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 43, quotes the View of "thorough exegetes", according to which Abraham abstained from having any conjugal relations with Hagar as soon as she became pregnant; this was due to his natural abstemiousness and to his respect for Sarah. The statement מביאה הראשונה עיברה that Hagar became pregnant on the bridal night (BR 45. 4), very likely implies this view. Comp. also vol. I, p. 298, where it is stated that Abraham remarried Hagar after Sarah's death. Comp. MHG. I, 244.

me wrong. Thou hearest the words of Hagar, and thou sayest naught to oppose them, and I hoped that thou wouldst take my part. For thy sake did I leave my native land and the house of my father, and I followed thee into a strange land with trust in God. In Egypt I pretended to be thy sister, that no harm might befall thee. When I saw that I should bear no children, I took the Egyptian woman, my slave Hagar, and gave her unto thee for wife, contenting myself with the thought that I would rear the children she would bear. Now she treats me disdainfully in thy presence. O that God might look upon the injustice which hath been done unto me, to judge between thee and me, and have mercy upon us, restore peace to our home, and grant us offspring, that we have no need of children from Hagar, the Egyptian bondwoman of the generation of the heathen that cast thee in the fiery furnace!"¹²¹
{²³⁹}

Abraham, modest and unassuming as he was, was ready to do justice to Sarah, and he conferred full power upon her to dispose of Hagar according to her pleasure. He added but one caution, "Having once made her a mistress, we cannot again reduce her to the state of a bondwoman." Unmindful of this warning, Sarah exacted the services of a slave from Hagar. Not alone this, she tormented her, and finally she cast an evil eye upon her, so that

^{121.} Yerushalmi Targumim Gen. 16. 5 (comp. note 119); a different view is given in Yashar Lek, 34, according to which Sarah blamed Abraham for not having specified, when praying to God for children, that the children should be the offspring of his marriage with her. Had the prayer been formulated in this manner, God would have granted it.

the unborn child dropped from her, and she ran away. On her flight she was met by several angels, and they bade her return, at the same time making known to her that she would bear a son who should be called Ishmael—one of the six men who have been given a name by God before their birth, the others being Isaac, Moses, Solomon, Josiah, and the Messiah.¹²²

^{122.} BR 45. 5–8. On the expression *דליים ובנריות* employed here, comp. 'Erubin 27b and parallel passages on margin, as well as Kiddushin 22b. According to these sources, only slaves attend on a person in the bath-room, and Sarah, by making Hagar attend on her while bathing, wanted to show her that she was still a bondwoman; comp. also Mishle 26. 99. Opinions differ as to the number of angels that appeared to Hagar; comp. BR 45. 7 (five or four) and 'Arakin 17b (only three). On the pious who received their names from God, comp. Mekilta Bo 16, 19; BR, *loc. cit.*; PRE 32; Pirke Rabbenu ha-Kadosh, ed. Grünhut 35; Tan. B. I, 21, 22; Yerushalmi Berakot, 1, 4a. The name of Isaac was never changed, because it had been given by God, whereas the names of his father and son (Jacob-Israel) were changed. With regard to Abraham, it is maintained that it is unlawful to call him by his original name, Abram; comp. Berakot, *loc. cit.*, and Babli 12b; another view is offered by Philo, *De Mut. Nomin.* 13, 14. The Haggadah has a good deal to tell us about the meaning of the names Abram and Abraham and about the reason for changing the former into the latter. Abram means "The father of Aram", whereas Abraham denotes "The father of nations", *i. e.*, Ab (אב) = father, and Ham (הם = המון, while ר is disregarded) = "nations". Comp. Berakot, Tosefta 1. 13, and Babli 13a; Shabbat 105a (each letter of the name Abram is explained); BR 46. 7. Many explanations of the change of the names Abram and Sarai are given by Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 18; *De Mut. Nom.*, 8, 9; *Cherubim*, 2; *De Gigant.* 14, 15; *Quaestiones*, Gen., *ad loc.* The change of

Thirteen years after the birth of Ishmael the command was issued to Abraham that he put the sign of the covenant upon his body and upon the bodies of the male members of his household. Abraham was reluctant at first to do the bidding of God, for he feared that the circumcision of his flesh would raise a barrier between himself and the rest of mankind. But God said unto him, "Let it suffice thee that I am thy God and thy Lord, as it sufficeth the world that I am its God and its Lord."¹²³

Abraham then consulted with his three true friends, Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre, regarding the command of the circumcision. The first one spoke, and said, "Thou art nigh unto a hundred years old, and thou considerest inflicting such pain upon thyself?" The advice of the second was also against it. "What," said Eshcol, "thou chooseth to mark thyself so that thy enemies may recognize

names brought about a change in the fortunes of Abraham and Sarah: it had been decreed that Abram should have no offspring, but this did not apply to Abraham. Comp. Rosh ha-Shanah 16b (this is explained rationalistically by Maimonides, *Yad*, *Teshubah*, 2. 4); BR 4. 10 and the numerous parallel passages given by Theodor. A different view is found in Mekilta Yitro I, 57a, and Mekilta RS, 85, where it is stated that the lengthening of a name is a mark of honor, while its shortening is a sign of degradation. Abraham, "the father of nations", is really the father of proselytes; comp. Matthew 3. 9; Yerushalmi Bikkurim 1, 64a; see also Ginzberg, *Unbekannte Sekte*, note 3 on page 124. The numerical value of the word Abraham (אברהם=248) corresponds to the number of the members of the human body; by being circumcised he became master of his entire body, and from that time on he was called Abraham (Nedarim 32b).

¹²³. BR 46. 3; Tan. B. I, 80; Tan. Lek 19.

thee without fail?" {240} Mamre, the third, was the only one to advise obedience to the command of God. "God succored thee from the fiery furnace," he said, "He helped thee in the combat with the kings, He provided for thee during the famine, and thou dost hesitate to execute His behest concerning the circumcision?"¹²⁴ Accordingly, Abraham did as God had commanded, in bright daylight, bidding defiance to all, that none might say, "Had we seen him attempt it, we should have prevented him."¹²⁵

The circumcision was performed on the tenth day of Tishri, the Day of Atonement, and upon the spot on which the altar was later to be erected in the Temple, for the act of Abraham remains a never-ceasing atonement for Israel.¹²⁶

^{124.} BR 41 [42]. 8; Tan. Wa-Yera 3; Aggadat Bereshit 19. 39; *Huppah Eliyyahu*, 15; comp. Ginzberg in *Hazofeh*, IV, 31. Mamre was rewarded for giving Abraham pious advice, as it was in Mamre's field that God appeared to Abraham (Gen. 18. 1). The legend sees no difficulty in the fact that Abraham consulted men concerning the fulfilling of a command given by God; but to later authorities it was incomprehensible that Abraham could for a moment hesitate in complying with a divine order, and they therefore attempted to invest this legend with a meaning which is entirely foreign to it; comp. *Hadar* and *Da'at* on Gen. 18. 1; and see also Zohar 1, 98b.

^{125.} BR 22. 8 and 48. 9; PRE 28; see also Sifre D., 339.

^{126.} PRE 28. In the older sources the thirteenth or fifteenth of Nisan is the day on which Abraham's circumcision took place; comp. BR 48. 12 and the parallel passages given by Theodor, as well as Beer, *Leben*

THE VISIT OF THE ANGELS

On the third day after his circumcision, when Abraham was suffering dire pain,¹²⁷ God spoke to the angels, saying, "Go to, let us pay a visit to the sick." The angels refused, and said: "What is man, that Thou art mindful of him? And the son of man, that Thou visitest him? And Thou desirest to betake Thyself to a place of uncleanness, a place of blood and filth?" But God replied unto them, "Thus do ye speak. As ye live, the savor of this blood is sweeter to me than myrrh and incense, and if you do not desire to

Abrahams, note 361. According to PRE, *loc. cit.* (comp. Luria, *ad loc.*), the operation was performed by Shem; but another view has it that Abraham circumcised himself with the assistance of God; comp. Tan. B. I, 80; Aggadat Bereshit 16, 35; and, as a later addition, BR 49. 2. Al-Barceloni, 58, quotes the last view from Yerushalmi (Palestinian Midrash?). According to Tan. Lek 17, the foreskin was removed by the bite of a scorpion. When giving Abraham the command of circumcision, God only hinted at the part of the body on which it should be performed; Abraham, however, on the basis of logical reasoning, drew the correct conclusion. Comp. BR 46. 4; Tan. B. 81; Tan. Lek 18, and see also Tosefta Shabbat 15. 9 and Babli 108a; WR 25. 6. Hadas's quotation (Eshkol, No. 82, 36a), from a Midrash, concerning that point is not found in the extant midrashic literature, and is perhaps a Karaitic fabrication. Opinions differ as to whether Abraham, along with the command of circumcision, received also that of פריעה (the uncovering of the corona) or not. Comp. BR 46. 12 and parallel sources given by Theodor; but in Yebamot 71b it is stated that פריעה was first introduced by Joshua.

¹²⁷. PRE 29; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 18. 1; Tan. Wa-Yera 2; Baba Mezi'a 86b.

The Legends of the Jews

visit Abraham, I will go alone.”¹²⁸

The day whereon God visited him was exceedingly hot, for He had bored a hole in hell, so that its heat might reach as far as the earth, and no wayfarer venture abroad on the highways, and Abraham be left undisturbed in his pain.¹²⁹ {241} But the absence of strangers caused Abraham great vexation, and he sent his servant Eliezer forth to keep a lookout for travellers. When the servant returned from his fruitless search, Abraham himself, in spite of his illness and the scorching heat, prepared to go forth on the highway and see whether he would not succeed where failure had attended Eliezer, whom he did not wholly trust at any rate, bearing in mind the well-known saying, “No truth among slaves.”¹³⁰ At this moment God appeared to him, surrounded by the angels. Quickly Abraham attempted to rise from his seat, but God checked every demonstration of respect, and when Abraham protested that it was unbecoming to sit in the presence of the Lord, God said, “As thou livest, thy descendants at the age of four and five will sit in days to come in the schools and in the synagogues while I reside therein.”¹³¹

¹²⁸. Tan. B. I, 85; Tan. Wa-Yera 2; Aggadat Bereshit 19; Tan. B. I, 84.

¹²⁹. Baba Mezi'a 86b; BR 48. 8; Tan. B. I, 85; Tan. Wa-Yera 3; PRE 29.

¹³⁰. Baba Mezi'a 86b; BR 48. 8, 9. Abraham feared lest travellers should no longer make use of his hospitality because he had separated himself from the rest of the world through the sign of the covenant.

¹³¹. Tan. Wa-Yera 2 and Ki-Tissa 15; Tan. B. I, 86 and 177, BR 48. 1; ShR 41. 4; Aggadat Bereshit 19. 39; Tehillim 18, 156. An allusion to this

Meantime Abraham beheld three men. They were the angels Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael. They had assumed the form of human beings to fulfil his wish for guests toward whom to exercise hospitality. Each of them had been charged by God with a special mission, besides, to be executed on earth. Raphael was to heal the wound of Abraham, Michael was to bring Sarah the glad tidings that she would bear a son, and Gabriel was to deal destruction to Sodom and Gomorrah. Arrived at the tent of Abraham, the three angels noticed that he was occupied in nursing himself, and they withdrew.¹³² Abraham, however, hastened after them through another door of the tent, which had wide open entrances on all sides.¹³³ He considered the duty of hospitality more important than the duty of receiving the {²⁴²} Shekinah. Turning to God, he said, "O Lord, may it please Thee not to leave Thy servant while he provides for the entertainment of his guests."¹³⁴ Then he addressed himself to the stranger

legend is to be found in the remark of Yerushalmi Rosh ha-Shanah I, 573., (top): God said: I was the first to observe the command of standing up before an old man (Lev. 19. 32); the old man is Abraham. Comp. also PR 15, 72a. In PRE 29 it is said that as long as Abraham was uncircumcised he was unable to stand erect in the presence of the divine Glory; comp. note 43 on vol. IV, p. 146.

^{132.} Baba Mezi'a 86b; BR 50. 2; Yerushalmi Targumim Gen. 18. 2. Justin Martyr, *Dialogue*, 56, also refers to this Haggadah; comp. also Kallah 6, 13b. Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 11. 2, speaks of the three angels who appeared to Abraham, but he does not give their names.

^{133.} BR 48. 9; comp. vol. I, p. 270.

^{134.} Shabbat 127a. MHG I, 267, quotes the following passage from an

walking in the middle between the other two, whom by this token he considered the most distinguished,—it was the archangel Michael—and he bade him and his companions turn aside into his tent. The manner of his guests, who treated one another politely, made a good impression upon Abraham. He was assured that they were men of worth whom he was entertaining.¹³⁵ But as they appeared outwardly like Arabs, and the people worshipped the dust of their feet, he bade them first wash their feet, that they might not defile his tent.¹³⁶

He did not depend upon his own judgment in reading the character of his guests. By his tent a tree was planted, which spread its branches out over all who believed in God, and afforded them shade. But if idolaters went under the tree, the branches turned upward, and cast no shade upon the ground. Whenever Abraham saw this sign, he would at once set about the task of converting the worshippers of the false gods. And as the tree

unknown Midrash: He who receives his fellow-man kindly is regarded as though he had received the Shekinah, and accordingly in Mekilta Yitro I, 59a, we ought to read חבירו with MS, instead of חכמים of the editions. The Church Fathers quote an almost identical proverb from the Bible! Comp. Tertullian, *De Oratione*, 26.

¹³⁵ BR 48. 9–10; DE. 4; Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 22 and 25.

¹³⁶ Baba Mezi'a 86b, with the additional remark that because Abraham suspected the strangers in this manner, his descendants, the Ishmaelites (=the Arabs), as a punishment, practice this kind of idolatry. BR 48. 9: One of the angels appeared disguised as a Saracen, the second as a Nabatean, and the third as an Arab.

made a distinction between the pious and the impious, so also between the clean and the unclean. Its shade was denied them as long as they refrained from taking the prescribed ritual bath in the spring that flowed out from its roots, the waters of which rose at once for those whose uncleanness was of a venial character and could be removed forthwith, while others had to wait seven days for the water to come up. Accordingly, Abraham bade the three men lean against the trunk of the tree. Thus he would soon learn their worth or their unworthiness.¹³⁷ {243}

Being of the truly pious, “who promise little, but perform much,”¹³⁸ Abraham said only: “I will fetch a morsel of bread, and

¹³⁷ Zohar I, 102b, and thence by Sabba, Wa-Yera, 18b, without giving his source. The tamarisk of Abraham (Gen. 21. 33) came to him from paradise; see *Ba'al ha-Turim*, Gen. 9. 20. The oak (?) of Abraham formed a subject for popular fancy as early as the time of Josephus (comp. *Bell.* IV, 9. 7, and *Antiqui.* I. 10), the belief having been prevalent that it was created at the beginning of the world. Yerahmeel 35. 5 quotes from Josippon that the oak of Abraham in the plain of Mamre existed until the reign of Theodosius, when it withered. Yet even then whoever took of its wood did not experience illness until the day of his death. Comp. also Jepp, *Jerusalem und das heilige Land*, I, 611–622, as well as *Palestine Exploration Fund* (Quarterly Statement, 1899, 39, 40).

¹³⁸ Baba Mezi'a 87a; Nedarim 21b; Tan. Wa-Yera 4; ARN 13, 57. In these Midrashim, as well as in BR 48. 10, it is shown in detail how God's kind acts towards Abraham's descendants corresponded exactly to Abraham's kind acts towards the three travellers. “Measure for measure” (comp. note 44 on vol. I, p. 163, and vol. II, p. 341 seq.) is God's guiding rule for reward and punishment; comp. 2 ARN 23, 47; ER 12, 59, 60, and Tosefta Sotah 4 (end).

comfort ye your heart, seeing that ye chanced to pass my tent at dinner time. Then, after ye have given thanks to God, ye may pass on.”¹³⁹ But when the meal was served to the guests, it was a royal banquet, exceeding Solomon’s at the time of his most splendid magnificence. Abraham himself ran unto the herd, to fetch cattle for meat. He slaughtered three calves, that he might be able to set a “tongue with mustard” before each of his guests.¹⁴⁰ In order to accustom Ishmael to God-pleasing deeds, he had him dress the calves,¹⁴¹ and he bade Sarah bake the bread. But as he knew that women are apt to treat guests niggardly, he was explicit in his

¹³⁹. Targum Yerushalmi, Gen. 18. 5; comp. I, 271.

¹⁴⁰. Baba Mezi’a 86b; BR 48. 12-14; ARN 13, 57; Tan. Wa-Yera 4. Philo, *Quaestiones*, Gen. 4. 10, likewise dwells upon the lavish hospitality of Abraham, who, though possessing many slaves, prepared the meal himself for his guests. The old sources admit that, though Abraham observed the Torah before it had been revealed (comp. note 275), he nevertheless served meat and milk to the travellers, despite the later prohibition of this kind of food. Later, when the angels protested against the presentation of the Torah to Israel, requesting God to give it to them, (comp. vol. III, pp. 109—114, and note 248 appertaining to them) they had to admit that as Abraham’s guests they partook of the forbidden food. Comp. PR 25, 128a–128b; Tehillim 8. 75. Later authorities maintain, on the contrary, that Abraham, in strict conformity to the commandments of the Torah, served first milk and then meat; comp. *Da’at* and *Sekol Tob* on Gen. 18. 8. Ziyroni, Exod. 24. 21, quotes from the Midrash a statement bearing upon this point which is not found in the extant midrashic literature; comp. also Yashar Wa-Yera, 35b.

¹⁴¹. BR 48. 13; ARN 13, 57.

request to her. He said, "Make ready quickly three measures of meal, yea, fine meal." As it happened, the bread was not brought to the table, because it had accidentally become unclean, and our father Abraham was accustomed to eat his daily bread only in a clean state.¹⁴² Abraham himself served his guests, and it appeared to him that the three men ate. But this was an illusion. In reality the angels did not eat,¹⁴³ only Abraham, his three friends, Aner,

¹⁴² Baba Mezi'a 87a; BR 48. 14; PRE 26; Tan. Wa-Yera 13. The defilement of the bread was caused by Sarah (comp. Gen. 18. 12) who busied herself with the kneading of the dough. Astruc (*Midreshe ha-Torah*, 25) quotes from an unknown Midrash the statement that instead of the fresh bread prepared by Sarah stale bread was served. On the uncomplimentary remark about the niggardliness of women, see also vol. IV, p. 242.

¹⁴³ Baba Mezi'a 86b; BR 48. 11 and 14 (paraphrased in MHG I, 269); Josephus, *Antiqui.* I, 11. 2; Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 23; Targum Yerushalmi, Gen. 18. 8; Justin Martyr, *Dialogue*, 57; Theodoretus, *Gen. loc. cit.*, and many other Church Fathers. Comp. Ginzberg, *Haggadah*

bei den. Kircheng. 108. The old view was that angels may sometimes partake of food, and that they subsist on manna; comp. R. Akiba's explanation (Yoma 75b) of Ps. 78. 85, which agrees with the Septuagint, where לֶחֶם אֱבִירִים is rendered by ἄρτον ἀγγέλων; Tobit 12. 19 (comp. Müller, *Beiträge, ad loc.*); ER 12, 59 and the legends, vol. III, p. 142 and vol. IV, p. 147, as well as Zohar I, 102a, 104a, and 144a. Sa'adya in his *Polemic against Hiwi*, is very severe on those who maintain that angels partake of food. The omission of the visit of the angels in Jub. is very likely due to the strong anthropomorphic coloring of the biblical narrative in Gen. 18. 1-10. In many rabbinic passages the statement occurs that the angels subsist on the glory of the Shekinah; comp. PK 6, 57a (also with regard to Moses during his stay in heaven, 18, 173b); PR

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Eshcol, and Mamre, and his son Ishmael partook of the banquet, and the portions set before the angels were devoured by a heavenly fire.¹⁴⁴

Although the angels remained angels even in their human disguise, nevertheless the personality of Abraham was so exalted that in his presence the archangels felt insignificant.¹⁴⁵

After the meal the angels asked after Sarah, though they knew that she was in retirement in her tent, but it was {244} proper for them to pay their respects to the lady of the house and send her the cup of wine over which the blessing had been said.¹⁴⁶ Michael, the greatest of the angels, thereupon announced the birth of Isaac. He drew a line upon the wall, saying, "When the sun crosses this point, Sarah will be with child, and when he crosses the next point, she will give birth to a child." This communication, which

16, 80a; Tan. Pinehas 12; BaR 21. 16. The last-mentioned source 10. 5 reads: The angels who visited Abraham partook of the food offered to them; but not the one who visited Manoah. Koran 11. 73 gives a clumsy representation of the view prevalent in Jewish sources concerning these three angels.

¹⁴⁴ MHG I, 272; *Da'at* and *Ziyyoni* Gen. 18. 8; comp. also the extract from Testament of Abraham, given in vol. I, p. 303, where it is likewise said that a fire devoured the food; this view is very likely shared by Sa'adya in the passages quoted in the preceding note. Jud. 13. 16 probably gave rise to this view; comp. preceding note towards the end.

¹⁴⁵ BR 48. 19.

¹⁴⁶ Baba Mezi'a 87a; with reference to the dots over אֱלִי (Gen. 18. 9), comp. BR 48. 15, and the numerous parallel passages given by Theodor.

was intended for Sarah and not for Abraham, to whom the promise had been revealed long before,¹⁴⁷ the angels made at the entrance to her tent, but Ishmael stood between the angel and Sarah, for it would not have been seemly to deliver the message in secret, with none other by. Yet, so radiant was the beauty of Sarah that a beam of it struck the angel, and made him look up. In the act of turning toward her, he heard her laugh within herself:¹⁴⁸ “Is it possible that these bowels can yet bring forth a child, these shrivelled breasts give suck? And though I should be able to bear, yet is not my lord Abraham old?”¹⁴⁹

And the Lord said unto Abraham: “Am I too old to do wonders? And wherefore doth Sarah laugh, saying, Shall I of a surety bear a child, which am old?”¹⁵⁰ The reproach made by God was directed against Abraham as well as against Sarah, for he, too, had showed himself of little faith when he was told that a son would be born unto him. But God mentioned only Sarah’s incredulity, leaving Abraham to become conscious of his defect himself.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷. Baba Mezi’a 86b (comp. note 132); MHG I, 274; Tan. B. I, 107; Tan. Wa-Yera 13; PR 6, 24b, and the numerous parallel passages given by Friedmann, *ad loc.* The angel’s promise to return (Gen. 18. 10) refers to his presence at the ‘Akedah; see Pardes 22d.

¹⁴⁸. BR 48. 16; Yerushalmi Targumim, Gen. 18. 10.

¹⁴⁹. Tan. Shofetim 18; comp. also BR 48. 17.

¹⁵⁰. BR 48. 17. These words were spoken by God Himself, and not by the angels who know not the thoughts of man; see *Sekel Tob* 27. Zohar I. 101b limits the knowledge of angels still more, and from this point of view explains the question of the angels about Sarah; comp. Gen. 19. 8–9. See also the sources referred to in note 146.

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Regardful of the peace of their family life, God had not repeated Sarah's words accurately to Abraham. Abraham might have taken amiss what his wife had said about his advanced years, and so precious is the peace between husband {²⁴⁵} and wife that even the Holy One, blessed be He, preserved it at the expense of truth.¹⁵²

After Abraham had entertained his guests, he went with them to bring them on their way, for, important as the duty of hospitality is, the duty of speeding the parting guest is even more important.¹⁵³ Their way lay in the direction of Sodom, whither two of the angels were going, the one to destroy it, and the second to save Lot, while the third, his errand to Abraham fulfilled, returned

¹⁵¹. MHG I, 276; a different view is given by Philo, *Quaestiones*, Gen. 4. 17: Abraham rejoiced over the good tidings (he thus renders ויצחק, Gen. 17. 17), whereas Sarah laughed at them because she did not believe them. As a punishment for her lack of faith in the message brought by the angels concerning the birth of Isaac, her death was caused by the message that Isaac was sacrificed by his father (comp. vol. I, p. 287); see *Hasidim*, 80. Women are disqualified from appearing in court as witnesses (Baba Kamma 1. 3; Josephus, *Antiqui.*, IV, 8. 15; Evangel of Nicodemus 7), because they are of a mendacious nature, for even one of the best of them, Sarah, attempted to tell an untruth; see Yelammedenu in supplement to Yalkut=BHM VI, 80 and MHG I, 276.

¹⁵². BR 48. 18; Sifre N. 42; Yerushalmi Peah 1, 16a; Yebamot 65b; WR 9. 9; BaR 11. 7; Tan. B. III, 6. 18; Tan. Zaw 7 and Shofetim 18; *Perek ha-Shalom*.

¹⁵³. MHG I, 276; comp. Schechter, *ad loc.*

to heaven.¹⁵⁴

THE CITIES OF SIN

The inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah and the three other cities of the plain were sinful and godless. In their country there was an extensive vale, where they foregathered annually with their wives and their children and all belonging to them, to celebrate a feast lasting several days and consisting of the most revolting orgies. If a stranger merchant passed through their territory, he was besieged by them all, big and little alike, and robbed of whatever he possessed. Each one appropriated a bagatelle, until the traveller was stripped bare. If the victim ventured to remonstrate with one or another, he would show him that he had taken a mere trifle, not worth talking about. And the end was that they hounded him from the city.

Once upon a time it happened that a man journeying from Elam arrived in Sodom toward evening. No one could be found to grant him shelter for the night. Finally a sly fox named Hedor invited him cordially to follow him to his house. The Sodomite had been attracted by a rarely magnificent carpet, strapped to the stranger's ass by means of a {²⁴⁶} rope. He meant to secure it for

¹⁵⁴ BR 50. 2; Baba Mezi'a 86b; Tan. B. I, 96. An angel attends to one task only, and accordingly three angels had to be sent: Michael to bring the glad tidings of Isaac's birth, Gabriel to destroy the sinful cities, and Raphael to save Lot. Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 28, is acquainted with a similar Haggadah; comp vol. I, p. 241, and the sources referred to in note 132.

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himself. The friendly persuasions of Hedor induced the stranger to remain with him two days, though he had expected to stay only overnight. When the time came for him to continue on his journey, he asked his host for the carpet and the rope. Hedor said: "Thou hast dreamed a dream, and this is the interpretation of thy dream: the rope signifies that thou wilt have a long life, as long as a rope; the varicolored carpet indicates that thou wilt own an orchard wherein thou wilt plant all sorts of fruit trees." The stranger insisted that his carpet was a reality, not a dream fancy, and he continued to demand its return. Not only did Hedor deny having taken anything from his guest, he even insisted upon pay for having interpreted his dream to him. His usual price for such services, he said, was four silver pieces, but in view of the fact that he was his guest, he would, as a favor to him, content himself with three pieces of silver.

After much wrangling, they put their case before one of the judges of Sodom, Sherek by name, and he said to the plaintiff, "Hedor is known in this city as a trustworthy interpreter of dreams, and what he tells thee is true." The stranger declared himself not satisfied with the verdict, and continued to urge his side of the case. Then Sherek drove both the plaintiff and the defendant from the court room. Seeing this, the inhabitants gathered together and chased the stranger from the city, and lamenting the loss of his carpet, he had to pursue his way.

As Sodom had a judge worthy of itself, so also had the other cities — Sharkar in Gomorrah, Zabnak in Admah, and Manon in Zeboiim. Eliezer, the bondman of Abraham, made {²⁴⁷} slight changes in the names of these judges, in accordance with the

nature of what they did: the first he called Shakkara, Liar; the second Shakrura, Arch-deceiver; the third Kazban, Falsifier; and the fourth, Mazle-Din, Perverter of Judgment. At the suggestion of these judges, the cities set up beds on their commons. When a stranger arrived, three men seized him by his head, and three by his feet, and they forced him upon one of the beds. If he was too short to fit into it exactly, his six attendants pulled and wrenched his limbs until he filled it out; if he was too long for it, they tried to jam him in with all their combined strength, until the victim was on the verge of death. Hit outcries were met with the words, "Thus will be done to any man that comes into our land."

After a while travellers avoided these cities, but if some poor devil was betrayed occasionally into entering them, they would give him gold and silver, but never any bread, so that he was bound to die of starvation. Once he was dead, the residents of the city came and took back the marked gold and silver which they had given him, and they would quarrel about the distribution of his clothes, for they would bury him naked.

Once Eliezer, the bondman of Abraham, went to Sodom, at the bidding of Sarah, to inquire after the welfare of Lot. He happened to enter the city at the moment when the people were robbing a stranger of his garments. Eliezer espoused the cause of the poor wretch, and the Sodomites turned against him; one threw a stone at his forehead and caused considerable loss of blood. Instantly, the assailant, seeing the blood gush forth, demanded payment for having {248} performed the operation of cupping. Eliezer refused to pay for the infliction of a wound upon him, and he was haled before the judge Shakkara. The decision went against him, for the

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law of the land gave the assailant the right to demand payment. Eliezer quickly picked up a stone and threw it at the judge's forehead. When he saw that the blood was flowing profusely, he said to the judge, "Pay my debt to the man and give me the balance."

The cause of their cruelty was their exceeding great wealth. Their soil was gold, and in their miserliness and their greed for more and more gold, they wanted to prevent strangers from enjoying aught of their riches. Accordingly, they flooded the highways with streams of water, so that the roads to their city were obliterated, and none could find the way thither. They were as heartless toward beasts as toward men. They begrudged the birds what they ate, and therefore extirpated them.¹⁵⁵ They behaved

¹⁵⁵ Yashar Wa-Yera, 35b–38a; the last paragraph, concerning the riches and misery of the inhabitants of the sinful cities, reproduces the statement found in the older sources. Comp. Tosefta Sotah 3. 12; Sifre D., 43; Mekilta Shirah 2, 35b; Mekilta RS 58; Sanhedrin 109a; WR 4 and 5. 2; PK 27, 170, and 19, 187b; MHG I, 282; PRE 25. With the exception of the story about Hedor, which is probably of Arabic origin, Yashar hardly added anything new on this subject to the material contained in the older sources mentioned above (comp. especially Sanhedrin 109a, 109b). On the wickedness of the Sodomites, see also ER 15, 74 and 21, 158; ARN 26, 106; BR 49. 5; Tan. Wa-Yera 7; Yerushalmi Sanhedrin 10, 29c (top); ShR 30. 19; Zohar I, 105b. The story about the bed of Procrustes in Yashar is directly taken from Sanhedrin, *loc. cit.* The register of the sins of the generation of the flood given in vol. I, p. 153 is mainly the same as that of the Sodomites. Attention is to be called to the fact that the expression "in the way of the Sodomites", frequently found in rabbinic literature, is

impiously toward one another, too, not shrinking back from murder to gain possession of more gold. If they observed that a man owned great riches, two of them would conspire against him. They would beguile him to the vicinity of ruins, and while the one kept him on the spot by pleasant converse, the other would undermine the wall near which he stood, until it suddenly crashed down upon him and killed him. Then the two plotters would divide his wealth between them.

Another method of enriching themselves with the property of others was in vogue among them. They were adroit thieves. When they made up their minds to commit theft, they would first ask their victim to take care of a sum of money for them, which they smeared with strongly scented {249} oil before handing it over to him. The following night they would break into his house, and rob him of his secret treasures, led to the place of concealment by the smell of the oil.

Their laws were calculated to do injury to the poor. The richer a man, the more was he favored before the law. The owner of two oxen was obliged to render one day's shepherd service, but if he

employed to describe a high degree of parsimony and niggardliness; comp. *e. g.*, Pirke Abot 5. 10 and in a legal maxim, Ketubot 103a. Rather strange, therefore, is the statement (Tosefta Shabbat 7, end) that Lot settled among the Sodomites because they were cheerful and kind people. Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 27, remarks: The land of Sodom was full of innumerable crimes, particularly those which are the result of licentiousness and intemperance. On the licentiousness of the Amorites, see 12 Testaments, Judah 12. 2.

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had but one ox, he had to give two days' service. A poor orphan, who was thus forced to tend the flocks a longer time than those who were blessed with large herds, killed all the cattle entrusted to him in order to take revenge upon his oppressors, and he insisted, when the skins were assigned, that the owner of two head of cattle should have but one skin, but the owner of one head should receive two skins, in correspondence to the method pursued in assigning the work. For the use of the ferry, a traveller had to pay four zuz, but if he waded through the water, he had to pay eight zuz.¹⁵⁶

The cruelty of the Sodomites went still further. Lot had a daughter, Paltit, so named because she had been born to him shortly after he escaped captivity through the help of Abraham. Paltit lived in Sodom, where she had married. Once a beggar came to town, and the court issued a proclamation that none should give him anything to eat, in order that he might die of starvation. But Paltit had pity upon the unfortunate wretch, and every day when she went to the well to draw water, she supplied him with a piece of bread, which she hid in her water pitcher. The inhabitants of the two sinful cities, Sodom and Gomorrah, could not understand why the beggar did not perish, and they suspected that some one was giving him food in secret. Three men concealed {250} themselves near the beggar, and caught Paltit in

¹⁵⁶. Sanhedrin 109a, 109b; the other stories about the Sodomites, found in that passage, are given here in accordance with Yashar, see preceding note.

the act of giving him something to eat. She had to pay for her humanity with death; she was burnt upon a pyre.

The people of Admah were no better than those of Sodom. Once a stranger came to Admah, intending to stay overnight and continue his journey the next morning. The daughter of a rich man met the stranger, and gave him water to drink and bread to eat at his request. When the people of Admah heard of this infraction of the law of the land, they seized the girl and arraigned her before the judge, who condemned her to death. The people smeared her with honey from top to toe, and exposed her where bees would be attracted to her. The insects stung her to death, and the callous people paid no heed to her heartrending cries. Then it was that God resolved upon the destruction of these sinners.¹⁵⁷

ABRAHAM PLEADS FOR THE SINNERS

When God saw that there was no righteous man among the inhabitants of the sinful cities, and there would be none among their descendants, for the sake of whose merits the rest might be treated with lenient consideration, He resolved to annihilate them one and all.¹⁵⁸ But before judgment was executed, the Lord made known unto Abraham what He would do to Sodom, Gomorrah,

¹⁵⁷ Yashar Wa-Yera, 39a–39a, based on Sanhedrin 109a; BR 49. 6; PRE 25; Targum Yerushalmi, Gen. 18. 21; Midrash Aggada I, 42, 43; MHG I, 284. Bahya, Gen., *loc. cit.*, quotes from the “Midrash”, the statement found in Sanhedrin, *loc. cit.*

¹⁵⁸ MHG I, 28; comp. vol. II, p. 280 and vol. IV, p. 240.

and the other cities of the plain, for they formed a part of Canaan, the land promised unto Abraham, and therefore did God say, "I will not destroy them without the consent of Abraham."¹⁵⁹

Like a compassionate father, Abraham importuned the grace of God in behalf of the sinners. He spoke to God, and said: "Thou didst take an oath that no more should all {²⁵¹} flesh be cut off by the waters of a flood. Is it meet that Thou shouldst evade Thy oath and destroy cities by fire? Shall the Judge of all the earth not do right Himself? Verily, if Thou desirest to maintain the world, Thou must give up the strict line of justice. If Thou insisest upon the right alone, there can be no world." Whereupon God said to Abraham: "Thou takest delight in defending My creatures, and

¹⁵⁹ Tan. B. I, 88–89 (here several reasons are given why God revealed to Abraham the impending destruction of the sinful cities); BR 49. 2; Tan. Wa-Yera 5; Aggadat Bereshit 2I. 43. Shu'aib, Wa-Yera, 8c, quotes the following passage from an unknown Midrash: God did not punish Adam until a heavenly court consisting of seventy members had condemned him (comp. note 124 on vol. 1, 97), and similarly a heavenly court consisting of sixty myriads of angels, assisted by Abraham, was to decide the case of the Sodomites. The angels marvelled at the distinction of Abraham, whose single opinion was regarded as equal in weight to that of the myriads of angels combined. God thereupon assembled an equal number of Jewish souls (sixty myriads of Jews left Egypt, and accordingly this is the standard number representing Israel), and the Sodomites were tried by equal numbers of angels and human souls. Shu'aib's quotation is derived from a kabbalistic source Zohar I, 104b–105a goes back to Tan. and BR, *loc. cit.* On the participation of the angels in the trial of the Sodomites, comp. note 61.

thou wouldst not call them guilty. Therefore I spoke with none but thee during the ten generations since Noah.”¹⁶⁰ Abraham ventured to use still stronger words in order to secure the safety of the godless. “That be far from Thee,” he said, “to slay the righteous with the wicked, that the dwellers on the earth say not, ‘It is His trade to destroy the generations of men in a cruel manner; for He destroyed the generation of Enosh, then the generation of the flood, and then He sent the confusion of tongues. He sticks ever to His trade.’”

God made reply: “I will let all the generations I have destroyed pass before thee, that thou mayest see they have not suffered the extreme punishment they deserved. But if thou thinkest that I did not act justly, then instruct thou Me in what I must do, and I will endeavor to act in accordance with thy words.” And Abraham had to admit that God had not diminished in aught the justice due to every creature in this world or the other world.¹⁶¹ Nevertheless he continued to speak, and he said: “Wilt Thou consume the cities, if there be ten righteous men in each?” And God said, “No, if I find fifty righteous therein, I will not destroy the cities.”¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰. BR 39. 6 and 49. 9; PK 19, 139; here also Abraham is designated as “the merciful of the three fathers”; comp. note 61 and note 22 on vol. II, p. 256.

¹⁶¹. Tan. B. I, 91-93; Tan. Wa-Yera 8 and Ki-Tissa 17; BR 49. 9; Aggadat Bereshit 22. 4-46. These sources give several explanations of חלילה (Gen. 18. 5); comp. also Sifre D., 311 and vol. III, p. 280.

¹⁶². Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 18. 24; Rashi, Lekah, and Midrash Aggada, Gen. *loc. cit.* (very likely depending upon an unknown midrashic source);

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Abraham: "I have taken upon me to speak unto the Lord, {²⁵²} I who would have been turned long since into dust of the ground by Amraphel and into ashes by Nimrod, had it not been for Thy grace.¹⁶³ Peradventure there shall lack five of the fifty righteous for Zoar, the smallest of the five cities. Wilt Thou destroy all the city for lack of five?"

God: "I will not destroy it, if I find there forty and five."

Abraham: "Peradventure there be ten pious in each of the four cities, then forgive Zoar in Thy grace, for its sins are not so great in number as the sins of the others."

God granted his petition, yet Abraham continued to plead, and he asked whether God would not be satisfied if there were but thirty righteous, ten in each of the three larger cities, and would pardon the two smaller ones, even though there were no righteous therein, whose merits would intercede for them. This, too, the Lord granted, and furthermore He promised not to destroy the cities if but twenty righteous were found therein; yes, God conceded that He would preserve the five cities for the sake of ten righteous therein.¹⁶⁴ More than this Abraham did not ask, for he

BR 49.13, כְּדֵי כְּנִיסָה; ps.-Rashi, *ad loc.*

¹⁶³ BR 49. 11.

¹⁶⁴ Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 18. 31, and comp. Theodor on BR 49. 12. According to a widespread Haggadah, there is no generation in the history of the world without at least thirty pious men, like Abraham, otherwise the world would be destroyed. See BR 38. 2 and 49. 3; Yerushalmi 'Abodah Zarah 2, 40c; Hullin 92a; PK 10, 88a; Tan. Wa-Yera

knew that eight righteous ones, Noah and his wife, and his three sons and their wives, had not sufficed to avert the doom of the generation of the flood, and furthermore he hoped that Lot, his wife, and their four daughters, together with the husbands of their daughters, would make up the number ten. What he did not know was that even the righteous in these sin-laden cities, though better than the rest, were far from good.¹⁶⁵

Abraham did not cease to pray for the deliverance of the sinners even after the Shekinah had removed from him. But his supplications and his intercessions were in vain.¹⁶⁶ {253} For fifty-two years God had warned the godless; He had made mountains to quake and tremble. But they hearkened not unto the voice of admonition. They persisted in their sins, and their well-merited

13 and Mikkez 6; Tehillim 5, 52 and 92, 409, below (here only three pious men); Shemuel I, 44; BaR 10. 5 (thirty-one). Shir 1. 3 speaks of the one pious person produced by the Gentiles every year. Jellinek, Introduction to BHM V., 46, compares the last-mentioned passage with Matthew 33. 15. Yoma 38b has the statement that the world exists on account of one godly person.

¹⁶⁵. BR 49. 13 כְּדִי כְּנִיסָה is paraphrased in Targum Yerushalmi 18. 32 by (וּנְבִיעֵי רַחֲמִין). On Lot comp. below, note 171.

¹⁶⁶. Tan. B. I, 92, 93; Tan. Wa-Yera 8; BR 49.14. These passages dwell upon the fact that the Shekinah did not depart from Abraham until he had finished his prayer for the sinners; comp. also ARN 32 (second version 40, 111). In BR 49. 7 and many parallel passages (see Theodor) it is stated that originally the text of Gen. 18. 22 read: "And the Lord stood before Abraham", i. e., God waited for Abraham until he had accompanied his guests.

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punishment overtook them.¹⁶⁷ God forgives all sins, only not an immoral life. And as all these sinners led a life of debauchery, they were burnt with fire.¹⁶⁸

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SINFUL CITIES

The angels left Abraham at noon time, and they reached Sodom at the approach of evening. As a rule, angels proclaim their errand with the swiftness of lightning, but these were angels of mercy, and they hesitated to execute their work of destruction, ever hoping that the evil would be turned aside from Sodom.¹⁶⁹ With nightfall, the fate of Sodom was sealed irrevocably, and the angels arrived there.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷. BR 49. 6; Tan. Wa-Yera 10. Gen. 18. 21 is accordingly explained to mean: I shall give them an opportunity to repent, and I shall destroy them if they do not repent. This explanation of the biblical verse is also given by Aphraates, 293 (comp. further Clementine *Homilies*, 3.39); whereas Philo, *Quaestiones*, Gen., 15. 24, remarks that with these words Scripture teaches us never to judge without a thorough examination. Comp. a similar remark of the Rabbis in vol. I, p. 53; see further Mekilta Shirah 5, 38b–39a, and Tan. Beshallah 15.

¹⁶⁸. Tan. B. I, 93; Tan. Wa-Yera 9; vol. I, p. 153 and note 17 appertaining thereto. The punishment for certain kinds of immorality is by fire, according to Lev. 20. 14 and 21. 9. Comp. note 26 on vol. I, p. 159.

¹⁶⁹. BR 50. 1; Tan. B. I, 98.

¹⁷⁰. Tan. B. I, 93 and 98; BR 50. 3. Yelammedenu in Yalkut II, 723 on Ps. 85 reads: As the wicked commit their evil deeds in the darkness of the night, even so they receive their punishment at night. This is attested by

Bred in the house of Abraham, Lot had learnt from him the beautiful custom of extending hospitality, and when he saw the angels before him in human form, thinking they were wayfarers, he bade them turn aside and tarry all night in his house. But as the entertainment of strangers was forbidden in Sodom on penalty of death, he dared invite them only under cover of the darkness of night,¹⁷¹ and even then he had to use every manner of

the punishment of the Sodomites, the Egyptians, Haman, and Belshazzar. Comp. a similar remark (later, however, it was interpreted in a different manner; see above, note 76) in BaR 20. 12; BR 50. 23; Yerushalmi Rosh ha-Shanah I, 57a; PR 40, 167b; Tehillim 9. 87; MHG I, 287. In all these sources, with the exception of the first, attention is drawn to the fact that Israel is always judged by God during the day, whereas the Gentiles are tried at night. Philo, *Quaestiones*, 4. 30, agrees with the Rabbis in referring the night, or, as he accurately writes, the evening, spoken of in Gen. 19. 1, to the darkness of the judgment upon the sinners. Abrabanel, *Ma'yene ha-Yeshu'ah*, 7. 11, quotes Yelammedenu, *loc. cit.*, but very likely from Yalkut, and not independently.

¹⁷¹. PRE 25 (לחרון is an old scribal error for לארחץ); MHG I, 288; BR 50. 4. The views of the various sources concerning Lot differ widely from one another. He is generally described as lascivious, ungrateful—towards Abraham—and is accused, among other things, of having been a usurer. Comp. BR 40. 7, 51. 6–10, and 52. 2; Nazir 23a; PR 3, 9b–10a, where he is called “wicked Lot”; Tan. Wa-Yera 12; Aggadat Bereshit 25. 50; Yelammedenu in Yalkut I, 785 (Mattot); Zohar I, 84a and 79a. In the last passage Abraham’s kindness toward Lot is ascribed to the fact that Abraham foresaw by his prophetic gift that Lot was destined to become the ancestor—through Ruth the Moabitish woman—of David. The first Alphabet of Ben Sira, 4d, on the other hand, speaks of Lot as a “perfect

precaution, bidding the angels to follow him by devious ways.

The angels, who had accepted Abraham's hospitality without delay, first refused to comply with Lot's request, for it is a rule of good breeding to show reluctance when an ordinary man invites one, but to accept the invitation of a great {254} man at once. Lot, however, was insistent, and carried them into his house by main force.¹⁷² At home he had to overcome the opposition of his wife, for she said, "If the inhabitants of Sodom hear of this, they will slay thee."

Lot divided his dwelling in two parts, one for himself and his guests, the other for his wife, so that, if aught happened, his wife would be spared.¹⁷³ Nevertheless it was she who betrayed him. She went to a neighbor and borrowed some salt, and to the question, whether she could not have supplied herself with salt during daylight hours, she replied, "We had enough salt, until some guests came to us; for them we needed more." In this way the presence of strangers was bruited abroad in the city.¹⁷⁴

and pious man". This must not be regarded, with Epstein (*Mi-Kadmoniyyot Ha-Yehudim*, 12) as ridiculing the view of the Haggadah, but as an old tradition. Comp. II Peter 2, 7; *Visio Pauli*, 27 and 49, as well as ps.-Tertullian, *Sodoma*, 41.

¹⁷² BR 50. 4; Baba Mezi'a 87a; Tan. Wa-Yera 11; Origen, Gen. 19. 3; Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 22, and *Quaestiones*, Gen. 4, 33, 34. Lekah Gen., *loc. cit.*, states that the angels came suddenly like lightning upon Lot, whereas Abraham discerned their arrival from afar.

¹⁷³ Tan. B. I, 98; BR 50. 6; MHG I, 289.

In the beginning the angels were inclined to hearken to the petition of Lot in behalf of the sinners, but when all the people of the city, big and little, crowded around the house of Lot with the purpose of committing a monstrous crime, the angels warded off his prayers, saying, “Hitherto thou couldst intercede for them, but now no longer.” It was not the first time that the inhabitants of Sodom wanted to perpetrate a crime of this sort. They had made a law some time before that all strangers were to be treated in this horrible way. Lot, who was appointed chief judge on the very day of the angels’ coming, tried to induce the people to desist from their purpose, saying to them, “My brethren, the generation of the deluge was extirpated in consequence of such sins as you desire to commit, and you would revert to them?” But they replied: “Back! And though Abraham himself came hither, we should have no consideration for him. Is it possible that thou wouldst set aside a law which thy predecessors administered?”¹⁷⁵ {255}

Even Lot’s moral sense was no better than it should have been. It is the duty of a man to venture his life for the honor of his wife and his daughters, but Lot was ready to sacrifice the honor of his daughters, wherefor he was punished severely later on.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴. BR 51. 5 and 50. 4 read: Because Lot’s wife sinned in connection with salt, she became a pillar of salt.

¹⁷⁵. BR 50. 3–7; comp. note 168. The names of the judges given in BR 50. 3 are different from those in Sanhedrin 109b and Yashar. Comp. vol. I, pp. 246–247, and PRE, 25.

¹⁷⁶. Tan. Wa-Yera 12. PRE 25, on the contrary, is of the opinion that Lot was willing to expose himself and his family to any danger rather than

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The angels told Lot who they were, and what the mission that had brought them to Sodom, and they charged him to flee from the city with his wife and his four daughters, two of them married, and two betrothed.¹⁷⁷ Lot communicated their bidding to his sons-in-law, and they mocked at him, and said: "O thou fool! Violins, cymbals, and flutes resound in the city, and thou sayest Sodom will be destroyed!" Such scoffing but hastened the execution of the doom of Sodom.¹⁷⁸ The angel Michael laid hold upon the hand of Lot, and his wife and his daughters, while with his little finger the angel Gabriel touched the rock whereon the sinful cities were built, and overturned them. At the same time the rain that was streaming down upon the two cities was changed into brimstone.¹⁷⁹

leave his guests to their fate. Here also it is stated that the presence of the guests in the house was betrayed by a lad who saw them enter.

¹⁷⁷. BR 50. 9; PRE 25 (comp. Luria, *ad loc.*); Jerome, on Gen., 19. 14. Ephraim, I, 135, on the contrary, agrees with Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 11 that Lot only had two betrothed daughters whose fiancés perished in Sodom; comp. vol. I, pp. 350, 351.

¹⁷⁸. BR 50. 9; MHG I, 290, 291.

¹⁷⁹. Tan. B. I, 93 and 99; BR 50. 2 and 11, as well as 51. 4 (comp. Theodor on the two last-named passages); MHG I, 290: Eighteen thousand destroying angels, under the leadership of Kemuel (comp. *Ma'ayan Hokmah*, 58), came down and destroyed the sinful cities in a moment. In numerous midrashic passages it is stated that the punishment was executed by God and His court of justice; comp. BR 51. 2 and the dozen of parallel passages given by Theodor, *ad loc.* Here also the rule is formulated that wherever the expression מֵאֵת י"י "from the Lord" is

When the angels had brought forth Lot and his family and set them without the city, he bade them run for their lives, and not look behind, lest they behold the Shekinah, which had descended to work the destruction of the cities. The wife of Lot could not control herself. Her mother love made her look behind to see if her married daughters were following. She beheld the Shekinah, and she became a pillar of salt. This pillar exists unto this day. The cattle lick it all day long, and in the evening it seems to have disappeared, but when morning comes it stands there as large as before.¹⁸⁰ {256}

employed in the Bible it refers to God and His court of justice. Sifre Z. 51, 52, on the other hand, explicitly states that God Himself executed punishment upon the generation of the deluge, the builders of the tower of Babel, the inhabitants of the sinful cities, the Egyptians, the Amorites, and Sennacherib. Philo, partly in agreement with the first view, maintains that the punishment of the Sodomites did not come directly from God. On this point, comp. vol. I, p. 5 and note 9 appertaining thereto. The punishment to be executed on the fourth kingdom (= Rome) will be identical with the one inflicted on Sodom; Yelammedenu in Yalkut II, 440, on Is. 34; Tan. B. II, 30.

¹⁸⁰. PRE 25, which has been incorporated in Yashar Wa-Yera, 39 (in these passages Lot's wife is called עִדִּית Idit?). Luke 17.32 (the following verse is found verbatim, Tamid 32a) seems also to assume that Lot's wife was troubled about her relatives, and Clemens Alexandrinus, *Exhortatio*, 94, states this view quite explicitly. Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 27, and 2 *Moses*, 10; Josephus *Antiqui.*, I, 11. 4, and *Wars*, IV, 8. 4; Wisdom 10. 6, 7; Irenaeus *Haer.* IV, 31; ps.-Tertullian, *Sodoma*, 160-170 (the Church Fathers very likely derived their information on this point from oral communications made to them by Jews) also mention the fact that one

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The savior angel had urged Lot himself to take refuge with Abraham. But he refused, and said: "As long as I dwelt apart from Abraham, God compared my deeds with the deeds of my fellow-citizens, and among them I appeared as a righteous man. If I should return to Abraham, God will see that his good deeds outweigh mine by far."¹⁸¹ The angel then granted his plea that Zoar be left undestroyed. This city had been founded a year later than the other four; it was only fifty-one years old, and therefore the measure of its sins was not so full as the measure of the sins of the neighboring cities.¹⁸²

The destruction of the cities of the plain took place at dawn of the sixteenth day of Nisan, for the reason that there were moon and sun worshippers among the inhabitants. God said: "If I destroy them by day, the moon worshippers will say, Were the moon here, she would prove herself our savior; and if I destroy

might still see to-day the pillar of salt into which Lot's wife turned. Comp. also Berakot 54a and 54b (a tannaitic source) on the benediction to be pronounced on seeing Lot's wife (Mainmonides in his *Yad* ignores this statement); see also Midrash Esther in Yalkut I, 256, end. Salt must not be used in performing certain religious ceremonies, since it was the cause of death in the case of Lot's wife; comp. *'Aruk*, s. v. מֶלַח; Way-Yekullu 16b.

¹⁸¹. BR 50. 11; PR 3, 102; Aggadat Bereshit 25, 50.

¹⁸². Shabbat 10a. Like the other sinful cities, Zoar was also destroyed when the measure of its wickedness became full; *Sekel Tob* I. 38. Here also on the authority of an old source, etymological explanation of the names of the sinful cities are given.

them by night, the sun worshippers will say, Were the sun here, he would prove himself our savior. I will therefore let their chastisement overtake them on the sixteenth day of Nisan at an hour at which the moon and the sun are both in the skies."¹⁸³

The sinful inhabitants of the cities of the plain not only lost their life in this world, but also their share in the future world. As for the cities themselves, however, they will be restored in the Messianic time.¹⁸⁴

The destruction of Sodom happened at the time at which

¹⁸³. BR 50. 12.

¹⁸⁴. Mishnah Sakhedrin 10. 3 (according to one view, they were destroyed for ever, and their inhabitants will therefore receive neither reward nor punishment on the day of judgment); comp. Ginzberg, *Mabbul shel Esh* 17; Sanhedrin 10; Babli 109a; Yerushalmi 10, 29c; Tosefta 13. 8; ARN 36, 106, and 12, 52; WR 4. 1. Comp. also Matthew 10. 15 and 11. 24. Comp. further notes 44, 90 on vol. I, p. 163, 180 respectively. For the restoration of the sinful cities see Tan. B. 1, 99, as well as Tosefta Sukkah 3. 9, where the "healing" of the sea of Sodom is spoken of. 4 Ezra 5. 6 seems to allude to this legend. Hippolytus, *Haer.*, 2. 175, mentions the salutary quality of the waters of the sea of Sodom. This idea is very likely connected with the legend about Miriam's well which is supposed to be hidden in the sea; see vol. III, p. 54. Shabbat 67a, on the contrary, speaks of the destroying angels "dwelling at Sodom", that is, hovering over the sea of Sodom. Comp., however, Rashi, *ad loc.* The poisonous quality of the "salt of Sodom" is often mentioned in the Talmud; see the lexica, s. v. מלח סדומית. On the fruit of Sodom, comp. Wisdom 10. 7; Josephus, *Wars*, 4, 8. 4; BR 51. 4. On the relation of the well of Shittim to that of Sodom, comp. vol. III, p. 382, and Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, I, 110.

Abraham was performing his morning devotions, and for his sake it was established as the proper hour for the morning prayer unto all times.¹⁸⁵ When he turned his eyes toward Sodom and beheld the rising smoke, he prayed for the deliverance {257} of Lot, and God granted his petition—the fourth time that Lot became deeply indebted to Abraham. Abraham had taken him with him to Palestine, he had made him rich in flocks, herds, and tents, he had rescued him from captivity, and by his prayer he saved him from the destruction of Sodom. The descendants of Lot, the Ammonites and the Moabites, instead of showing gratitude to the Israelites, the posterity of Abraham, committed four acts of hostility against them. They sought to compass the destruction of Israel by means of Balaam's curses, they waged open war against him at the time of Jephthah, and also at the time of Jehoshaphat, and finally they manifested their hatred against Israel at the destruction of the Temple. Hence it is that God appointed four prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Zephaniah, to proclaim punishment unto the descendants of Lot, and four times their sin is recorded in Holy Writ.¹⁸⁶

Though Lot owed his deliverance to the petition of Abraham, yet it was at the same time his reward for not having betrayed Abraham in Egypt, when he pretended to be the brother of Sarah.¹⁸⁷ But a greater reward still awaits him. The Messiah will be

¹⁸⁵. Berakot 26b. Comp. vol. IV, p. 361 and note 58 appertaining thereto.

¹⁸⁶. Ekah i. 74.

¹⁸⁷. BR 51. 6.

a descendant of his, for the Moabitess Ruth is the great-grandmother of David, and the Ammonitess Naamah is the mother of Rehoboam, and the Messiah is of the line of these two kings.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁸. Nazir 23a; BR 51. 8, as well as vol. III, p. 6. Comp. also Theodor, *ad loc.* The Messiah is not only a descendant of David who was the offspring of Ruth the Moabitish woman, but also the descendant of Solomon and his wife Naamah the Ammonite; Bereshit Rabbeti in *Pugio Fidei*, 714 (= Epstein 77); Maimonides' Commentary on Mishnah Sanhedrin 10. (article 12); Tan. B. I, 40; Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 4. 43. — Concerning Lot and his daughters the following is to be noted. Lot's daughters believed that the entire world, together with all the inhabitants were destroyed, and that the continuation of the human race depended on them; they therefore decided to bear children to their father; BR 51. 8; PR 42. 176a; Aggadat Bereshit 25, 51; Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 11. 4; Philo, *Quaestiones*, 4. 56; The Church Fathers Ephraim and Jerome, *ad loc.*; comp. Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 110, 111. In the cave of Adullam (Yashar, Wa-Yera, 39a) Lot's daughter found the wine with which they made their father drunk. God caused the wine to be put in that place in order that they should succeed in their plan; Mekilta Shirah 2, 36a; Sifre D., 43; BR 51. 8. Although Lot was not aware of what he was doing, he is regarded as of a lascivious nature; for if he were continent, he would have taken care not to become drunk a second time after he found out what had happened to him with his older daughter on account of his drunkenness; Nazir 23a; Sifre N., 69; BR 51. 8 and the numerous parallel passages given by Theodor, *ad loc.* Comp. also Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 111–112. Lot is a warning example to men to avoid being alone with women, lest the latter should entice them to sin, as did Lot's daughters; Yelammedenu in *Rimze Haftarot*, Shelah. Hasidim, 461, and *Hadar*, 7b, quote, from unknown Midrashim, several statements

AMONG THE PHILISTINES

The destruction of Sodom induced Abraham to journey to Gerar. Accustomed to extend hospitality to travellers and wayfarers, he no longer felt comfortable in a district in which all traffic had ceased by reason of the ruined cities. {²⁵⁸} There was another reason for Abraham's leaving his place; the people spoke too much about the ugly incident with Lot's daughters.¹⁸⁹

Arrived in the land of the Philistines, he again, as aforetime in Egypt, came to an understanding with Sarah, that she was to call herself his sister. When the report of her beauty reached the king, he ordered her to be brought before him, and he asked her who her companion was, and she told him that Abraham was her brother. Entranced by her beauty, Abimelech the king took Sarah to wife, and heaped marks of honor upon Abraham in accordance with the just claims of a brother of the queen. Toward evening, before retiring, while he was still seated upon his throne, Abimelech fell into a sleep, and he slept until the morning, and in the dream he dreamed he saw an angel of the Lord raising his sword to deal him a death blow. Sore frightened, he asked the cause, and the angel replied, and said: "Thou wilt die on account

concerning Lot's daughters; comp. also vol. III, pp. 351-352, 404-406.

¹⁸⁹. BR 55. 1-4; PR 43, 17Gb; Aggadat Bereshit 25. 49, 50. According to Yashar Wa-Yera, 39a, Lot settled "on the other side of the Jordan", that is, in the country which was later inhabited by the Moabites and Ammonites.

of the woman thou didst take into thy house this day, for she is the wife of Abraham, the man whom thou didst cite before thee. Return his wife unto him! But if thou restore her not, thou shalt surely die, thou and all that are thine.”

In that night the voice of a great crying was heard in the whole land of the Philistines, for they saw the figure of a man walking about, with sword in hand, slaying all that came in his way. At the same time it happened that in men and beasts alike all the apertures of the body closed up, and the land was seized with indescribable excitement. In the morning, when the king awoke, in agony and terror, he called all his servants and told his dream in their ears. One {259} of their number said: “O lord and king! Restore this woman unto the man, for he is her husband. It is but his way in a strange land to pretend that she is his sister. Thus did he with the king of Egypt, too, and God sent heavy afflictions upon Pharaoh when he took the woman unto himself. Consider, also, O lord and king, what hath befallen this night in the land; great pain, wailing, and confusion there was, and we know that it came upon us only because of this woman.”¹⁹⁰

There were some among his servants who spake: “Be not afraid of dreams! What dreams make known to man is but falsehood.” Then God appeared unto Abimelech again and commanded him to let Sarah go free, otherwise he would be a dead man.¹⁹¹ Abimelech replied: “Is this Thy way? Then, I ween,

¹⁹⁰. Yashar Wa-Yera, 39a, 40a, partly after PR 42, 176b; comp. also below, note 202.

¹⁹¹. Tan. B. I, 101; PRE 26; MHG I, 298: The angel Michael—or

the generation of the flood and the generation of the confusion of tongues were innocent, too! The man himself did say unto me, She is my sister, and she, even she herself said, He is my brother, and all the people of their household said the same words.” And God said unto him: “Yea, I know that thou hast not yet committed a trespass, for I withheld thee from sinning. Thou didst not know that Sarah was a man’s wife.¹⁹² But is it becoming to question a stranger, no sooner does he set foot upon thy territory, about the woman accompanying him, whether she be his wife or his sister? Abraham, who is a prophet, knew beforehand the danger to himself if he revealed the whole truth.¹⁹³ But, being a prophet, he also knows that thou didst not touch his wife, and he shall pray for thee, and thou shalt live.”

The smoke was still rising from the ruins of Sodom, and {260} Abimelech and his people, seeing it, feared that a like fate might overtake them.¹⁹⁴ The king called Abraham and reproached him for having caused such great misfortune through his false

Gabriel—came with a drawn sword to kill Abimelech.

¹⁹². BR 52. 6; PR 42, 176b; Tan. B. I, p. 101. The Rabbis entertained a very high opinion of Abimelech, whereas they utterly condemn Pharaoh, though the Bible tells the identical story of both these kings. Besides the sources, quoted above, which speak favorably of Abimelech, comp. MHG I, 299, where it is said that he was better than his nation; Tehillim 34, 246, and PRE 21 state that he desired to beget pious children and therefore wished to marry the pious Sarah.

¹⁹³. Baba Kamma 92a; PRE 26.

¹⁹⁴. BR 52. 7, 8; Tan. B. I, 101.

statements concerning Sarah. Abraham excused his conduct by his apprehension that, the fear of God not being in the place, the inhabitants of the land slay him for his wife.¹⁹⁵ Abraham went on and told the history of his whole life, and he said: "When I dwelt in the house of my father, the nations of the world sought to do me harm, but God proved Himself my Redeemer. When the nations of the world tried to lead me astray to idolatry, God revealed Himself to me, and He said, 'Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house.' And when the nations of the world were about to go astray, God sent two prophets, my kinsmen Shem and Eber, to admonish them."¹⁹⁶

Abimelech gave rich gifts to Abraham, wherein he acted otherwise than Pharaoh in similar circumstances. The Egyptian king gave gifts to Sarah, but Abimelech was God fearing, and desired that Abraham pray for him.¹⁹⁷ To Sarah he gave a costly robe that covered her whole person, hiding her seductive charms from the view of beholders. At the same time it was a reproach to Abraham, that he had not fitted Sarah out with the splendor due

¹⁹⁵ MHG I, 300: We may well assume that he who is God-fearing will not sin, but he who is not God-fearing will not restrain himself from sin. Accordingly, Abraham was justified in his apprehension, though the inhabitants of Gerar were not particularly addicted to licentiousness; comp. MHG, *loc. cit.*, and the different view in Lekah, Gen. 20. 11.

¹⁹⁶ BR 52. 11; Targum Yerushalmi, Gen. 22. 13; see also Yerushalmi Megillah I, 71d.

¹⁹⁷ PRE 27, where the text is not quite complete, as may be seen from MHG I, 301.

to his wife.¹⁹⁸

Though Abimelech had done him great injury, Abraham not only granted him the forgiveness he craved, but also he prayed for him to God. Thus he is an exemplar unto all. "Man should be pliant as a reed, not hard like the cedar." He should be easily appeased, and slow to anger, and as soon as he who has sinned against him asks for pardon, he should {²⁶¹} forgive him with all his heart. Even if deep and serious injury has been done to him, he should not be vengeful, nor bear his brother a grudge in his heart.¹⁹⁹

Abraham prayed thus for Abimelech: "O Lord of the world! Thou hast created man that he may increase and propagate his kind. Grant that Abimelech and his house may multiply and increase!"²⁰⁰ God fulfilled Abraham's petition in behalf of Abimelech and his people, and it was the first time it happened in the history of mankind that God fulfilled the prayer of one human being for the benefit of another.²⁰¹ Abimelech and his subjects

¹⁹⁸. BR 52. 12 (comp. Theodor, *ad loc.*); Tan. B. I, p. 102; Aggadat Bereshit 25. 52–53; MHG I, 301, where several explanations are given of Gen. 20. 16 (תַּאֲוָה is derived from Targum Yerushalmi, *ad loc.*); Lekah, ad 106., where the words כָּל וְנוֹכַחַת are taken to be the names of a slave and a bondwoman!

¹⁹⁹. MHG I, 302, partly after Mishnah Baba Kamma 8. 7 and Tosefta 9. 29: The injured one should pray to God to forgive the injurer, even if he is not asked to do so. Thus did our father Abraham, who prayed for Abimelech; comp. DE 4; and also vol. III, p. 336.

²⁰⁰. PRE 27; MHG I, 303.

were healed of all their diseases, and so efficacious was the prayer offered by Abraham that the wife of Abimelech, barren hitherto, bore a child.²⁰²

THE BIRTH OF ISAAC

When the prayer of Abraham for Abimelech was heard, and the king of the Philistines recovered, the angels raised a loud cry, and spoke to God thus: "O Lord of the world! All these years hath Sarah been barren, as the wife of Abimelech was. Now Abraham prayed to Thee, and the wife of Abimelech hath been granted a child. It is just and fair that Sarah should be remembered and granted a child." These words of the angels, spoken on the New Year's Day, when the fortunes of men are determined in heaven for the whole year, bore a result. Barely seven months later, on the first day of the Passover, Isaac was born.

^{201.} BR 52. 13; comp. Theodor, *ad loc.*

^{202.} PR 42, 177a: Also the other women at the court of Abimelech became pregnant and gave birth to sons. The sickness with which Abimelech and his subjects were afflicted consisted in the closing up of all apertures in the bodies of man and beast (Baba Kamma 92a; BR 52. 13; PR, *loc. cit.*, and 178a; Aggadat Bereshit 27, 57; a different view is found in Targum Yerushalmi, Gen. 20. 18), so that no female was able to give birth to a child. — The king is to his country what the heart is to the human body, when the heart is sick the entire body suffers, even so when the king sins, all his subjects suffer; MHG I, 300, and see also the similar saying in *Ein anonymen Kommentar zum Hohen Liede*, in the *Steinschneider-Festschrift*, 55.

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The birth of Isaac was a happy event, and not in the house of Abraham alone. The whole world rejoiced, for God remembered all barren women at the same time with Sarah. {262} They all bore children. And all the blind were made to see, all the lame were made whole, the dumb were made to speak, and the mad were restored to reason. And a still greater miracle happened: on the day of Isaac's birth the sun shone with such splendor as had not been seen since the fall of man, and as he will shine again only in the future world.²⁰³

²⁰³. PR 42, 177a-178a; Tan. B. I, 103-107; Tan. Wa-Yera 13-17; Aggadat Bereshit 28. 57-58; comp. also Baba Kamma 92b; PR 38, 165a, where attention is called to the fact that Abraham's wife was cured of her sterility as a reward for his prayer to God in behalf of Abimelech's wives who were unable to give birth to children; see also the preceding note. At the same time Sarah was rewarded for her trust in God; BR 53. 3. Conflicting views are given in rabbinic sources concerning the date of Isaac's birth (according to Jub. 16. 13 he was born the fifteenth of Siwan), and these differences are due to the competition between the months of Nisan and Tishri for the highest place in the Jewish legend; comp. Rosh ha-Shanah 10b, 11a, and the quotation from the Midrashim given in Tosafot, *ad loc.* (caption אלא), as well as BR 43. 6 (here it is stated that Isaac was born at noon) and the numerous passages given by Theodor, *ad loc.* The attempts made to harmonize this point (the date of the visit of the angels, as well as that of another important event in the history of Abraham, depends upon this question) are in vain, as has already been noted by Shu'aib, Wa-Yera, 9b. Comp. also Hadar, 7c (the word בחלמוד is incorrect, as no such statement occurs in the Talmud!); *Minhat Yehudah* and Tosafot, Gen. 18. 10, 11, and 21. 1.—At Isaac's birth all creation rejoiced, the earth, the heavens, the sun, the moon, etc., because had not

To silence those who asked significantly, “Can one a hundred years old beget a son?” God commanded the angel who has charge over the embryos, to give them form and shape, that he fashion Isaac precisely according to the model of Abraham, so that all seeing Isaac might exclaim, “Abraham begot Isaac.”²⁰⁴

That Abraham and Sarah were blessed with offspring only after they had attained so great an age, had an important reason. It was necessary that Abraham should bear the sign of the covenant upon his body before he begot the son who was appointed to be the father of Israel.²⁰⁵ And as Isaac was the first child born to Abraham after he was marked with the sign, he did not fail to celebrate his circumcision with much pomp and ceremony on the eighth day.²⁰⁶ Shem, Eber, Abimelech king of the Philistines, and

Isaac been born, the world would have ceased to exist; Tan. Toledot 2. Philo, *De Praemiis et Poenis*, 4 and 5, likewise explains the name Isaac as “joy”. The heavenly light at the birth of heroes is a favorite theme in legends; comp. vol. I, p. 188; note 1 on vol. I, p. 145, as well as note 256 on vol. I, p. 388, and vol. III, p. 264. Comp. also PK 22, 146a.

²⁰⁴. Tan. Toledot 1; BR 53. 6 and 84. 8; Baba Mezi’a 87a; Tan. B. I, 176, which is the source of Makiri, Tehillim, 311, (61); Yelammedenu in Yalkut, II, 141, on 2 Samuel 3; MHG I, 304; Zohar I, 135a. Comp. also vol. IV, p. 118.

²⁰⁵. BR 46. 2. Abraham received the commandment of circumcision in his old age in order that “the door should not be closed in the face of the proselytes”, who otherwise might have refused to submit to the performance of this Operation in advanced age; Mekilta Nezikin 18, 95; BR, *loc. cit.*, and parallel passages given by Theodor.

²⁰⁶. PRE 29 (on the text, comp. Eshkol II, 131, and Luria, *ad loc.*); Lekah,

his whole retinue, Phicol the captain of his host in it—they all were present, and also Terah and his son Nahor, in a word, all the great ones round about.²⁰⁷ On this occasion Abraham could at last put a stop to the talk of the people, who said, “Look at this old couple! They picked up a foundling on the highway, and they pretend he is their own son, and to make their statement seem credible, they arrange a feast in his honor.” Abraham had invited not only men to the celebration, but also the wives of the magnates with their infants, {263} and God permitted a miracle to be done. Sarah had enough milk in her breasts to suckle all the babes there,²⁰⁸ and they who drew from her breasts had much to thank her for. Those whose mothers had harbored only pious thoughts in their minds when they let them drink the milk that flowed from the breasts of the pious Sarah, they became proselytes when they grew up; and those whose mothers let Sarah nurse them only in order to test her, they grew up to be powerful rulers, losing their dominion only at the revelation on Mount Sinai, because they would not accept the Torah. All proselytes and pious heathen are the descendants of these infants.²⁰⁹

ad loc., I, 94 (quotation from PRE?); DR I. 25.

²⁰⁷. Yashar Wa-Yera, 40b; BR 53. 10; see note 210.

²⁰⁸. Baba Mezi'a 87a; PK 22, 146b: The people said Isaac was Hagar's son; Hallel 92; BR 53. 9; Tan. B. I. 107; Tan. Toledot 3; PRE 52. The last-named passage adds that this was the second of the seven miracles, that were “Visible to all”, which occurred in the course of history, the first miracle being the delivery of Abraham from the fiery furnace. Lekah, *ad loc.*, I, 94, states that Sarah suckled a hundred babies on that occasion.

Among the guests of Abraham were the thirty-one kings and thirty-one viceroys of Palestine who were vanquished by Joshua at the conquest of the Holy Land. Even Og king of Bashan was present, and he had to suffer the teasing of the other guests, who rallied him upon having called Abraham a sterile mule, who would never have offspring. Og, on his part, pointed at the little boy with contempt, and said, "Were I to lay my finger upon him, he would be crushed." Whereupon God said to him: "Thou makest mock of the gift given to Abraham! As thou livest, thou shalt look upon millions and myriads of his descendants, and in the end thou shalt fall into their hands."²¹⁰

ISHMAEL CAST OFF

When Isaac grew up, quarrels broke out between him and Ishmael, on account of the rights of the first-born. Ishmael insisted he should receive a double portion of the inheritance after the death of Abraham, and Isaac should receive only {²⁶⁴} one portion. Ishmael, who had been accustomed from his youth to use the bow and arrow, was in the habit of aiming his missiles in the direction of Isaac, saying at the same time that he was but jesting.²¹¹ Sarah, however, insisted that Abraham make over to

²⁰⁹. BR 53. 9. Comp. the Antoninus legend in BHM VI, 131.

²¹⁰. BR 53. 10; DR 1. 25; Kohelet 7. 2.

²¹¹. BR 53. 11; Sifre D., 31; Tosefta Sotah 6. 6. These sources quote a dissenting opinion, according to which Sarah noticed that Ishmael caught locusts and sacrificed them to the idols (that is to say, he was imitating adults, his locusts being "toy sacrifices"; comp. Shabbat 9. 6

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Isaac all he owned, that no disputes might arise after his death,²¹² “for,” she said, “Ishmael is not worthy of being heir with my son, nor with a man like Isaac, and certainly not with my son Isaac.”²¹³ Furthermore, Sarah insisted that Abraham divorce himself from Hagar, the mother of Ishmael, and send away the woman and her son, so that there be naught in common between them and her own son, either in this world or in the future world.

Of all the trials Abraham had to undergo, none was so hard to bear as this, for it grieved him sorely to separate himself from his son. God appeared to him in the following night, and said to him: “Abraham, knowest thou not that Sarah was appointed to be thy wife from her mother’s womb? She is thy companion and the wife of thy youth, and I named not Hagar as thy wife, nor Sarah as thy bondwoman. What Sarah spoke unto thee was naught but truth, and let it not be grievous in thy sight because of the lad, and because of thy bondwoman.” The next morning Abraham rose up early, gave Hagar her bill of divorcement, and sent her away with

end, but see also vol. IV, p. 154); according to another view Ishmael even committed adultery and murder. Jerome, Gen. 21. 9, is acquainted with these two haggadic views, whereas the Yerushalmi Targumim speak only of Ishmael’s idolatry. Comp. PR, 193b; PRE 30 (this is the source of Yashar Wa-Yera, 40b); Aggadat Bereshit 37, 73-74, and 61, 122. The legend about Ishmael persecuting Isaac is found also in Galatians 4. 26; comp. also first Alphabet of Ben Sira 3b; DR 4. 5; Tan. Shemot 1; Josephus, *Antiqui.* 1. 12, 3.

^{212.} Philo, *Quaestiones*. Gen. 100.

^{213.} BR 53. 11.

her son, first binding a rope about her loins that all might see she was a bondwoman.²¹⁴

The evil glance cast upon her stepson by Sarah made him sick and feverish, so that Hagar had to carry him, grown-up as he was. In his fever he drank often of the water in the bottle given her by Abraham as she left his house, and the water was quickly spent. That she might not look upon the {265} death of her child, Hagar cast Ishmael under the willow shrubs growing on the selfsame spot whereon the angels had once spoken with her and made known to her that she would bear a son. In the bitterness of her heart, she spoke to God, and said, “Yesterday Thou didst say to me, I will greatly multiply thy seed, that it shall not be numbered for multitude, and to-day my son dies of thirst.” Ishmael himself cried unto God, and his prayer and the merits of Abraham brought them help in their need, though the angels appeared against Ishmael before God. They said, “Wilt Thou cause a well of water to spring up for him whose descendants will let Thy children of Israel perish with thirst?” But God replied, and said, “What is Ishmael at this moment—righteous or wicked?” and when the angels called him righteous, God continued, “I treat man according to his deserts at each moment.”²¹⁵

²¹⁴. PRE 30. In Jub. 16. 17, *seq.*, it is stated, with reference to Gen. 22. 12, that God informed Abraham that only Isaac’s progeny (that is, Jacob and his descendants) would be his true seed; comp. Nedarim 3. 11 and DR 4. 5. Jub. 17. 4 gives the following reasons for Ishmael’s banishment: Sarah saw that Abraham rejoiced at Ishmael’s playing and dancing, and she became jealous.

At that moment Ishmael was pious indeed, for he was praying to God in the following words: "O Lord of the world! If it be Thy will that I shall perish, then let me die in some other way, not by thirst, for the tortures of thirst are great beyond all others." Hagar, instead of praying to God, addressed her supplications to the idols of her youth. The prayer of Ishmael was acceptable before God, and He bade Miriam's well spring up, the well created in the twilight of the sixth day of creation.²¹⁶ Even after this miracle Hagar's faith was no stronger than before. She filled the bottle with water, because she feared it might again be spent, and no other would be nigh. Thereupon she journeyed to Egypt with her

²¹⁵ BR 53, 13; PRE 30; ShR 3, 2; Tan. Wa-Yeze 5; Tehillim 5, 55; Targum Yerushalmi, Gen. 21, 15-16. On the unbrotherly actions of the Ishmaelites against the Jews, comp. vol. IV, p. 315. The statement that God treats man according to his deserts at each moment is very frequently found in Jewish literature; comp. (besides the sources given at the beginning of this note) Rosh ha-Shanah 16b; Yerushalmi I, 57d; 4 Ezra 7, 132. Comp. Ginzberg, *Compte Rendu des Mélanges Is. Lewy*, 23-24 (= *R.E.J.*, 67, 137-138); see also MHG I, 309, as well as vol. II, 317. In Christian sources this statement is attributed to Jesus; comp. Ginzberg *loc. cit.*

²¹⁶ PRE 30; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 21, 16; MHG I, 309; Midrash Aggada, *ad loc.*, I, 48: She worshipped a brick; this is very likely a reminiscence of the worship of the Ka'bah in Mecca; comp., however, 'Abodah Zarah 46a. According to Targum Yerushalmi, *loc. cit.*, Ishmael's fear was a punishment for his and his mother's idolatry (PRE knows only of Hagar's idolatry, and this is in agreement with the singular *יִדְּוֹתָא* of verse 14); at the same time this fear brought them both back to God.

son, for “Throw the stick into the air as thou wilt, it will always land on its point.” Hagar {266} had come from Egypt, and to Egypt she returned, to choose a wife for her son.²¹⁷

THE TWO WIVES OF ISHMAEL

The wife of Ishmael bore four sons and a daughter, and afterward Ishmael, his mother, and his wife and children went and returned to the wilderness. They made themselves tents in the wilderness in which they dwelt, and they continued to encamp and journey, month by month and year by year. And God gave Ishmael flocks, and herds, and tents, on account of Abraham his father, and the man increased in cattle. And some time after, Abraham said to Sarah, his wife, “I will go and see my son Ishmael; I yearn to look upon him, for I have not seen him for a long time.” And Abraham rode upon one of his camels to the wilderness, to seek his son Ishmael, for he heard that he was dwelling in a tent in the wilderness with all belonging to him. And Abraham went to the wilderness, and he reached the tent of Ishmael about noon, and he asked after him. He found the wife of Ishmael sitting in the tent with her children, and her husband and his mother were not with them. And Abraham asked the wife of Ishmael, saying, “Where has Ishmael gone?” And she said, “He

²¹⁷. BR 53. 14. The proverb “Throw the stick, etc,” is very frequently quoted; comp. Theodor, *ad loc.* The sources differ as to Ishmael’s age at the time of his banishment from his father’s house; see BR 53. 13 and the sources given by Theodor, *ad loc.*, as well as Lekah I, 95, and Yashar Wa-Yera, 4ob; comp. also note 211.

has gone to the field to hunt game.” And Abraham was still mounted upon the camel, for he would not alight upon the ground, as he had sworn to his wife Sarah that he would not get off from the camel. And Abraham said to Ishmael’s wife, “My daughter, give me a little water, that I may drink, for I am fatigued and tired from the journey.” And Ishmael’s wife answered, and said to Abraham, “We have neither water {²⁶⁷} nor bread,” and she was sitting in the tent, and did not take any notice of Abraham. She did not even ask him who he was. But all the while she was beating her children in the tent, and she was cursing them, and she also cursed her husband Ishmael, and spoke evil of him, and Abraham heard the words of Ishmael’s wife to her children, and it was an evil thing in his eyes. And Abraham called to the woman to come out to him from the tent, and the woman came out, and stood face to face with Abraham, while Abraham was still mounted upon the camel. And Abraham said to Ishmael’s wife, “When thy husband Ishmael returns home, say these words to him: A very old man from the land of the Philistines came hither to seek thee, and his appearance was thus and so, and thus was his figure. I did not ask him who he was, and seeing thou wast not here, he spoke unto me, and said, When Ishmael thy husband returns, tell him, Thus did the man say, When thou comest home, put away this tent-pin which thou hast placed here, and place another tent-pin in its stead.” And Abraham finished his instructions to the woman, and he turned and went off on the camel homeward. And when Ishmael returned to the tent, he heard the words of his wife, and he knew that it was his father, and that his wife had not honored him. And Ishmael understood

his father's words that he had spoken to his wife, and he hearkened to the voice of his father, and he divorced his wife, and she went away. And Ishmael afterward went to the land of Canaan, and he took another wife, and he brought her to his tent, to the place where he dwelt.

And at the end of three years, Abraham said, "I will go again and see Ishmael my son, for I have not seen him for a {²⁶⁸} long time." And he rode upon his camel, and went to the wilderness, and he reached the tent of Ishmael about noon. And he asked after Ishmael, and his wife came out of the tent, and she said, "He is not here, my lord, for he has gone to hunt in the fields and feed the camels," and the woman said to Abraham, "Turn in, my lord, into the tent, and eat a morsel of bread, for thy soul must be wearied on account of the journey." And Abraham said to her, "I will not stop, for I am in haste to continue my journey, but give me a little water to drink, for I am thirsty," and the woman hastened and ran into the tent, and she brought out water and bread to Abraham, which she placed before him, urging him to eat and drink, and he ate and drank, and his heart was merry, and he blessed his son Ishmael. And he finished his meal, and he blessed the Lord, and he said to Ishmael's wife: "When Ishmael comes home, say these words to him: A very old man from the land of the Philistines came hither, and asked after thee, and thou wast not here, and I brought him out bread and water, and he ate and drank, and his heart was merry. And he spoke these words to me, When Ishmael thy husband comes home, say unto him, The tent-pin which thou hast is very good, do not put it away from the tent." And Abraham finished commanding the woman, and he rode off to his home, to the land of the Philistines, and when

Ishmael came to his tent, his wife went forth to meet him with joy and a cheerful heart, and she told him the words of the old man. Ishmael knew that it was his father, and that his wife had honored him, and he praised the Lord. And Ishmael then took his wife and his children and his cattle and all belonging to him, and he journeyed from {269} there, and he went to his father in the land of the Philistines. And Abraham related to Ishmael all that had happened between him and the first wife that Ishmael had taken, according to what she had done. And Ishmael and his children dwelt with Abraham many days in that land, and Abraham dwelt in the land of the Philistines a long time.²¹⁸

THE COVENANT WITH ABIMELECH

After a sojourn of twenty-six years in the land of the Philistines, Abraham departed thence, and he settled in the neighborhood of Hebron. There he was visited by Abimelech with twenty of his grandees,²¹⁹[219] who requested him to make an

²¹⁸. Yashar Wa-Yera, 41a, 41b, which is very likely based on PRE 30, though our text of that Midrash does not contain this episode. The names of Ishmael's two wives are given in PRE, *loc. cit.*, as Aisha (עִישָׁא; קַעִיפָה and עִדִישָׁה are corruptions) and Fatima (פַּטִּימָא). This is the source for Targum Yerushalmi, Gen. 21. 21. These names were borne by Mohammed's wife and a daughter, respectively; comp. Nöldeke in Geiger's *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, V, 313, and Luria, *ad loc.*

²¹⁹. Yashar Wa-Yera, 42a. On the chronology of these events comp. BR 54. 6 and the parallel passages given by Theodor. Phichol, Gen. 21. 22, is

alliance with the Philistines.

As long as Abraham was childless, the heathen did not believe in his piety, but when Isaac was born, they said to him, “God is with thee.” But again they entertained doubt of his piety when he cast off Ishmael. They said, “Were he a righteous man, he would not drive his first-born forth from his house.” But when they observed the impious deeds of Ishmael, they said, “God is with thee in all thou doest.” That Abraham was the favorite of God, they saw in this, too, that although Sodom was destroyed and all traffic had come to a standstill in that region, yet Abraham’s treasure chambers were filled. For these reasons, the Philistines sought to form an alliance with him, to remain in force for three generations to come, for it is to the third generation that the love of a father extends.

Before Abraham concluded the covenant with Abimelech, king of the Philistines, he reproved him on account of a well, for “Correction leads to love,” and “There is no peace {²⁷⁰} without correction.” The herdmen of Abraham and those of Abimelech had left their dispute about the well to decision by ordeal: the well was to belong to the party for whose sheep the waters would rise so that they could drink of them. But the shepherds of Abimelech disregarded the agreement, and they wrested the well for their own use.²²⁰ As a witness and a perpetual sign that the well

taken by some to be the title of the first grandee of the land, “whose mouth directs everything” = פִּי כָל; comp. BR 54. 2.

²²⁰. BR 54. 2–5; Shu’aib’s quotation (Wa-Yera, 9a) from an unknown Midrash; comp. Toledot Yizhak, *ad loc.*, 250. On the rising of the water

belonged to him, Abraham set aside seven sheep, corresponding to the seven Noachian laws binding upon all men alike.²²¹ But God said, "Thou didst give him seven sheep. As thou livest, the Philistines shall one day slay seven righteous men, Samson, Hophni, Phinehas, and Saul with his three sons, and they will destroy seven holy places, and they will keep the holy Ark in their country as booty of war for a period of seven months, and furthermore only the seventh generation of thy descendants will be able to rejoice in the possession of the land promised to them."²²² After concluding the alliance with Abimelech, who acknowledged Abraham's right upon the well, Abraham called the place Beer-sheba, because there they swore both of them unto a covenant of friendship.

In Beer-sheba Abraham dwelt many years, and thence he endeavored to spread the law of God. He planted a large grove there, and he made four gates for it, facing the four sides of the earth, east, west, north, and south, and he planted a vineyard therein. If a traveller came that way, he entered by the gate that faced him, and he sat in the grove, and ate, and drank, until he

comp. vol. I, pp. 293 and 354; vol. II, p. 291; vol. III, p. 53.

^{221.} MHG I, 312. On the Noachian commandments, comp. vol. I, pp. 70–71, and the notes appertaining to them.

^{222.} BR 54. 4; PK 10, 85a; Shemuel 12. 80–81; ER 7. 45. From Abraham to Moses there are seven generations, and accordingly Gen. 15. 16 can only refer to the four generations who were born in Egypt. Another explanation of the Gen. verse is that the generations of the Amorites are meant; comp. MHG I, 238; RSBM and Bekor Shor, *ad loc.*

was satisfied, and then he departed. For the house of Abraham was always open for all passers-by, and they came daily to eat and drink there. If one was hungry, and he came to Abraham, he would give {²⁷¹} him what he needed, so that he might eat and drink and be satisfied; and if one was naked, and he came to Abraham, he would clothe him with the garments of the poor man's choice, and give him silver and gold, and make known to him the Lord, who had created him and set him on earth.²²³ After the wayfarers had eaten, they were in the habit of thanking Abraham for his kind entertainment of them, whereto he would reply: "What, ye give thanks unto me! Rather return thanks to your host, He who alone provides food and drink for all creatures." Then the people would ask, "Where is He?" and Abraham would answer them, and say: "He is the Ruler of heaven and earth. He woundeth and He healeth, He formeth the embryo

²²³. Yashar Wa-Yera, 42b. In its main features this description of Abraham's hospitality follows ARN 7, 33-34, 163-164 where Job is the hero. Comp. vol. II, p. 229. It is true that ARN calls attention to the fact that Abraham by far surpassed Job, the latter having been hospitable to those who came to him, while the former went to the highways to look for strangers on whom to bestow his hospitality. A short description of Abraham's hospitality is also found in BR 54. 6; Sotah 10a; Tehillim 37, 252-253, and 110, 465; Berakot 58b; *Kad ha-Kemah, Orehim*, 5a (מדרש = ARN, *loc. cit.*, and *ירושלמי*=Bahir; Sabba, Toledot 27c also quotes this passage from Bahir with the introductory formula *בירושלמי*); comp. note 133. Even to-day in the vernacular of the Jews of Eastern Europe a house with many doors is described as a "house with Avrohom Ovinu's (Father Abraham's) doors". Comp. also the following two notes and *Neweh Shalom*, 48-49.

in the womb of the mother and bringeth it forth into the world, He causeth the plants and the trees to grow, He killeth and He maketh alive, He bringeth down to Sheol and bringeth up." When the people heard such words, they would ask, "How shall we return thanks to God and manifest our gratitude unto Him?" And Abraham would instruct them in these words: "Say, Blessed be the Lord who is blessed! Blessed be He that giveth bread and food unto all flesh!" In this manner did Abraham teach those who had enjoyed his hospitality how to praise and thank God.²²⁴ Abraham's house thus became not only a lodging-place for the hungry and thirsty, but also a place of instruction where the knowledge of God and His law were taught.²²⁵

²²⁴. Tan. Lek, 12; Tosafot (שנן) on Sotah 10b, quoting a source similar to, but not identical with, Tan. The prayer taught by Abraham (instead of צדקנות we should very likely read תפלות, parallel to ברכות) is identical with the first benediction of Grace after Meals; comp. Yelammedenu in Yalkut II, 667, on Ps. 24. The great merit of the fathers consists in their lovingkindness (צדקה); comp. EZ I, 169, and Aggadat Shir 3. 22, *seq.*

²²⁵. BR 54. 6. The Haggadot about Abraham's hospitality are introduced in connection with the word אשל (Gen. 21. 33), which is said to stand for אכילה food, שתיה drink and לוויה escort, provided by Abraham. In BR *loc. cit.*, the statement, based upon the literal meaning of אשל which is "tamarisk", is found that the middle bar in the midst of the boards of the tabernacle (Exod. 26. 28) was made out of this tamarisk. Comp. note 344 on vol. III, p. 164, and above, note 137.

SATAN ACCUSES ABRAHAM

In spite of the lavish hospitality practiced in the house of Abraham, it happened once that a poor man, or rather an {²⁷²} alleged poor man, was turned away empty-handed, and this was the immediate reason for the last of Abraham's temptations, the sacrifice of his favorite son Isaac. It was the day on which Abraham celebrated the birth of Isaac with a great banquet, to which all the magnates of the time were bidden with their wives. Satan, who always appears at a feast in which no poor people participate, and keeps aloof from those to which poor guests are invited, turned up at Abraham's banquet in the guise of a beggar asking alms at the door. He had noticed that Abraham had invited no poor man, and he knew that his house was the right place for him.

Abraham was occupied with the entertainment of his distinguished guests, and Sarah was endeavoring to convince their wives, the matrons, that Isaac was her child in very truth, and not a spurious child. No one concerned himself about the beggar at the door, who thereupon accused Abraham before God.²²⁶

Now, there was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan came also among them.²²⁷ And the Lord said unto Satan, "From whence comest thou?" and

²²⁶. Zohar I, 10a-11b. On the great feast prepared by Abraham on Isaac's birthday, see vol. I, pp. 262, 263. Satan disguised as a beggar is a favorite subject of Jewish legends; comp. Kiddushin 81a; vol. II, p. 232; vol. IV, pp. 227, 228; note 34.

²²⁷. Yashar Wa-Yera, 43b, where the diction is modelled after Job i. 6, *seq.*

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Satan answered the Lord, and said, "From going to and fro on the earth, and from walking up and down in it." And the Lord said unto Satan, "What hast thou to say concerning all the children of the earth?" and Satan answered the Lord, and said: "I have seen all the children of the earth serving Thee and remembering Thee, when they require aught from Thee. And when Thou givest them what they require from Thee, then they forsake Thee, and they remember Thee no more. Hast Thou seen {273} Abraham, the son of Terah, who at first had no children, and he served Thee and erected altars to Thee wherever he came, and he brought offerings upon them, and he proclaimed Thy name continually to all the children of the earth? And now his son Isaac is born to him, he has forsaken Thee. He made a great feast for all the inhabitants of the land, and the Lord he has forgotten. For amidst all that he has done, he brought Thee no offering, neither burnt offering nor peace offering, neither one lamb nor goat of all that he had killed in the day that his son was weaned. Even from the time of his son's birth till now, being thirty-seven years, he built no altar before Thee, nor brought up any offering to Thee, for he saw that Thou didst give what he requested before Thee, and he therefore forsook Thee." And the Lord said to Satan: "Hast thou considered My servant Abraham? For there is none like him in the earth, a perfect and an upright man before Me for a burnt offering, and that feareth God and escheweth evil. As I live, were I to say unto him, Bring up Isaac thy son before Me, he would not withhold him from Me, much less if I told him to bring up a burnt offering before Me from his flocks or herds." And Satan answered the Lord, and said, "Speak now unto Abraham as Thou hast said, and

Thou wilt see whether he will not transgress and cast aside Thy words this day.”²²⁸

God wished to try Isaac also. Ishmael once boasted to Isaac, saying, “I was thirteen years old when the Lord spoke to my father to circumcise us, and I did not transgress His word, which He commanded my father.” And Isaac answered Ishmael, saying, “What dost thou boast to me about this, about a little bit of thy flesh which thou didst {²⁷⁴} take from thy body, concerning which the Lord commanded thee? As the Lord liveth, the God of my father Abraham, if the Lord should say unto my father, Take now thy son Isaac and bring him up as an offering before Me, I would not refrain, but I would joyfully accede to it.”

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And the Lord thought to try Abraham and Isaac in this matter.²²⁹ And He said to Abraham, “Take now thy son.”

²²⁸. Yashar Wa-Yera 43b, based on old sources; comp. BR 55. 4; Sanhedrin 89b. In the last-named passage, as well as in Yashar, the accuser is Satan, while in BR the angels appear as accusers. In Jub. 18. 6 Mastema (=Satan) is the accuser. Comp. also the unknown Midrash in Yalkut I, 96, and Epstein in Ha-Eshkol VI, 201.

²²⁹. Yashar Wa-Yera, 43b–44a, based on BR 55. 4; Sanhedrin 89b, and Tan. B. I, 108, as well as Tan. Wa-Yera 18 and Targum Yerushalmi, Gen. 22.2. Great emphasis is laid in the sources on the fact that although Isaac, at the time of the ‘Akedah, was no longer a lad, but a grown-up man (different views are given as to his exact age; comp. Seder ‘Olam I; BR 55. 5, and parallel passages cited by Theodor), yet he willingly

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Abraham: "I have two sons, and I do not know which of them Thou commandest me to take."

God: "Thine only son."

Abraham: "The one is the only son of his mother, and the other is the only son of his mother."

God: "Whom thou lovest."

Abraham: "I love this one and I love that one."

God: "Even Isaac."²³⁰

Abraham: "And where shall I go?"

God: "To the land I will show thee, and offer Isaac there for a burnt offering."

Abraham: "Am I fit to perform the sacrifice, am I a priest? Ought not rather the high priest Shem to do it?"

submitted to his father's wish. In the 'Akedah legends two currents are to be distinguished; according to one, Abraham is the hero, while in the other Isaac is glorified. In the oldest reference to the 'Akedah in the liturgy (*Zikronot* in the Musaf for New Year) it is Isaac to whom credit is given, whereas medieval paitanim in their 'Akedahs sing Abraham's praises.

²³⁰. BR 55. 7; Sanhedrin 89b; Tan. B., I, 11; Tan. Wa-Yera 22; PRE 31; PR 40, 169b and 193b. Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 32, and Josephus, *Antiqui.* I, 13. 1, likewise introduce the 'Akedah with a description of Isaac's virtues on account of which he was very dear to his father, and yet Abraham did not hesitate to bring him as a sacrifice to God as soon as he was commanded to do so.

God: "When thou wilt arrive at that place, I will consecrate thee and make thee a priest."²³¹

And Abraham said within himself, "How shall I separate my son Isaac from Sarah his mother?" And he came into the tent, and he sate before Sarah his wife, and he spake these words to her: "My son Isaac is grown up, and he has not yet studied the service of God. Now, to-morrow I will go and bring him to Shem and Eber his son, and there he {²⁷⁵} will learn the ways of the Lord, for they will teach him to know the Lord, and to know how to pray unto the Lord that He may answer him, and to know the way of serving the Lord his God." And Sarah said, "Thou hast spoken well. Go, my lord, and do unto him as thou hast said, but remove him not far from me, neither let him remain there too long, for my soul is bound within his soul." And Abraham said unto Sarah, "My daughter, let us pray to the Lord our God that He may do good with us." And Sarah took her son Isaac, and he abode with her all that night, and she kissed and embraced him, and she laid injunctions upon him till morning, and she said to Abraham: "O my lord, I pray thee, take heed of thy son, and place thine eyes over him, for I have no other son nor daughter but him. O neglect him not. If he be hungry, give him bread, and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink; do not let him go on foot, neither let him sit in the sun, neither let him go by himself on the road, neither turn him from whatever he may desire, but do unto him as he may say to thee."

²³¹. PR 40, 170a; A different view is given in BR 55. 7; comp. vol. I, pp. 233, 234, and the notes appertaining to them.

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After spending the whole night in weeping on account of Isaac, she got up in the morning and selected a very fine and beautiful garment from those that Abimelech had given to her. And she dressed Isaac therewith, and she put a turban upon his head, and she fastened a precious stone in the top of the turban, and she gave them provisions for the road. And Sarah went out with them, and she accompanied them upon the road to see them off, and they said to her, "Return to the tent." And when Sarah heard the words of her son Isaac, she wept bitterly, and Abraham wept with her, and their son wept with them, a great weeping, also {²⁷⁶} those of their servants who went with them wept greatly. And Sarah caught hold of Isaac, and she held him in her arms, and she embraced him, and continued to weep with him, and Sarah said, "Who knoweth if I shall ever see thee again after this day?"

Abraham departed with Isaac amid great weeping, while Sarah and the servants returned to the tent.²³² He took two of his young men with him, Ishmael and Eliezer, and while they were walking in the road, the young men spoke these words to each other. Said Ishmael to Eliezer: "Now my father Abraham is going with Isaac to bring him up for a burnt offering to the Lord, and when he returneth, he will give unto me all that he possesses, to inherit after him, for I am his first-born." Eliezer answered: "Surely,

²³² Yashar Wa-Yera, 44a, 44b. Comp. the unknown Midrash in Yalkut I, 98. The old sources (comp. references in notes 15 and 758 on vol. III, 12 and 371, as well as Tan. Wa-Yera 22), dwell upon the speed with which Abraham, in his zeal to obey God's command, proceeded to carry it out.

Abraham did cast thee off with thy mother, and swear that thou shouldst not inherit anything of all he possesses. And to whom will he give all that he has, all his precious things, but unto his servant, who has been faithful in his house, to me, who have served him night and day, and have done all that he desired me?" The holy spirit answered, "Neither this one nor that one will inherit Abraham."²³³

And while Abraham and Isaac were proceeding along the road, Satan came and appeared to Abraham in the figure of a very aged man, humble and of contrite spirit, and said to him: "Art thou silly or foolish, that thou goest to do this thing to thine only son? God gave thee a son in thy latter days, in thine old age, and wilt thou go and slaughter him, who did not commit any violence, and wilt thou cause the soul of thine only son to perish from the earth? Dost thou not know and understand that this thing cannot be from the {277} Lord? For the Lord would not do unto man such evil, to command him, Go and slaughter thy son." Abraham, hearing these words, knew that it was Satan, who endeavored to turn him astray from the way of the Lord, and he rebuked him that he went away. And Satan returned and came to Isaac, and he appeared unto him in the figure of a young man, comely and well-favored, saying unto him: "Dost thou not know that thy silly old father bringeth thee to the slaughter this day for naught? Now, my son, do not listen to him, for he is a silly old man, and let not thy precious soul and beautiful figure be lost from the earth." And Isaac told these words to his father, but Abraham said to him,

²³³ PRE 31; Yashar Wa-Yera, 44b; Wa-Yosha', 37; comp. below, note 236.

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“Take heed of him, and do not listen to his words, for he is Satan endeavoring to lead us astray from the commands of our God.” And Abraham rebuked Satan again, and Satan went from them, and, seeing he could not prevail over them, he transformed himself into a large brook of water in the road, and when Abraham, Isaac, and the two young men reached that place, they saw a brook large and powerful as the mighty waters. And they entered the brook, trying to pass it, but the further they went, the deeper the brook, so that the water reached up to their necks, and they were all terrified on account of the water. But Abraham recognized the place, and he knew that there had been no water there before, and he said to his son: “I know this place, on which there was no brook nor water. Now, surely, it is Satan who doth all this to us, to draw us aside this day from the commands of God.” And Abraham rebuked Satan, saying unto him: “The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan. Begone from us, for we go by the command of God.” And Satan was terrified {²⁷⁸} at the voice of Abraham, and he went away from them, and the place became dry land again as it was at first. And Abraham went with Isaac toward the place that God had told him.²³⁴

²³⁴ Yashar Wa-Yera, 44b–45a, based on old sources; comp. Sanhedrin 89b; BR 56. 4; Tan. B. I, 114; Tan. Wa-Yera 22; PR 40, 170b; Wa-Yosha', 36–37; the unknown Midrash in Yalkut I, 98. In BR the tempter is Sammael, which is only a different name for Satan; comp. above, note 228. In BR 56. 4 it is stated that Abraham hid Isaac in a casket that Satan should not lay hands upon him and, by causing injury to his body, render him unfit for a sacrifice, which according to the law must be

Satan then appeared unto Sarah in the figure of an old man, and said unto her, "Where did thine husband go?" She said, "To his work." "And where did thy son Isaac go?" he inquired further, and she answered, "He went with his father to a place of study of the Torah." Satan said: "O thou poor old woman, thy teeth will be set on edge on account of thy son, as thou knowest not that Abraham took his son with him on the road to sacrifice him." In this hour Sarah's loins trembled, and all her limbs shook. She was no more of this world. Nevertheless she aroused herself, and said, "All that God hath told Abraham, may he do it unto life and unto peace."²³⁵

On the third day of his journey, Abraham lifted up his eyes and saw the place at a distance, which God had told him. He noticed upon the mountain a pillar of fire reaching from the earth to heaven, and a heavy cloud in which the glory of God was seen. Abraham said to Isaac, "My son, dost thou see on that mountain which we perceive at a distance that which I see upon it?" And

without blemish. MHG I, 315, gives the scene of the temptation by Satan in accordance with an unknown midrashic source; comp. also *Neweh Shalom*, 59–60. In Sanhedrin and MHG, *loc. cit.*, it is related that Satan, having failed to sway either Abraham or Isaac, said to the former: "I have heard a voice from behind the curtain (see Index, s. v. "Curtain, Heavenly") proclaiming that a sheep, not Isaac, will be sacrificed." But even these words had no effect upon Abraham, who remarked: "It is the punishment of the mendacious not to be believed even when he tells the truth."

²³⁵ Wa-Yosha' 36; a somewhat different version is found in Yashar Wa-Yera, 46b. Comp. also the unknown Midrash in Yalkut I, 98; and 99.

Isaac answered, and said unto his father, "I see, and, lo, a pillar of fire and a cloud, and the glory of the Lord is seen upon the cloud." Abraham knew then that Isaac was accepted before the Lord for an offering. He asked Ishmael and Eliezer, "Do you also see that which we see upon the mountain?" They answered, "We see nothing more than like the other mountains," and Abraham knew that they were not accepted before {279} the Lord to go with them.²³⁶ Abraham said to them, "Abide ye here with the ass, you are like the ass—as little as it sees, so little do you see."²³⁷ I and Isaac my son go to yonder mount, and worship there before the Lord, and this eve we will return to you."²³⁸ An unconscious prophecy had come to Abraham, for he prophesied that he and Isaac would both return from the mountain.²³⁹ Eliezer and

²³⁶. Yashar Wa-Yera, 45a-45b, based on old sources; comp. BR 56. 2; PK 27, 170b; WR 20. 2; Kohelet 9. 7; Tan. B. I, 113, and III, 58; Tan. Wa-Yera 23 and Ahare 2; PR 40, 170b; PRE 21; Targum Yerushalmi, Gen. 22. 4; Aggadat Bereshit 31. 63. Comp. also Philo, *De Sommiis* 11. Jub. 18. 4a reads: He made his companions abide at a well. According to a widespread Haggadah they remained at a mile's distance from the holy mountain; comp. Tan. B. I, 113 and 183; II, 15; III, 9 and 14, as well as the numerous parallel passages cited by Theodor to BR 53. 13; see further Berakot 63b; *Sekel* 61, and Mahzor Vitry, 110.

²³⁷. BR 56. 2 and the sources referred to in the preceding note. Comp. also Theodor, *ad loc.*, and vol. II, p. 348.

²³⁸. Yashar Wa-Yera, 45. The Midrashim contain numerous explanations of the word כה (Gen. 22. 5); comp. BR 56. 2; Tan. B. I, 113; Targum Yerushalmi, Gen., *loc. cit.*; Aggadat Shir 1. 5 (this is the source of Al-Barceloni, 57); Tan. Wa-Yehi 7; BR 43. 8; MHG I, 320.

Ishmael remained in that place, as Abraham had commanded, while he and Isaac went further.

THE 'AKEDAH

And while they were walking along, Isaac spake unto his father, "Behold, the fire and the wood, but where then is the lamb for a burnt offering before the Lord?" And Abraham answered Isaac, saying, "The Lord hath chosen thee, my son, for a perfect burnt offering, instead of the lamb." And Isaac said unto his father, "I will do all that the Lord hath spoken to thee with joy and cheerfulness of heart." And Abraham again said unto Isaac his son, "Is there in thy heart any thought or counsel concerning this which is not proper? Tell me, my son, I pray thee! O my son, conceal it not from me." And Isaac answered, "As the Lord liveth, and as thy soul liveth, there is nothing in my heart to cause me to deviate either to the right or the left from the word that He hath spoken unto thee. Neither limb nor muscle hath moved or stirred on account of this, nor is there in my heart any thought or evil counsel concerning this. But I am joyful and cheerful of heart in this matter, and I say, Blessed is the Lord who has this day chosen me to be a burnt offering before Him." {280}

Abraham greatly rejoiced at the words of Isaac, and they went

²³⁹ BR 56. 2; Tan. B. I, 113; Tan. Wa-Yera 23; PR 40, 170b; Mo'ed Katan 18a; Ephraim I, 77B. 2 ARN 43, 118 (and from there in Midrash Aggada I. 51), enumerates the "unconscious prophecies". John, II. 51, and Herodotus III, 153, show that this conception is widespread.

on and came together to that place that the Lord had spoken of.²⁴⁰ And Abraham approached to build the altar in that place, and Abraham did build, while Isaac handed him stones and mortar, until they finished erecting the altar. And Abraham took the wood and arranged it upon the altar, and he bound Isaac, to place him upon the wood which was upon the altar, to slay him for a burnt offering before the Lord.²⁴¹ Isaac spake hereupon: "Father, make haste, bare thine arm, and bind my hands and feet securely, for I am a young man, but thirty-seven years of age, and thou art an old man. When I behold the slaughtering knife in thy hand, I may perchance begin to tremble at the sight and push against thee, for the desire unto life is bold. Also I may do myself an injury and make myself unfit to be sacrificed. I adjure thee, therefore, my father, make haste, execute the will of thy Creator, delay not. Turn up thy garment, gird thy loins, and after that thou hast slaughtered me, burn me unto fine ashes. Then gather the ashes, and bring them to Sarah, my mother, and place them in a casket in her chamber. At all hours, whenever she enters her chamber,

²⁴⁰. Yashar Wa-Yera, 45b (read בּוֹי instead of בּוֹה), based on old sources; comp. BR 56. 3–4; Tan. Wa-Yera 23; PR 40, 170b; Targumim Yerushalmi Gen. 22. 8; PRE 31. The explanation of יחדו (Gen., *loc. cit.*) in the sense of "in the same spirit", given in the above-mentioned sources, is also found in ps.-Philo, 41A. Comp. Josephus, *Antiqui.* I, 32. 1; MHG I, 321; vol. IV, p. 44.

²⁴¹. Yashar Wa-Yera, 45b; *Neweh Shalom*, 50; Wa-Yosha' 37; Tan. Wa-Yera 23. According to BR 56. 4; PR 40, 170; ER 28, 138; EZ 2, 174, Isaac did not participate in the erection of the altar. See also below.

she will remember her son Isaac and weep for him.”

And again Isaac spoke: “As soon as thou hast slaughtered me, and hast separated thyself from me, and returnest to Sarah my mother, and she asketh thee, Where is my son Isaac? what wilt thou answer her, and what will you two do in your old age?” Abraham answered, and said, “We know we can survive thee by a few days only. He who was our Comfort before thou wast born, will comfort us now and henceforth.” {281}

After he had laid the wood in order, and bound Isaac on the altar, upon the wood, Abraham braced his arms, rolled up his garments, and leaned his knees upon Isaac with all his strength. And God, sitting upon His throne, high and exalted, saw how the hearts of the two were the same, and tears were rolling down from the eyes of Abraham upon Isaac, and from Isaac down upon the wood, so that it was submerged in tears. When Abraham stretched forth his hand, and took the knife to slay his son, God spoke to the angels: “Do you see how Abraham my friend proclaims the unity of My Name in the world? Had I hearkened unto you at the time of the creation of the world, when ye spake, What is man, that Thou art mindful of him? And the son of man, that Thou visitest him? who would there have been to make known the unity of My Name in this world?” The angels then broke into loud weeping, and they exclaimed: “The highways lie waste, the wayfaring man ceaseth, he hath broken the covenant. Where is the reward of Abraham, he who took the wayfarers into his house, gave them food and drink, and went with them to bring them on the way? The covenant is broken, whereof Thou didst speak to him, saying, ‘For in Isaac shall thy seed be called,’ and saying, ‘My covenant

will I establish with Isaac,' for the slaughtering knife is set upon his throat."

The tears of the angels fell upon the knife, so that it could not cut Isaac's throat, but from terror his soul escaped from him. Then God spoke to the archangel Michael, and said: "Why standest thou here? Let him not be slaughtered." Without delay, Michael, anguish in his voice, cried out: "Abraham! Abraham! Lay not thine hand {²⁸²} upon the lad, neither do thou any thing unto him!" Abraham made answer, and he said: "God did command me to slaughter Isaac, and thou dost command me not to slaughter him! The words of the Teacher and the words of the disciple—unto whose words doth one hearken?"²⁴² Then

²⁴². Wa-Yosha' 37-38 (text, 38, 2, is to be emended and read *שאמרתם*); PRE 31; *Neweh Shalom* 50-51; Yashar Wa-Yera, 46a (the expression *תנה כופר ופדיון* is an Arabism); Tan. Wa-Yera 23; Yerushalmi Targumim, Gen. 22. 9; see also the quotations from an unknown Midrash given in MHG I, 521-522, and Mahzor Vitry 330. The weeping of the angels is already referred to in the old sources; comp. BR 56. 6 (*חוצה* on). See Targum and Peshitta, Isa. 38. 7, which connect this word with Syriac *חיצא*; hence the expression *חיצה היא בידיה* becomes intelligible); PR 40, 171a; PRE 31; Aggadat Bereshit 31, 61-62; MHG I, 322 (here it is Metatron who pleads for Isaac's life, and it is he who is sent to restrain Abraham from slaying Isaac); Zohar I, 120b. Comp. also vol. IV, pp. 306 and 308, as well as 426. That the bluntness of his knife prevented Abraham from carrying out his intention, is alluded to also in BR 56. 7; Tan. Wa-Yera 23 (here Satan knocks the knife out of Abraham's hand; but, perhaps, *המלאך* is to be read instead of *השטן*); MHG I, 322. See also the following note. Isaac's resignation to God's will is also praised in 4 Maccabees 16. 20, whereas

Abraham heard it said: “By Myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, because thou hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, that in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand which is upon the seashore; and thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies, and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, because thou hast obeyed My voice.”

At once Abraham left off from Isaac, who returned to life, revived by the heavenly voice admonishing Abraham not to slaughter his son. Abraham loosed his bonds, and Isaac stood upon his feet, and spoke the benediction, “Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who quickenest the dead.”²⁴³

in 13. 12 and 14. 20 it is Abraham who is the hero of the ‘Akedah. See note 299; comp. ps.-Philo 18C and note 240. The binding of Isaac by Abraham was in conformity with the law, which prescribes the binding of a sacrifice before it is slaughtered; comp. Shabbat 54a; 2 Enoch 59; Eldad 44. See also Ginzberg in *Journal for Jewish Lore and Philosophy*, I, 206. It is to be noted in this connection that Abraham observed all the sacrificial ceremonies while preparing to offer up Isaac. Comp. MHG I, 322; PRE 31; Hullin 16a. The repetition of Abraham’s name by the angel is explained by Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 32, in the same manner as in PR and Wa-Yosha’, *loc. cit.*, whereas BR 56. 7 and the parallel passages cited by Theodor consider it an expression of endearment. See also Jub. 18. 10.

²⁴³ PRE 31; MHG I, 323; Wa-Yosha’ 38; unknown midrashic sources in *Shibbole ha-Leket*, No. 18 (*Tefillah*), 17–18; Al-Barceloni, 125, based on PRE, *loc. cit.*, but with the additional remark that Isaac gave up his life at the appearance of the Shekinah. In BR 65. 9 Isaac’s blindness is explained in a similar manner; comp. Hebrews 11. 19, and below, note 255. With regard to the oath taken by God, Philo, *Legum Allegor.* 71,

Then spake Abraham to God, "Shall I go hence without having offered up a sacrifice?" Whereunto God replied, and said, "Lift up thine eyes, and behold the sacrifice behind thee."²⁴⁴ And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and, behold, behind him a ram caught in the thicket, which God had created in the twilight of Sabbath eve in the week of creation, and prepared since then as a burnt offering instead of Isaac. And the ram had been running toward Abraham, when Satan caught hold of him and entangled his horns in the thicket, that he might not advance to Abraham. And Abraham, seeing this, fetched him from the thicket, and brought him upon the altar as an offering in the place of {²⁸³} his son Isaac. And Abraham sprinkled the blood of the ram upon the altar, and he exclaimed, and said, "This is instead of my son, and may this be considered as the blood of my son before the Lord." And whatsoever Abraham did by the altar, he exclaimed, and said, "This is instead of my son, and may it be considered before the Lord in place of my son." And God accepted the sacrifice of the ram, and it was accounted as though it had been Isaac.²⁴⁵

remarks: The mere words of God are...laws and institutions.... It is proper to say that all the words of God are oaths confirmed by the accomplishment of the acts to which they relate. Whether Hebrews 6. 13 is to be traced directly to Philo is doubtful. "The word of God is an act" is a favorite phrase with the Rabbis; comp. BR 44. 22; Tehillim 107, 462. See also Philo, *Quaestiones*, Gen., 4.170; note 1 on vol. I, p. 49.

²⁴⁴ PR 40, 171b; MHG I, 323; Tan. B. IV, 72.

²⁴⁵ Yashar Wa-Yera, 46b, based on old sources; comp. BR 56. 9 and parallel passages cited by Theodor, *ad loc.*, as well as PRE 26 and

As the creation of this ram had been extraordinary, so also was the use to which all parts of his carcass were put. Not one thing went to waste. The ashes of the parts burnt upon the altar formed the foundation of the inner altar, whereon the expiatory sacrifice was brought once a year, on the Day of Atonement, the day on which the offering of Isaac took place. Of the sinews of the ram, David made ten strings for his harp upon which he played. The skin served Elijah for his girdle, and of his two horns, the one was blown at the end of the revelation on Mount Sinai, and the other will be used to proclaim the end of the Exile, when the “great horn shall be blown, and they shall come which were ready to perish in the land of Assyria, and they that were outcasts in the land of Egypt, and they shall worship the Lord in the holy mountain at Jerusalem.”²⁴⁶

When God commanded the father to desist from sacrificing Isaac, Abraham said: “One man tempts another, because he

unknown Midrash in Yalkut I, 101. **ביום עשותו** in Yashar is not to be taken literally; comp. note 99 on vol. I, p. 83, and Zohar I, 120b. According to another view, it was the bell-wether of Abraham’s flocks that was sacrificed instead of Isaac. Abraham had called this pet animal Isaac, and it was therefore quite appropriate that Isaac, the ram, should take the place of the real Isaac; comp. MHG I, 323- 324, and *Neweh Shalom*, 51, with the additional remark that Gabriel had brought the ram to the altar.

²⁴⁶. PRE 31. On the trumpet at the advent of the Messiah, see vol. IV, p. 234, and note 116 appertaining thereto. Bahya on Exod. 19. 13, and Caro, *Toledot Yizhak* on Gen. 22. 13 (the latter is based on the former) state that the ram came to life again after it was sacrificed and burned to ashes. On the resurrection of animals, comp. vol. I, p. 236, and notes 113, 317.

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knoweth not what is in the heart of his neighbor. But Thou surely didst know that I was ready to sacrifice my son!"

God: "It was manifest to Me, and I foreknew it, that thou wouldst withhold not even thy soul from Me." {²⁸⁴}

Abraham: "And why, then, didst Thou afflict me thus?"

God: "It was My wish that the world should become acquainted with thee, and should know that it is not without good reason that I have chosen thee from all the nations. Now it hath been witnessed unto men that thou fearest God."²⁴⁷

Hereupon God opened the heavens, and Abraham heard the words, "By Myself I swear!"

Abraham: "Thou swearest, and also I swear, I will not leave this altar until I have said what I have to say."

God: "Speak whatsoever thou hast to speak!"

Abraham: "Didst Thou not promise me Thou wouldst let one come forth out of mine own bowels, whose seed should fill the whole world?"

God: "Yes."

²⁴⁷. Tan. B. I, 114, and IV, 72; Tan. Wa-Yera 23 and Shelah 14; PR 40, 171a; BaR 17. 2; comp. also BR 56. 7 and 57. 14, as well as Sifre D., 313. In the sources herewith mentioned it is stated that God promised Abraham not to tempt either him or Isaac in the future. The temptations and sufferings intended for Abraham were accordingly assigned to Job.—The haggadic interpretation of יָדַעְתִּי as יָדַעְתִּי ("I made thee known") is already found in Jub. 18. 1, as well as in Peshitta and Vulgate Gen. 22. 12.

Abraham: "Whom didst Thou mean?"

God: "Isaac."

Abraham: "Didst Thou not promise me to make my seed as numerous as the sand of the sea-shore?"

God: "Yes."

Abraham: "Through which one of my children?"

God: "Through Isaac."

Abraham: "I might have reproached Thee, and said, O Lord of the world, yesterday Thou didst tell me, In Isaac shall Thy seed be called, and now Thou sayest, Take thy son, thine only son, even Isaac, and offer him for a burnt offering. But I refrained myself, and I said nothing. Thus mayest Thou, when the children of Isaac commit trespasses and because of them fall upon evil times, be mindful of the offering of their father Isaac, and forgive their sins and deliver them from their suffering." {285}

God: "Thou hast said what thou hadst to say, and I will now say what I have to say. Thy children will sin before me in time to come, and I will sit in judgment upon them on the New Year's Day. If they desire that I should grant them pardon, they shall blow the ram's horn on that day, and I, mindful of the ram that was substituted for Isaac as a sacrifice, will forgive them for their sins."²⁴⁸

²⁴⁸. Tan. B. I, 115; Tan. Wa-Yera 23; Yerushalmi Ta'anit 2, 65d; PK 23, 154b; WR 29. 10; MHG I, 325-326; an unknown midrashic source in *Hadar*, 8a; PR 40, 171b. Comp. also BR 56. 9, Yerushalmi Targumim, Gen. 22. 14. *Nispahim*, 47, reads: God forgives Israel's sins on New Year

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Furthermore, the Lord revealed unto Abraham that the Temple, to be erected on the spot of Isaac's offering, would be destroyed,²⁴⁹ and as the ram substituted for Isaac extricated himself from one tree but to be caught in another, so his children would pass from kingdom to kingdom—delivered from Babylonia they would be subjugated by Media, rescued from Media they would be enslaved by Greece, escaped from Greece they would serve Rome—yet in the end they would be redeemed in a final redemption, at the sound of the ram's horn, when "the Lord God shall blow the trumpet, and shall go with whirlwinds of the south."²⁵⁰

The place on which Abraham had erected the altar was the same whereon Adam had brought the first sacrifice, and Cain and Abel had offered their gifts to God—the same whereon Noah

on account of the merit of Abraham who was willing to be burned in the furnace of fire by Nimrod in order to sanctify God's name. On the basis of the Haggadot which connect the ceremony of the blowing of the ram's horn on New Year with the ram sacrificed in lieu of Isaac, the view arose that the 'Akedah took place on that day. A different opinion, favored by the Kabbalists, maintains that this event occurred on the Day of Atonement. See Ginzberg in *Ha-Zofeh*, III, 186–188. Now and again one meets with the view that the 'Akedah took place in Nisan; comp. ShR 15. 11, and see further note 126.

²⁴⁹. BR 56. 10; Sifre D., 352; PRE 31; Targum Yerushalmi 22. 15; comp. note 251. According to PRE 23, Abraham performed the rite of circumcision on his body at the site of the temple; see further note 283. In remembrance of the sacrifice of Isaac, God commanded that two sacrifices should be brought daily; ER 56. 36; WR 2. 11.

²⁵⁰. BR 56. 7; Yerushalmi Ta'anit 2, 65d; PK 23, 154b; PR 40, 171b.

raised an altar to God after he left the ark;²⁵¹ and Abraham, who knew that it was the place appointed for the Temple, called it Yireh, for it would be the abiding place of the fear and the service of God.²⁵² But as Shem had given it the name Shalem, Place of Peace, and God would not give offence to either Abraham or Shem, He united the two names, and called the city by the name Jerusalem.²⁵³

²⁵¹ PR 31; Targum Yerushalmi, Gen. 22. 9. The altar destroyed by the flood was rebuilt by Noah, but later demolished by the builders of the Tower; MHG I, 321.

²⁵² MHG I, 325; comp. the following note.

²⁵³ BR 56. 10; Tehillim 76, 341–342; see note 102. The etymological remark of Lactantius, *Institutiones*, 4. 10, to the effect that Jerusalem was called after Solomon, is not based, as is generally assumed, on the Greek *ἱερὸν*, but on the Hebrew *ירושלם* [ירושלם] i. e. “the possession of Solomon.” Theophilus 2. 31 remarks: Melchizedek changed the name of the city from Salem to Jerusalem. Numerous are the etymologies given of the name Moriah, the Temple mount (2 Chron. 3. 1), which according to Jewish tradition, accepted by the Church, is identical with the place where Abraham was commanded to sacrifice Isaac; comp. BR 55. 7; Yerushalmi Berakot 4, 8c; Ta’anit 10a; Berakot 62b; Shir 4. 4; Tan. B. I, 112; PR 40, 169b–170a; Tehillim 30, 233; Targumim, Aquila, Symmachus, and Septuagint, Gen. 22. 2. Peshitta stands alone with its rendering of Moriah by Amorite (*מוריה* = *אמוריה*) and yet the Syriac Fathers Ephraim (I, 100, 17c) and Aphraates (400) maintain that the ‘Akedah took place on the holy mount of Jerusalem; see Ginzberg, *Haggada bei den Kirchenv.*, 113–114. Jerome, on Gen., *loc. cit.*, gives two etymologies of Moriah which agree with those of BR, *loc. cit.* Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 13, 2, knows of the identity of Moriah with the Temple mount, but gives no etymological explanation of the meaning of Moriah. See also the

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After the sacrifice on Mount Moriah, Abraham returned to Beer-sheba, the scene of so many of his joys.²⁵⁴ Isaac was {²⁸⁶} carried to Paradise by angels, and there he sojourned for three years. Thus Abraham returned home alone, and when Sarah beheld him, she exclaimed, "Satan spoke truth when he said that Isaac was sacrificed," and so grieved was her soul that it fled from her body.²⁵⁵

unknown Midrash in Yalkut I, 100.

²⁵⁴. BR 56. 1. According to the reading of MHG I, 327, Isaac did not return with his father, but by himself, "in the stillness of the night, in order that his miraculous escape from death should not be the cause of provoking the evil eye." A different view is found in Midrash Aggada I, 54, and Targum Yerushalmi 22. 19. The angels alluded to in the last source probably belong to another legend; comp. the following note.

²⁵⁵. MHG I, 327. The purpose of Isaac's stay in paradise was to be cured from the injury inflicted by his father before the angel stopped him from completing the sacrifice; comp. the passage from an unknown Midrash *Hadar*, 10b; *Minhat Yehudah*, 13b (on Gen. 25. 27); Pa'aneah Raza, Gen. 24. 64; Yalkut Reubeni, Gen. 22. 2 (the reference to R. Bahya covers only the sentence 'קריית ארבע וכו'; Shu'aib, Hayye Sarah, 11b. *Shibbole ha-Leket*, No. 18 (*Tefillah*) 17–18, quotes an unknown Midrash to the effect that Isaac was burned to ashes, and then brought back to life. The old sources, however, explicitly state that God forbade Abraham to cause even the slightest injury to Isaac; for Abraham had intended to bleed him a little, in order thus to show his willingness to offer to God his most precious possession dearest to his heart; comp. BR 56. 7, and parallel passages cited by Theodor. It is therefore very strange that Mekilta RS 4 speaks of Isaac's blood brought as a sacrifice. See, however, ps.-Philo 18c: And for the blood of him—Isaac—did I choose this people; comp. note

THE DEATH AND BURIAL OF SARAH

While Abraham was engaged in the sacrifice, Satan went to Sarah, and appeared to her in the figure of an old man, very humble and meek, and said to her: "Dost thou not know all that Abraham has done unto thine only son this day? He took Isaac, and built an altar, slaughtered him, and brought him up as a

243.—*Yalkut David* on Gen. 27. 27 quotes the Zohar with reference to Isaac's stay in paradise, but nothing of this kind occurs in the latter, and there can be no doubt that *Yalkut Reubeni* is to be read instead of Zohar, as the supposed quotation from the Zohar is actually found, word for word, in *Yalkut Reubeni*, *loc. cit.* For further details on this point see below, note 301, and note 92 on vol. I, p. 334. *Neweh Shalom* remarks: While Isaac was lying on the altar bound as a sacrifice, the angel of death took his stand opposite him, and said: "As soon as Abraham lays his hand on Isaac, and slays him, I shall take his—Isaac's—soul." But when he saw that all the angels were pleading for Isaac's life (comp. vol. I, p. 281), he remarked: "This man has no enemy, and I will therefore do him no harm." Abraham was enjoined to carry out the commandment of the 'Akedah three days after it was given (Gen. 22. 4), in order that it should not be said that he fulfilled God's will while in a state of excitement and perturbation; BR 55. 6; Tan. B. I, 113; Tan. Wa-Yera 22; PR 40, 170a-170b; Aggadat Bereshit 31, 63-64; Ephraim I, 76E. The diffuse comments of Philo on the 'Akedah, which he explains as a protest against the sacrificing of children, show that Alexandrian Judaism, no less than Palestinian, attached great importance to this episode in the lives of the patriarchs.—The site of the Temple mount was originally a plain, but was "elevated" at the moment it was designated as the place for the 'Akedah; Tan. Wa-Yera 22; *Yalkut I*, 100.

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sacrifice. Isaac cried and wept before his father, but he looked not at him, neither did he have compassion upon him." After saying these words to Sarah, Satan went away from her, and she thought him to be an old man from amongst the sons of men who had been with her son. Sarah lifted up her voice, and cried bitterly, saying: "O my son, Isaac, my son, O that I had this day died instead of thee I It grieves me for thee! After that I have reared thee and have brought thee up, my joy is turned into mourning over thee. In my longing for a child, I cried and prayed, till I bore thee at ninety. Now hast thou served this day for the knife and the fire. But I console myself, it being the word of God, and thou didst perform the command of thy God, for who can transgress the word of our God, in whose hands is the soul of every living creature? Thou art just, O Lord our God, for all Thy works are good and righteous, for I also rejoice with the word which Thou didst command, and while mine eye weepeth bitterly, my {²⁸⁷} heart rejoiceth." And Sarah laid her head upon the bosom of one of her handmaids, and she became as still as a stone.

She rose up afterward and went about making inquiries concerning her son, till she came to Hebron, and no one could tell her what had happened to her son. Her servants went to seek him in the house of Shem and Eber, and they could not find him, and they sought throughout the land, and he was not there. And, behold, Satan came to Sarah in the shape of an old man, and said unto her, "I spoke falsely unto thee, for Abraham did not kill his son, and he is not dead," and when she heard the word, her joy was so exceedingly violent that her soul went out through joy.

When Abraham with Isaac returned to Beer-sheba, they sought

for Sarah and could not find her, and when they made inquiries concerning her, they were told that she had gone as far as Hebron to seek them. Abraham and Isaac went to her to Hebron, and when they found that she was dead, they cried bitterly over her, and Isaac said: “O my mother, my mother, how hast thou left me, and whither hast thou gone? O whither hast thou gone, and how hast thou left me?” And Abraham and all his servants wept and mourned over her a great and heavy mourning,²⁵⁶ even that Abraham did not pray, but spent his time in mourning and weeping over Sarah.²⁵⁷ And, indeed, he had great reason to mourn his loss, for even in her old age Sarah had retained the beauty of her youth and the innocence of her childhood.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁶. Yashar Wa-Yera, 46b–47a, based on old sources; Tan. Wa-Yera 23 and Ahare 2; PRE 32; PK 26, 170b; WR 20. 2; Kohelet 9. 7; Tan. B. IV, 53; Midrash Aggada I, 52 and 55; MHG I, 237. Comp. also Wa-Yosha' 26, and *Neweh Shalom*, 51–52. Sarah died in the month of Heshwan, i e., shortly after the 'Akedah, which took place in the previous month (see note 248); Esther R 3. 7; Abba Gorion 25. The sound of the blowing of the Shofar on New Year is brought in relation with the sound emitted by Sarah at the moment of her demise; see Ginzberg, *Hazofeh*, III, 186–188. The words of resignation put into Sarah's mouth are modelled after the *Zidduk ha-Din* (comp. Baer, *Siddur*, 586), and the same remark applies to similar sentences in vol. II, p. 27, and vol. III, p. 451.

²⁵⁷. MHG I, 346, based upon an unknown source; BR 58. 6.

²⁵⁸. BR. 58. 1; MHG I, 333–334. Shu'aib, Hayye Sarah, 11a, quotes the following unknown Haggadah: Sarah really lived only thirty-seven years—from the birth of Isaac to her death—for the years she spent as a barren woman cannot be regarded as life. The same authority, Wa-Yehi, 22d, quotes a similar Haggadah concerning Jacob, who is said to have

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The death of Sarah was a loss not only for Abraham and his family, but for the whole country. So long as she was alive, all went well in the land. After her death confusion ensued. The weeping, lamenting, and wailing over her {²⁸⁸} going hence was universal, and Abraham, instead of receiving consolation, had to offer consolation to others. He spoke to the mourning people, and said: "My children, take not the going hence of Sarah too much to heart. There is one event unto all, to the pious and the impious alike. I pray you now, give me a burying-place with you, not as a gift, but for money."²⁵⁹

lived only thirty-four years, the space of time his favorite son Joseph stayed with him. *Hadar*, 8a (Tosafot and RASh), and *Da'at*, 10c-10d, could hardly have been made use of by Shu'aib.

²⁵⁹. MHG I, 346—347; on the eulogy spoken by Abraham upon Sarah, see *ibid.*, 341. In the word ולבכתה ("and to weep for her", Gen. 23. 2) the letter כ is small according to the Masorah; this indicates that Abraham did not weep very much for Sarah's death; so *Hadar* and *Ba'al ha-Turim*, *ad loc.*, whereas *Leket Midrashim* 21 gives a different explanation of the smallness of this letter. It is noteworthy that Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 44 (comp. also *Quaestiones*, Gen. 4. 73) concludes from the biblical narrative of the death of Sarah that Abraham mourned for her a short time only, as immoderate mourning is not fitting for the wise who should not feel sorry when restoring to God the deposit entrusted to them. This last remark of Philo is often met with in Jewish writings; comp. ARN 14, 59; Mishle 31, 108; Tan. Bereshit 7; see also Wisdom 15. 8, 16.—Sarah died during Abraham's lifetime, her great piety notwithstanding, because she accused her husband of being unfair to her (Gen. 16. 5); by her premature death it was proved that her accusations were unfounded;

In these last few words Abraham's unassuming modesty was expressed. God had promised him the whole land, yet when he came to bury his dead, he had to pay for the grave, and it did not enter his heart to cast aspersions upon the ways of God. In all humility he spake to the people of Hebron, saying, "I am a stranger and a sojourner with you." Therefore spake God to him, and said, "Thou didst bear thyself modestly. As thou livest, I will appoint thee lord and prince over them."²⁶⁰

To the people themselves he appeared an angel, and they answered his words, saying: "Thou art a prince of God among us.

Rosh ha-Shanah 16b; Baba Kamma 93b; comp. above, note 151. *Sifte Kohen* on Gen. 23. 2 quotes, from an unknown Midrash, the following legend about Sarah's death: Satan appeared to her and asked her whether she knew where Isaac was. "He went with his father to be instructed in the laws of sacrifices", was her reply. "No", rejoined Satan, "he himself is the sacrifice." She betook herself to the three giants, Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai (comp. vol. III, p. 268), and asked them to look into the distance, far, far away, and see if they could not discern an old man accompanied by two lads. They obeyed and informed her that they saw an old man with a knife in his hand and next to him a youth bound as a sacrifice. She was so terrified that her soul flew out of her body. A similar legend is found in the unknown midrashic source given in Yalkut I, 98.

²⁶⁰. MHG I, 347; Jub. 18. 3-4; comp. also 2 ARN 45, 124; WR 3. 7; vol. II, p. 339. With reference to these words of Abraham, Philo, *Quaestiones*, Gen. 4. 74, remarks: The pious feel like strangers in this world, they are at home in the other world only. See the identical words of the Midrash cited in vol. II, p. 122. In BR 58. 6, on the other hand, Abraham is made to say to the children of Heth: "If I wish, I shall claim the rights of the owner, since God promised this land."

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In the choice of our sepulchres bury thy dead, among the rich if thou wilt, or among the poor if thou wilt.”²⁶¹

Abraham first of all gave thanks to God for the friendly feeling shown to him by the children of Heth, and then he continued his negotiations for the Cave of Machpelah.²⁶² He had long known the peculiar value of this spot. Adam had chosen it as a burial-place for himself. He had feared his body might be used for idolatrous purposes after his death; he therefore designated the Cave of Machpelah as the place of his burial, and in the depths his corpse was laid, so that none might find it.²⁶³ When he interred Eve there, he {289} wanted to dig deeper, because he scented the sweet fragrance of Paradise, near the entrance to which it lay, but a heavenly voice called to him, Enough! Adam himself was buried there by Seth, and until the time of Abraham the place was

²⁶¹. MHG I, 348; comp. also BR 58. 6, and the passage, from an unlmown Midrash, cited in Makiri, Proverbs 30, 88a.

²⁶². BR 57. 7. This is very likely a haggadic interpretation of לפני (Gen. 23. 12), which is explained in the sense of *in the presence of*.

²⁶³. PRE 20. The Cave of Machpelah being a double cave—hence its name מכפלה “double”—hid all the more Adam’s body which was buried in the inner cave; comp. ‘Erubin 53a and Philo, *Quaestiones*, Gen., 3. 80. Abraham, knowing that at the time of the resurrection of the dead those buried in the Cave of Machpelah would rise first, wished to be buried there; comp. the passage, from an unknown Midrash, cited in *Yad Yosef* on Gen. 23. 9 and *Abkat Rokel* II, 5. See further details concerning the Cave of Machpelah in vol. I, pp. 69 and 101, as well as vol. II, p. 191, and note 7 appertaining thereto.

guarded by angels, who kept a fire burning near it perpetually, so that none dared approach it and bury his dead therein.²⁶⁴ Now, it happened on the day when Abraham received the angels in his house, and he wanted to slaughter an ox for their entertainment, that the ox ran away, and in his pursuit of him Abraham entered the Cave of Machpelah. There he saw Adam and Eve stretched out upon couches, candles burning at the head of their resting-places, while a sweet scent pervaded the cave.

Therefore Abraham wished to acquire the Cave of Machpelah from the children of Heth, the inhabitants of the city of Jebus. They said to him. "We know that in time to come God will give these lands unto thy seed, and now do thou swear a covenant with us that Israel shall not wrest the city of Jebus from its inhabitants without their consent." Abraham agreed to the condition, and he acquired the field from Ephron, in whose possession it lay.²⁶⁵

This happened the very day on which Ephron had been made the chief of the children of Heth, and he had been raised to the position so that Abraham might not have to have dealings with a man of low rank. It was of advantage to Abraham, too, for Ephron at first refused to sell his field, and only the threat of the children of Heth to depose him from his office, unless he fulfilled the desire of Abraham, could induce him to change his disposition.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁴. Zohar Ruth I, 97b.

²⁶⁵. PRE 26; Zohar Ruth I, 97c; Zohar I, 127a–128a. Concerning the light shining over R. Akiba's grave, see Mishle 9. 62.

²⁶⁶. BR 58. 7; ShR 31. 17. Ephron, however, was not aware of the great treasure in his possession, as the light of the Cave of Machpelah was

Dissembling deceitfully, Ephron then offered to give {290} Abraham the field without compensation, but when Abraham insisted upon paying for it, Ephron said: "My lord, hearken unto me. A piece of land worth four hundred shekels of silver, what is that betwixt me and thee?" showing only too well that the money was of the greatest consequence to him. Abraham understood his words, and when he came to pay for the field, he weighed out the sum agreed upon between them in the best of current coin.²⁶⁷ A deed, signed by four witnesses, was drawn up, and the field of Ephron, which was in Machpelah, the field, and the cave which was therein, were made sure unto Abraham and his descendants for all times.

The burial of Sarah then took place, amid great magnificence

invisible to him; Sabba, Hayye Sarah, 24a.

²⁶⁷. BR 58. 7; PK 11, 95a-95b; ShR 31. 17; Tan. B. I, 103-104 and V, 20; Tan. Wa-Yera 4, Behar 1, and Reeh 10; comp. also MHG I, 349-350; Mekilta Yitro 1, 57b; Mekilta RS, 85; Baba Mezi'a 87a; ARN 13, 57; Yerushalmi Kiddushin I, 59d; Onkelos and Yerushalmi Targumim, Gen. 23. 16. The Haggadah in the aforementioned sources finds in the defective spelling of the name עפרן (Gen. loc. cit.) an indication that the bearer of the name was morally "defective"; the same idea is maintained by Jerome, *ad loc.* The source of MHG is none of the Midrashim just quoted. As a reward for Abraham's humility, who twice bowed down before the children of Heth, the nations will bow down twice before Israel (that is, they will become Israel's subjects), once during the reign of Solomon and then again in the days of the Messiah; MHG I, 349, where a new source is introduced with the words בא וראה; comp. Schechter, *ad loc.*, and see above, note 262.

and the sympathy of all. Shem and his son Eber, Abimelech king of the Philistines, Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre, as well as all the great of the land, followed her bier. A seven days' mourning was kept for her, and all the inhabitants of the land came to condole with Abraham and Isaac.²⁶⁸

When Abraham entered the cave to place the body of Sarah within, Adam and Eve refused to remain there, "because," they said, "as it is, we are ashamed in the presence of God on account of the sin we committed, and now we shall be even more ashamed on account of your good deeds." Abraham soothed Adam. He promised to pray to God for him, that the need for shame be removed from him. Adam resumed his place, and Abraham entombed Sarah, and at the same time he carried Eve, resisting, back to her place.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁸. Yashar Hayye Sarah, 47a–48b, where the names of the witnesses on the bill of sale are also given; comp. vol. IV, p. 92. As a reward for the kindness shown to Abraham by the inhabitants of Hebron, this city remained in their possession for forty-seven years longer than they were entitled to it. The Jews took it from them forty years after the exodus from Egypt, whereas Zoan, that had been founded seven years later than Hebron (Num. 13. 22), was destroyed at the time of the exodus; Sifra 18. 2, 85c; MHG I, 347–348. The inhabitants of Hebron, who, in order to show the last honor to Sarah, closed their places of business, did not die before they participated thirty-eight years later, in the funeral ceremonies for Abraham; BR 58. 7 and 62. 3. Shem and Eber, who were present at Sarah's as well as at Abraham's burial, took care that the latter should be interred next to the former; BR, *loc. cit.*

²⁶⁹. Zohar I, 128a–128b. Instead of זמן it is best to read צלי, though the

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One year after the death of Sarah, Abimelech king of the Philistines died, too, at the age of one hundred and ninety-three years. His successor upon the throne was his twelve {²⁹¹} year old son Benmelek, who took the name of his father after his accession. Abraham did not fail to pay a visit of condolence at the court of Abimelech.

Lot also died about this time, at the age of one hundred and forty-two. His sons, Moab and Ammon, both married Canaanitish wives. Moab begot a son, and Ammon had six sons, and the descendants of both were numerous exceedingly. Abraham suffered a severe loss at the same time in the death of his brother Nahor, whose days ended at Haran, when he had reached the age of one hundred and seventy two years.²⁷⁰

ELIEZER'S MISSION

The death of Sarah dealt Abraham a blow from which he did not recover. So long as she was alive, he felt himself young and

former reading can be defended.

²⁷⁰. Yashar Hayye Sarah, 48a; comp. above, note 56. Not long before Sarah's death Abraham lost his father Terah; BR 58. 5-6, where it is said: At the time of Sarah's death Abraham saw the angel of death draw his sword against him. The purport of this remark probably is that at this time some of Abraham's relatives met their death; comp. Mo'ed Katan 27b, below. Zohar I, 125a, maintains that Sarah died by a kiss from God, and not by the hand of the angel of death. Comp. Index, s. v. "Kiss from God".

vigorous, but after she had passed away, old age suddenly overtook him.²⁷¹ It was he himself who made the plea that age be betrayed by suitable signs and tokens. Before the time of Abraham an old man was not distinguishable externally from a young man, and as Isaac was the image of his father, it happened frequently that father and son were mistaken for each other, and a request meant for the one was preferred to the other. Abraham prayed therefore that old age might have marks to distinguish it from youth, and God granted his petition, and since the time of Abraham the appearance of men changes in old age. This is one of the seven great wonders that have occurred in the course of history.²⁷²

²⁷¹. Tan. Hayye Sarah, 4; Tan. B. I, 118; Aggadat Bereshit 34, 67–69; MHG I, 352–353. The Midrashim give in this connection a homiletic comment on the last chapter of Prov., which they refer to Sarah, the ideal of the “woman of valor”. MHG I, 334–339, and likewise Mishle 31 find in this chapter the praise of the twenty-two “women of valor”: Noah’s wife, Sarah, Rebekah, Leah, Rachel, Bithiah (the foster-mother of Moses), Jochebed, Miriam, Hannah, Jael, the widow of Zarephath, Naomi, Rahab, Bath-Sheba, Michal, Hazlelponith (Samson’s mother), Elisheba (Aaron’s wife), Serah (Asher’s daughter), the wife of the prophet Obadiah, the Shunammite, Ruth, and Esther. Sarah, however, is the most prominent of these twenty-two “women of valor”, and hence she is the only woman whose age, at her death, is given in Scripture.

²⁷². Baba Mezi’a 87a; Sanhedrin 107b; BR 65. 9; Tan. B. I, 118 and 128; Tan. Hayye Sarah 1, and Toledot 6; Aggadat Bereshit 34, 69; PRE 52 (with the additional remark that this was one of the seven great miracles); Yelammedenu in Yalkut II, 874, on Ps. 115; *Hadar*, 9a, quoting an unknown midrashic source. Comp. also Tan. B. I, 47, which reads: Abraham was the first to show signs of old age, to lavish hospitality, to

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The blessing of God did not forsake Abraham in old age, {²⁹²} either. That it might not be said it had been granted to him only for the sake of Sarah, God prospered him after her death, too. Hagar bore him a daughter, and Ishmael repented of his evil ways and subordinated himself to Isaac. And as Abraham enjoyed undisturbed happiness in his family, so also outside, in the world. The kings of the east and the west eagerly besieged the door of his house in order to derive benefit from his wisdom. From his neck a precious stone was suspended, which possessed the power of healing the sick who looked upon it. On the death of Abraham, God attached it to the wheel of the sun. The greatest blessing enjoyed by him, and by none beside except his son Isaac and Jacob the son of Isaac, was that the evil inclination had no power over him, so that in this life he had a foretaste of the future world.²⁷³

suffer pain, and to distribute, in his lifetime, his possessions among his children. On the last point see Gen. 25. 6. Abraham said to God: "If Thou hadst made known to the generation of the flood what pain is, they would never have rebelled against Thee." Whereupon God replied: "Thou shalt be the first to experience suffering." And Isaac became very ill at his very birth. To celebrate his son's recovery from the "first illness" (caused by the circumcision?) Abraham made the great feast mentioned in Scripture (Gen. 21. 8; comp. note 206 and vol. I, p. 262). See note 74 on vol. I, p. 329. On the Arabic version of the legend of the first illness, see Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 118.

²⁷³ Tan. Hayye Sarah 4; Babe Batra 16b; BR 59. 6-7; Tosefta Kiddushin 5. 17-21; comp. also Theodor, BR, *ad loc.*, and MHG I, 353-354. According to one view given in the sources just mentioned, the great blessing

But all these Divine blessings showered upon Abraham were not undeserved. He was clean of hand, and pure of heart, one that did not lift up his soul unto vanity.²⁷⁴

He fulfilled all the commands that were revealed later, even the Rabbinical injunctions, as, for instance, the one relating to the limits of a Sabbath day's journey, wherefor his reward was that God disclosed to him the new teachings which He expounded daily in the heavenly academy.²⁷⁵

bestowed upon Abraham consisted in his having no daughter, while in the same passage the opposite view is recorded to the effect that Abraham was blessed with a daughter whose name was Bakkol ("with all things"). Comp. also Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 7; Yerushalmi Sotah 5, 20c, and Berakot 9, 14b, as well as vol. II, p. 149; vol. III, p. 206; vol. IV, p. 103.

²⁷⁴ BR 59. 5, where Ps. 24 is referred by the Psalmist to Abraham who is the pattern for the picture of the righteous. God said to Abraham: "Thou occupiest thyself with showing loving-kindness to mankind, and art thus doing the same work as I. I shall therefore clothe thee with the same garments with which I am clad when appearing to the prophets" (comp. Dan. 7.9); BR 58. 9; MHG I, 362; Mishle 16, 38; Tan. Hayye 4; Aggadat Bereshit 32, 68.

²⁷⁵ BR 59. 2, as well as 64. 3 and 95. 3; Tan. B. I, 58, 71, 211; III, 105; Tan. Lek 1 and 11, Behar 1; Aggadat Bereshit 13, 28; Tehillim I, 13 and 122; Yoma 28b; Yelammedenu in Yalkut II, 932, on Prov. 3. Comp. also Tosefta Kiddushin (end); ARN 33, 94 (second version 7, 21); Al-Barceloni 58–59. The Book of Jubilees sees its main task in furnishing the proof that the patriarchs—from Adam to Jacob—observed the laws that were subsequently revealed to Moses. But even this pseudepigraph has to admit that the Fathers did not observe all the laws of the Mosaic Code,

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But one thing lacked to complete the happiness of Abraham, the marriage of Isaac. He therefore called his old servant Eliezer unto himself. Eliezer resembled his master not only externally, in his appearance, but also spiritually. Like Abraham he possessed full power over the evil inclination,²⁷⁶ and like the master, the servant was an adept in the law.²⁷⁷ Abraham spoke the following

and accordingly the revelation must be regarded as having taken place gradually. Comp. 33. 16, which passage was entirely misunderstood by Charles, *ad loc.*, as it has nothing to do with the Pauline doctrine, Romans 4. 15, but represents the thoroughly Jewish conception of a gradual revelation of the law. See on this point Jub. 36. 20 and the references to rabbinic writings below. Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 8. 46, seems also to be of the opinion that Gen. 26. 5 refers to the laws of the Torah which Abraham observed before the revelation on Sinai. In contrast to this view of the Haggadists concerning Abraham's observance of the Torah, we meet with statements by authoritative Tannaim and Amoraim to the effect that Abraham only observed the seven Noachian precepts, as well as circumcision which, towards the end of his life, he was commanded to perform. Comp. Hullin 7. 7; Yoma 28b; see also the very thorough study of Chajes in his *Torat Nebi'im*, 24–28b. In accordance with this view, Gen., *loc. cit.*, is explained by many rabbinic commentators to refer exclusively to the ethico-moral laws of the Torah; comp. Lekah, Nahmanides, and Ibn Ezra, *ad loc.*

²⁷⁶. BR 59. 8; Tan. B. I, 120. The identity of the servant mentioned in Gen. 24. 2 with Eliezer is presupposed in many places in rabbinic literature; comp. Ta'anit 4a; WR 37. 4; Targum Yerushalmi, Gen. *loc. cit.*, and many other passages in the Talmudim and Midrashim. At the same time when the signs of old age were clearly visible in Abraham (comp. p. 291), Eliezer's appearance was also changed; MHG I, 355.

words to Eliezer: “I {²⁹³} am stricken in age, and I know not the day of my death. Therefore prepare thyself, and go unto my country, and to my kindred, and fetch hither a wife for my son.”²⁷⁸ Thus he spake by reason of the resolution he had taken immediately after the sacrifice of Isaac on Moriah, for he had there said within himself, that if the sacrifice had been executed, Isaac would have gone hence childless. He was even ready to choose a wife for his son from among the daughters of his three friends, Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre, because he knew them to be pious, and he did not attach much importance to aristocratic stock. Then spake God to him, and said: “Concern thyself not about a wife for Isaac.”²⁷⁹ One has already been provided for him,” and it was made known to Abraham that Milcah, the wife of his brother Nahor, childless until the birth of Isaac, had then been remembered by God and made fruitful. She bore Bethuel, and he in turn, at the time of Isaac’s sacrifice, begot the daughter destined to be the wife of Isaac.²⁸⁰

Mindful of the proverb, “Even if the wheat of thine own place be danel, use it for seed,” Abraham determined to take a wife for

²⁷⁷. Yoma 28b reads: Abraham was the head of an academy, and Eliezer “filled the cups” for the whole world with his master’s wisdom. On קרן in the sense of “elder”, *i. e.* scholar, comp. Sifra 19. 32, 91a; Kiddushin 32b; Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 46, as well as *De Sobrietate*, 4, and *Quaestiones*, Gen., VI, 4, 85.

²⁷⁸. Yashar Hayye, 48b.

²⁷⁹. BR 57. 3.

²⁸⁰. MHG I, 327–328: comp. Schechter, *ad loc.*

Isaac from his own family. He argued that as any wife he chose would have to become a proselyte, it would be best to use his own stock, which had the first claim upon him.²⁸¹

Eliezer now said to his master: "Peradventure no woman will be willing to follow me unto this land. May I then marry my own daughter to Isaac?" "No," replied Abraham, "thou art of the accursed race, and my son is of the blessed race, and curse and blessing cannot be united."²⁸² But beware thou that thou bring not my son again unto the land {294} from whence I came, for if thou broughtest him thither again, it were as though thou tookest him to hell. God who sets the heavens in motion, He will set this matter right, too,²⁸³ and He that took me from my father's house, and that spake unto me, and that swore unto me in Haran, and at the covenant of the pieces, that He would give this land unto my seed, He shall send His excellent angel before thee, and thou shalt take a wife for my son from thence." Eliezer then swore to his master concerning the matter, and Abraham made him take the oath by the sign of the covenant.²⁸⁴

²⁸¹. BR 59. 8; MHG I, 356.

²⁸². BR 59. 9 and 60. 2; WR 17. 5 read: Eliezer belonged to the accursed race (=a Canaanite); yet he was blessed by God on account of his faithful service to the pious, *i. e.*, Abraham.

²⁸³. MHG I. 356–357. Here also we meet with the obscure statement: If thou takest him — Isaac — there — to Haran — the dominion will return to its old place. The meaning of this passage is that if Isaac leaves the Holy Land, his descendants will surrender their dominion over the world to the Elamites; comp. vol. IV, pp. 368–369.

THE WOOING OF REBEKAH

Attended by ten men,²⁸⁵ mounted upon ten camels laden with jewels and trinkets, Eliezer betook himself to Haran under the convoy of two angels, the one appointed to keep guard over Eliezer, the other over Rebekah.²⁸⁶

The journey to Haran took but a few hours, at evening of the same day he reached there, because the earth hastened to meet him in a wonderful way.²⁸⁷ He made a halt at the well of water, and

^{284.} BR 59. 10; comp. below, note 286. The idea of taking an oath by the sign of the covenant is also found in Ephraim I, 78b, and Jerome, Gen. 24. 2; Philo, *Quaestiones*, Gen. loc. cit., says: He made him— Eliezer— take the oath by the genital organ (?) to indicate that he— Abraham— was endeavoring to secure a wife for his son for the purpose of begetting children and not in order to enjoy carnal pleasures.

^{285.} Yashar Hayye, 48b; *Hadar*, 9c. He took with him ten of the very prominent of Abraham's slaves, in order that he should have the necessary quorum for the nuptial benedictions; comp. PRE 16.

^{286.} BR 59. 10; PRE 16.

^{287.} BR 59. 11; Sanhedrin 95a; Hullin 91b; Tan. B. I, 150; Tan. Wa-Yera 3; PRE 16; Pirke RHK, 16a and 26a; MHG I, 367. The Babylonian sources know of three men only (Eliezer, Jacob, and Abishai; comp. Index, s. v.), for whose sake such a miracle was performed, whereas the Palestinian passages count Abraham as the fourth fortunate person for whose sake this miracle occurred in the night of the war against the kings. In medieval Jewish legends, the miracle of *קפיצת הדרך* (that is, the *shrinking* of the road, not the *jumping*) is a favorite subject. Christian sources, too, narrate similar incidents; comp. ps.-*Matthew*, 22, and Günter, *Christliche*

he prayed to God to permit him to distinguish the wife appointed for Isaac among the damsels that came to draw water, by this token, that she alone, and not the others, would give him drink.²⁸⁸ Strictly speaking, this wish of his was unseemly, for suppose a bondwoman had given him water to drink!²⁸⁹ But God granted his request. All the damsels said they could not give him of their water, because they had to take it home. Then appeared Rebekah, coming to the well contrary to her wont, for she was the daughter of a king, Bethuel her father being king of Haran. When Eliezer addressed his request for water {295} to drink to this young innocent child, not only was she ready to do his bidding, but she rebuked the other maidens on account of their discourtesy to a stranger.²⁹⁰ Eliezer noticed, too, how the water rose up to her of its

Legende, 104. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, refers to Mohammedan parallels.

²⁸⁸. Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 16. 1. BR 59. 2 reads: It is possible to ascertain the character of women from the barking of the dogs. Baba Kamma 60b shows that this statement is to be taken literally, and not, as Theodor, *ad loc.*, explains it, rationalistically. Concerning the well to which the pious repair on entering a new place, comp. Lekah, Gen. 24. 11, and MHG I, 352. PRE 26 (complete text in MHG I, 458) reads: It is a good omen to meet young girls on entering a place. According to Zohar I, 132a, the well at which Eliezer stopped was the well of Miriam.

²⁸⁹. BR 60. 3; WR 37. 4; Ta'anit 4a; Hullin 95b; Pirke RHK, 32b.

²⁹⁰. Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 16. 2; Philo, *De Posteritate Caini*, 44. On Bethuel as king comp. PRE 16 and BaR 14. 11. The remark in Lekah, Gen. 24. 16 very likely goes back to PRE. The contrast between Rebekah and the daughters of the Gentiles, who, though virgins, do not keep away

own accord from the bottom of the well, so that she needed not to exert herself to draw it. Having scrutinized her carefully, he felt certain that she was the wife chosen for Isaac. He gave her a nose ring, wherein was set a precious stone, half a shekel in weight, foreshadowing the half-shekel which her descendants would once bring to the sanctuary year by year. He gave her also two bracelets for her hands, of ten shekels weight in gold, in token of the two tables of stone and the Ten Commandments upon them.²⁹¹

When Rebekah, bearing the jewels, came to her mother and to her brother Laban, this one hastened to Eliezer in order to slay him and take possession of his goods. Laban soon learnt that he would not be able to do much harm to a giant like Eliezer. He met him at the moment when Eliezer seized two camels and bore them across the stream.²⁹² Besides, on account of Eliezer's close resemblance to Abraham, Laban thought he saw Abraham before

from men entirely, is pointed out in BR 60. 5; Yerushalmi Ketubot 1, 25b; Tehillim 125, 506. See also below, note 294. Rebekah was a very beautiful maiden, and surpassed Abishag in beauty; MHG I, 360.

²⁹¹. BR 60. 5–6; MHG I, 362. In the latter passage attention is called to the fact that Eliezer did not give the presents to Rebekah before he had found out that she belonged to Abraham's kindred, since the marriage was to be accomplished by these very presents; comp. Schechter, *ad loc.*, note 48.

²⁹². An unknown midrashic source in Yalkut I, 109, and a similar statement in MHG I, 364. Abkir in Yalkut, *loc. cit.*, reads: Eliezer noticed by Laban's running that he intended to attack him; whereupon the former pronounced the "Name", and he and the camels were lifted up in the air so that Laban was unable to attack him.

him, and he said: "Come in, thou blessed of the Lord! It is not becoming that thou shouldst stand without, I have cleansed my house of idols."²⁹³

But when Eliezer arrived at the house of Bethuel, they tried to kill him with cunning. They set poisoned food before him. Luckily, he refused to eat before he had discharged himself of his errand. While he was telling his story, it was ordained by God that the dish intended for him should come to stand in front of Bethuel, who ate of it and died.²⁹⁴ {296}

Eliezer showed the document he had in which Abraham

²⁹³. BR 60. 7–8; ARN 8, 38 reads: Even Abraham's camels did not enter a place where there were idols; Aggadat Bereshit 67, 133; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 24. 31. The name Laban ("white") is declared to be antiphrastic, the bearer of it being the "blackest of the black"; comp. BR, *loc. cit.*; Shemuel I, 45; Ruth R 3. 1; and comp. also MHG I, 363–364, where several etymologies of the name Laban are given.

²⁹⁴. An unknown midrashic source in Yalkut I, 109; MHG I, 366 and 370; Midrash Aggada I, 59; Sekel, 81; Lekah, Targum Yerushalmi, and Rashi on Gen. 24. 33 and 55. Bethuel, who was the king of this place, introduced the *jus primae noctis*; comp. Herodotus IV, 168. His subjects declared themselves ready to submit to this outrage on condition that the king's own daughters should not be exempt from it. Now it was on that very day, when Eliezer arrived in Haran, that Rebekah was to be deflowered by her father (she had just reached the age of three years and one day; comp. Niddah 5. 3), and to spare her this humiliation God caused the death of Bethuel. See Yalkut *loc. cit.*; *Hadar* 9a, 9b (he was called Bethuel as an allusion to Betulah "virgin"!); *Da'at* Gen. 24. 55; Soferim (end); BR 60. 12.

deeded all his possessions to Isaac, and he made it known to the kindred of Abraham, how deeply attached to them his master was, in spite of the long years of separation.²⁹⁵ Yet he let them know at the same time that Abraham was not dependent wholly upon them. He might seek a wife for his son among the daughters of Ishmael or Lot. At first the kindred of Abraham consented to let Rebekah go with Eliezer, but as Bethuel had died in the meantime, they did not want to give Rebekah in marriage without consulting her. Besides, they deemed it proper that she should remain at home at least during the week of mourning for her father.²⁹⁶ But Eliezer, seeing the angel wait for him, would brook no delay, and he said, "The man who came with me and prospered

²⁹⁵. MHG I, 366; PRE 16; BR 59. 11; Tan. B. I, 145; Aggadat Bereshit 45, 92. — Eliezer's first words were: "I am Abraham's servant" (Gen. 24. 34). These words are in more than one respect, characteristic of the man. "One should not wait till his shortcomings are found out by others, but should rather state them himself," is the very wise rule which guided Eliezer. He did not wait till Abraham's relatives ascertained everything concerning himself, but introduced himself to them as "Abraham's servant." Comp. BR 60. 9; Baba Kamma 92b. At the same time Eliezer was devoted to his master to such an extent that he considered it an honor to be the slave of Abraham rather than to be a free man; Hasidim 85; Zohar I, 103 and 146b. Eliezer's personality, as well as his adroit address, made a powerful impression on Abraham's relatives, who relinquished their evil intentions against him; MHG I, 366. — The Torah devotes more space to Eliezer's narrative than to some of the very important laws; from this it may be inferred that the history of the patriarchs is of extremely great moment; BR 60. 8.

²⁹⁶. BR 60. 9–12.

my way, waits for me without,” and as Rebekah professed herself ready to go at once with Eliezer, her mother and brother granted her wish and dismissed her with their blessings.²⁹⁷ But their blessings did not come from the bottom of their hearts. Indeed, as a rule, the blessing of the impious is a curse, wherefore Rebekah remained barren for years.²⁹⁸

Eliezer's return to Canaan was as wonderful as his going to Haran had been. A seventeen days' journey he accomplished in three hours. He left Haran at noon, and he arrived at Hebron²⁹⁹ at three o'clock in the afternoon, the time for the Minhah Prayer, which had been introduced by Isaac. He was in the posture of

²⁹⁷. PRE 16. BR 60. 12 reads: They hinted to Rebekah to refuse Eliezer's request; she, however, said: "I will go with him even against your wish". From the scriptural words, "the thing proceedeth from the Lord" (Gen. 24. 50) the Rabbis infer that "marriages are made in heaven"; comp. Mo'ed Katan 18b; Tobit 6. 18. Comp. Abrahams in *J. Q. R.* II, 172, *seq.*, and note 20 on vol. I, p. 59.

²⁹⁸. BR 60. 13; Shir 2. 14; MHG I, 370. According to PRE 16, the words uttered by Rebekah's relatives at her departure were the nuptial benedictions—On the presents given by Eliezer to Rebekah and her relatives, comp. BR 60. 11; Tan. B. I, 145; Aggadat Bereshit 45, 92.

²⁹⁹. PRE 16; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 24. 61; MHG I, 371. His speed on his return journey was due to the fact that it would have been unpleasant for Rebekah to spend the night in the company of a slave. But even then Isaac's suspicion of slaves was so deep-rooted that he did not come near Rebekah until he had convinced himself that she was a virgin. Comp. the sources quoted above and the opposite View given in MHG I, 366. See also below, note 301.

praying when Rebekah first laid eyes upon him, wherefore she asked Eliezer what man this was. She saw he was not an ordinary individual. She noticed the unusual beauty of Isaac, and also that an {297} angel accompanied him. Thus her question was not dictated by mere curiosity.³⁰⁰ At this moment she learnt through the holy spirit, that she was destined to be the mother of the godless Esau. Terror seized her at the knowledge, and, trembling, she fell from the camel and inflicted an injury upon herself.³⁰¹

³⁰⁰. BR 60. 14–15; Mekilta be-Shallah 2, 28b; Mekilta RS, 45; Berakot 26a; 'Abodah Zarah 7b; Yerushalmi Berakot 4, 7a; Tan. Hayye 5 and Mikkez 9; Tan. B. I, 196; BaR 2. 1; Tehillim 55, 292, and 102, 430; Mishle 12, 93; Philo, *Quaestiones*, Gen. 4, 140, and *Quod Deterius Potiori Insidiari Soleat*, 9; Onkelos, Targum Yerushalmi, and Jerome on Gen. 24. 63; Ephraim I, 173. Comp. also Tehillim 90, 394, and MHG I, 372. The place where Isaac used to pray was near paradise, so that its fragrance might reach him, and is identical with the field which Abraham bought from Ephron; Zohar II, 39b. Comp. vol. I, pp. 289 and 334, and the notes appertaining to them.

³⁰¹. An unknown midrashic source in Yalkut I, 109. The injury was of such a nature as to make Isaac suspect Eliezer of having done violence to his bride. The angel Gabriel, however, with irrefutable evidence in his hands, convinced Isaac that his suspicions were unjustified. To compensate Eliezer for the wrong done to him by Isaac, God permitted him to enter paradise during his life (comp. note 307); he changed places with Isaac, who shortly before that had left paradise where he had stayed for some time; Yalkut, *loc. cit.* See also note 255. Variants of this legend are found in *Hadar*, 9a (the birds watched over the blood which Rebekah had lost on account of her injury, and thereby enabled Eliezer to convince Isaac of his innocence; as a reward for their good deed, a law was promulgated commanding to cover the blood of birds; comp. Lev. 17.

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After Isaac had heard the wonderful adventures of Eliezer, he took Rebekah to the tent of his mother Sarah, and she showed herself worthy to be her successor. The cloud appeared again that had been visible over the tent during the life of Sarah, and had vanished at her death; the light shone again in the tent of Rebekah that Sarah had kindled at the coming in of the Sabbath, and that had burnt miraculously throughout the week; the blessing returned with Rebekah that had hovered over the dough kneaded by Sarah; and the gates of the tent were opened for the needy, wide and spacious, as they had been during the lifetime of Sarah.³⁰²

For three years Isaac had mourned for his mother, and he could find no consolation in the academy of Shem and Eber, his abiding-place during that period. But Rebekah comforted him after his mother's death,³⁰³ for she was the counterpart of Sarah in

13); *Da'at*, Gen. 24. 5; *Pa'aneah Raza* 34, 65; Shu'aib, Hayye, 11c; Lekah 24. 66 (in a rather abridged form); *Orehot Hayyim* II, 39b; Midrash Aggada I, 60. Several of the sources herewith mentioned state in this connection that the dwellers of paradise walk on their heads (comp. vol. IV, p. '70), and this peculiarity Isaac retained on his leaving paradise. When Rebekah saw him walk in this strange manner, she exclaimed: "What man is this that walketh?" (Gen. 24. 65). See also *Minhat Yehudah*, Gen. 24. 64, and Ginzberg, *Compte Rendu des Mélanges Israel Lewy*, 26.

³⁰² BR 60. 16; Onkelos and Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 24. 67. Sarah's tent was not given by Abraham to any of his concubines; but, as the tent of the mistress, it remained unoccupied until Isaac married Rebekah; Zohar I, 133b; Hasidim, 294.

person and in spirit.³⁰⁴

As a reward for having executed to his full satisfaction the mission with which he had charged him, Abraham set his bondman free.³⁰⁵ The curse resting upon Eliezer, as upon all the descendants of Canaan, was transformed into a blessing, because he ministered unto Abraham loyally.³⁰⁶ Greatest reward of all, God found him worthy of entering Paradise alive, a distinction that fell to the lot of very few.³⁰⁷ {298}

³⁰³ PRE 32; MHG I, 373, where mention is also made of the miraculous light shining in Rebekah's tent. See the sources quoted in the preceding note. On Isaac's studies in the "Shem academy", comp. the sources mentioned in note 255, as well as Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 24. 62, and Yashar, Hayye 48.

³⁰⁴ Zohar I, 133a. Sarah appeared to Isaac after her death in the tent formerly occupied by her; Zohar I, 33b, which is very likely the source of Shu'aib, Hayye, 11c. Comp. Ketubot 103a for the similar story about Rabbenu Hakkadosh.

³⁰⁵ PRE 16, where he is identified with Og; comp. vol. III, p. 344, and Index, s. v.

³⁰⁶ BR 60. 7; WR 17. 5. In both places Eliezer is described as Canaan, which may mean a Canaanite; it may also imply that his identity with Canaan the son of Ham is assumed. In 2 Alphabet of Ben Sira 28b Eliezer is declared to have been the son of Ham.

³⁰⁷ Derek Erez Zuta (end); 2 Alphabet of Ben Sira 28b; see Index, s. v. "Paradise, Entering Alive". Eliezer "the pious" is also found in Yelammedenu quoted in Yalkut, Supplement=BHM VI, 79.

THE LAST YEARS OF ABRAHAM

Rebekah first saw Isaac as he was coming from the way of Beer-lahai-roi, the dwelling-place of Hagar, whither he had gone after the death of his mother, for the purpose of reuniting his father with Hagar,³⁰⁸ or, as she is also called, Keturah.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁸. BR 60. 14 and 16. According to BR, the meaning of Beer-lahai-roi is *The well where she—Hagar—said to the Living One=God: “Look at my misery.”* On the explanation of the name of this place see Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 24. 64; Tan. B. I, 123; Tan. Hayye 8. BR, *loc. cit.*, quotes Abraham’s case in support of the rule that a widower with mature children should first marry them off and then, if he wishes, get married himself.

³⁰⁹. BR 61. 4; Tan. B. I, 123; Tan. Hayye 8; Yerushalmi Targumim Gen. 25. 1; PRE 30. These sources contain explanations concerning the name Keturah, all of which are based on the assumption that it is another name for Hagar. Jerome, Gen. 25. 1, knows of the identification of Keturah with Hagar, but does not explain the former name. The opposite view that Keturah was Abraham’s third wife is also found in the sources herewith quoted. On Hagar’s piety see above, note 237, and Yelammedenu in Supplement to Yalkut (=BHM VI, 79). The etymology of Keturah—connecting it with קטורת incense—given by Philo, *Quaestiones*, Gen. 4, 147, occurs also in the rabbinic sources quoted above. Medieval authorities are at pains to explain the strange phenomenon that the offspring of this pious couple, whose marriage took place at the direct command of God (BR, *loc. cit.*), was Ishmael and the other sons of Hagar-Keturah, the progenitors of many wicked nations. See on this point the very interesting discussion in Hasidim, 294–295. Yalkut Reubeni Gen. 26. 2, 36c, quotes a Midrash to the effect that Abraham married three wives, daughters (=descendants) of the

Hagar bore him six sons, who, however, did scant honor to their father, for they all were idolaters.³¹⁰ Abraham, therefore, during his own lifetime, sent them away from the presence of Isaac, that they might not be singed by Isaac's flame, and gave them the instruction to journey eastward as far as possible.³¹¹ There he built a city for them, surrounded by an iron wall, so high that the sun could not shine into the city. But Abraham provided them with huge gems and pearls, their lustre more brilliant than the light of the sun, which will be used in the Messianic time

three sons of Noah: Sarah the daughter of Shem, Keturah the daughter of Japheth, and Hagar the daughter of Ham. That Hagar was an Egyptian (= a daughter of Ham) is mentioned in Scripture.

^{310.} BR 61. 5 and Tehillim 92, 411-412 find in the names of Keturah's sons proof for their idolatry and wickedness. On the names of Gen. 25. 3, *seq.*, see also Onkelos, Targum Yerushalmi and *Imre No'am*, *ad loc.*, as well as MHG I, 383. Comp. Schechter, *ad loc.*

^{311.} BR 61. 7, and, with additions and amplifications, in MHG I, 378-379, as well as in Bereshit Rabbeti, 78. In the two last-named sources it is said that Abraham had admonished his sons by Keturah never to come near Isaac and his descendants (as any nation ruling over them will be punished in Gehenna) until the advent of the Messiah. When Solomon became king, the inhabitants of Sheba, the descendants of Sheba the son of Keturah (comp. Gen. 25. 3), thought that he was the promised Messiah, and came to pay him homage (מלכת in 1 Kings 9. 1 is read as מלְכָה kingdom; see note 20 on vol. II, p. 233). But when they realized their mistake, they returned to their country, where they will remain till the advent of the Messiah. Comp. also R. Joseph Kara, 1 Kings x. 1. Is this in any way connected with the Christian story of the worship of the infant Jesus by the Magi?

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when “the moon shall be confounded and the sun ashamed.”³¹² Also Abraham taught them the black art, wherewith they held sway over demons and spirits. It is from this city in the east that Laban, Balaam, and Balaam’s father Beor derived their sorceries.³¹³

Epher, one of the grandsons of Abraham and Keturah, invaded Lybia with an armed force, and took possession of the country. From this Epher the whole land of Africa has its name.³¹⁴ Aram is

^{312.} Soferim (end). In this legend some traces of the Alexander legend and reminiscences of the Chinese Wall are discernible. Comp. Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, note 919, and Müller, *ad loc.* On the text of Soferim, comp. Yalkut Reubeni, Hayye (end).

^{313.} Sanhedrin 91a and, with many embellishments, Zohar I, 133b, 223a–223b (here they are identified with the children of the east, the renown of whose wisdom is referred to in 1 Kings 5. 10); Ziyroni and Recanati, Hayye (end). Al-Barceloni, 158, says: Abraham gave the esoteric books which he possessed (that is, the books on magic) to the children of the concubines, but the Torah he reserved for Isaac. The same statement is also found in Zohar I, 100b. Comp. note 80, and Index, s. v. “Balaam”.

^{314.} Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 15. 1, citing an extract from a work by Alexander Polyhistor, which is a curious blending of pagan mythology with Jewish legend. See Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien*, 130–136 and 215. In this connection mention is to be made of a legend which declared the Spartans and Lacedaemonians to be the descendants of Abraham; comp. 1 Maccabees 12. 10 and 21, as well as 14. 20; 2 Maccabees 5. 9. The Midrash quoted in note 309 maintains that Keturah was a daughter of Japheth, and since Japheth is said, Gen. 10. 2, to have been the ancestor of the Greeks (comp. also BR 36. 8, and the parallel passages cited by Theodor, on the beauty of Japheth=the Greek language), the descendants of Abraham from Keturah were, on their maternal side,

also a country made habitable by a kinsman of Abraham. In his old age Terah contracted a new marriage with Pelilah, and from this union sprang a son Zoba, who was the father in turn of three sons. The oldest of these, Aram, was exceedingly rich and powerful, and the old home in Haran sufficed not for him and his kinsmen, {²⁹⁹} the sons of Nahor, the brother of Abraham. Aram and his brethren and all that belonged to him therefore departed from Haran, and they settled in a vale, and they built themselves a city there which they called Aram-Zoba, to perpetuate the name of the father and his first-born son. Another Aram, Aram-naharaim, on the Euphrates, was built by Aram son of Kemuel, a nephew of Abraham. Its real name was Petor, after the son of Aram, but it is better known as Aram-naharaim. The descendants of Kesed, another nephew of Abraham, a son of his brother Nahor, established themselves opposite to Shinar, where they founded the city of Kesed, the city whence the Chaldees are called Kasdim.³¹⁵

Though Abraham knew full well that Isaac deserved his paternal blessing beyond all his sons, yet he withheld it from him, that no hostile feelings be aroused among his descendants. He spake, and said: "I am but flesh and blood, here to-day, to-morrow in the grave. What I was able to do for my children I have done.

Japhethites, *i. e.*, Greeks. Comp. also BR 37. 1, and parallel passages where the sons of Japheth are "the uncles" of Israel.

³¹⁵ Yashar Wa-Yera, 42b-43a. Already in the old sources Kemuel is identified with Balaam, or rather with his father Beor (comp. BR 57, end, and parallel passages cited by Theodor); hence Pethor, Balaam's city (Num. 22. 5) is said to have been founded by a son of Kemuel.

Henceforth let come what God desires to do in His world,” and it happened that immediately after the death of Abraham God Himself appeared unto Isaac, and gave him His blessing.³¹⁶

A HERALD OF DEATH

When the day of the death of Abraham drew near, the Lord said to Michael, “Arise and go to Abraham and say to him, Thou shalt depart from life!” so that he might set his house in order before he died. And Michael went and came to Abraham and found him sitting before his oxen for ploughing. Abraham, seeing Michael, but not knowing who {300} he was, saluted him and said to him,

³¹⁶. BR 61. 6 and 39. 11; PK 31, 198b–199a; Tan. B. I, 63, IV, 33, and V, 53; Tan. Lek 4, Naso 9, and Ha-Berakah 5; BaR 11. 2; DR 11. 1; Tehillim 1. 6. In all these sources emphasis is laid upon the fact that before Abraham God Himself blessed the meritorious; but with the advent of Abraham He conferred upon him the power of bestowing blessings. Abraham, however, did not care to bless the sons of the concubines, knowing that their descendants would be wicked. He even refrained from blessing Isaac on account of Esau, who, as Isaac’s son, would have to come in for his proper share in the blessings bestowed on his father. According to another view, Isaac received the blessings from Abraham when he was on the point of dying, and God confirmed them shortly afterwards. The sources cited above contain also the statement, according to which, Abraham, when on the point of dying, invested Isaac with the right of primogeniture which carried with it the possession of the burial place Machpelah. To obviate disputes among his children, he drew up a document to that effect; comp. vol. I, p. 343, and vol. III, p. 453.

“Sit down a little while, and I will order a beast to be brought, and we will go to my house, that thou mayest rest with me, for it is toward evening, and arise in the morning and go whithersoever thou wilt.” And Abraham called one of his servants, and said to him: “Go and bring me a beast, that the stranger may sit upon it, for he is wearied with his journey.” But Michael said, “I abstain from ever sitting upon any fourfooted beast, let us walk therefore, till we reach the house.”

On their way to the house they passed a huge tree, and Abraham heard a voice from its branches, singing, “Holy art thou, because thou hast kept the purpose for which thou wast sent.” Abraham hid the mystery in his heart, thinking that the stranger did not hear it. Arrived at his house, he ordered the servants to prepare a meal, and while they were busy with their work, he called his son Isaac, and said to him, “Arise and put water in the vessel, that we may wash the feet of the stranger.” And he brought it as he was commanded, and Abraham said, “I perceive that in this basin I shall never again wash the feet of any man coming to us as a guest.” Hearing this, Isaac began to weep, and Abraham, seeing his son weep, also wept, and Michael, seeing them weep, wept also, and the tears of Michael fell into the water, and became precious stones.

Before sitting down to the table, Michael arose, went out for a moment, as if to ease nature, and ascended to heaven in the twinkling of an eye, and stood before the Lord, and said to Him: “Lord and Master, let Thy power know that I am unable to remind that righteous man of his death, for I have not seen upon the earth a man like him, compassionate, {³⁰¹} hospitable, righteous,

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truthful, devout, refraining from every evil deed." Then the Lord said to Michael, "Go down to My friend Abraham, and whatever he may say to thee, that do thou also, and whatever he may eat, eat thou also with him, and I will cast the thought of the death of Abraham into the heart of Isaac, his son, in a dream, and Isaac will relate the dream, and thou shalt interpret it, and he himself will know his end." And Michael said, "Lord, all the heavenly spirits are incorporeal, and neither eat nor drink, and this man has set before me a table with an abundance of all good things earthly and corruptible. Now, Lord, what shall I do?" The Lord answered him, "Go down to him and take no thought for this, for when thou sittest down with him, I will send upon thee a devouring spirit, and it will consume out of thy hands and through thy mouth all that is on the table."

Then Michael went into the house of Abraham, and they ate and drank and were merry. And when the supper was ended, Abraham prayed after his custom, and Michael prayed with him, and each lay down to sleep upon his couch in one room, while Isaac went to his chamber, lest he be troublesome to the guest. About the seventh hour of the night, Isaac awoke and came to the door of his father's chamber, crying out and saying, "Open, father, that I may touch thee before they take thee away from me." And Abraham wept together with his son, and when Michael saw them weep, he wept likewise. And Sarah, hearing the weeping, called forth from her bedchamber, saying: "My lord Abraham, why this weeping? Has the stranger told thee of thy brother's son Lot, that he is dead? or has aught {302} befallen us?" Michael answered, and said to her, "Nay, my sister Sarah, it is not as thou sayest, but thy

son Isaac, methinks, beheld a dream, and came to us weeping, and we, seeing him, were moved in our hearts and wept." Sarah, hearing Michael speak, knew straightway that it was an angel of the Lord, one of the three angels whom they had entertained in their house once before, and therefore she made a sign to Abraham to come out toward the door, to inform him of what she knew. Abraham said: "Thou hast perceived well, for I, too, when I washed his feet, knew in my heart that they were the feet that I had washed at the oak of Mamre, and that went to save Lot." Abraham, returning to his chamber, made Isaac relate his dream, which Michael interpreted to them, saying: "Thy son Isaac has spoken truth, for thou shalt go and be taken up into the heavens, but thy body shall remain on earth, until seven thousand ages are fulfilled, for then all flesh shall arise. Now, therefore, Abraham, set thy house in order, for thou wast heard what is decreed concerning thee." Abraham answered, "Now I know thou art an angel of the Lord, and wast sent to take my soul, but I will not go with thee, but do thou whatever thou art commanded." Michael returned to heaven and told God of Abraham's refusal to obey his summons, and he was again commanded to go down and admonish Abraham not to rebel against God, who had bestowed many blessings upon him, and he reminded him that no one who has come from Adam and Eve can escape death, and that God in His great kindness toward him did not permit the sickle of death to meet him, but sent His chief captain, Michael, to him. "Wherefore, then," he ended, {303} "hast thou said to the chief captain, I will not go with thee?" When Michael delivered these exhortations to Abraham, he saw that it was futile to oppose the will of God, and he consented to die, but wished to have one

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desire of his fulfilled while still alive. He said to Michael: "I beseech thee, lord, if I must depart from my body, I desire to be taken up in my body, that I may see the creatures that the Lord has created in heaven and on earth." Michael went up into heaven, and spake before the Lord concerning Abraham, and the Lord answered Michael, "Go and take up Abraham in the body and show him all things, and whatever he shall say to thee, do to him as to My friend."

ABRAHAM VIEWS EARTH AND HEAVEN

The archangel Michael went down, and took Abraham upon a chariot of the cherubim, and lifted him up into the air of heaven, and led him upon the cloud, together with sixty angels, and Abraham ascended upon the chariot over all the earth, and saw all things that are below on the earth, both good and bad. Looking down upon the earth, he saw a man committing adultery with a wedded woman, and turning to Michael he said, "Send fire from heaven to consume them." Straightway there came down fire and consumed them, for God had commanded Michael to do whatsoever Abraham should ask him to do. He looked again, and he saw thieves digging through a house, and Abraham said, "Let wild beasts come out of the desert, and tear them in pieces," and immediately wild beasts came out of the desert and devoured them. Again he looked down, and he saw people preparing to commit murder, and he said, {304} "Let the earth open and swallow them," and, as he spoke, the earth swallowed them alive. Then God spoke to Michael: "Turn away Abraham to his own

house and let him not go round the whole earth, because he has no compassion on sinners, but I have compassion on sinners, that they may turn and live and repent of their sins, and be saved.”

So Michael turned the chariot, and brought Abraham to the place of judgment of all souls. Here he saw two gates, the one broad and the other narrow, the narrow gate that of the just, which leads to life, they that enter through it go into Paradise. The broad gate is that of sinners, which leads to destruction and eternal punishment. Then Abraham wept, saying, “Woe is me, what shall I do? for I am a man big of body, and how shall I be able to enter by the narrow gate?” Michael answered, and said to Abraham, “Fear not, nor grieve, for thou shalt enter by it unhindered, and all they who are like thee.” Abraham, perceiving that a soul was adjudged to be set in the midst, asked Michael the reason for it, and Michael answered, “Because the judge found its sins and its righteousness equal, he neither committed it to judgment nor to be saved.” Abraham said to Michael, “Let us pray for this soul, and see whether God will hear us,” and when they rose up from their prayer, Michael informed Abraham that the soul was saved by the prayer, and was taken by an angel and carried up to Paradise. Abraham said to Michael, “Let us yet call upon the Lord and supplicate His compassion and entreat His mercy for the souls of the sinners whom I formerly, in my anger, cursed and destroyed, whom the earth devoured, and the {305} wild beasts tore in pieces, and the fire consumed, through my words. Now I know that I have sinned before the Lord our God.”

After the joint prayer of the archangel and Abraham, there came a voice from heaven, saying, “Abraham, Abraham, I have

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hearkened to thy voice and thy prayer, and I forgive thee thy sin, and those whom thou thinkest that I destroyed, I have called up and brought them into life by My exceeding kindness, because for a season I have requited them in judgment, and those whom I destroy living upon earth, I will not requite in death.”

When Michael brought Abraham back to his house, they found Sarah dead. Not seeing what had become of Abraham, she was consumed with grief and gave up her soul. Though Michael had fulfilled Abraham’s wish, and had shown him all the earth and the judgment and recompense, he still refused to surrender his soul to Michael, and the archangel again ascended to heaven, and said unto the Lord: “Thus speaks Abraham, I will not go with thee, and I refrain from laying my hands on him, because from the beginning he was Thy friend, and he has done all things pleasing in Thy sight. There is no man like him on earth, not even Job, the wondrous man.” But when the day of the death of Abraham drew nigh, God commanded Michael to adorn Death with great beauty and send him thus to Abraham, that he might see him with his eyes.

While sitting under the oak of Mamre, Abraham perceived a flashing of light and a smell of sweet odor, and turning around he saw Death coming toward him in great glory and beauty. And Death said unto Abraham: “Think {306} not, Abraham, that this beauty is mine, or that I come thus to every man. Nay, but if any one is righteous like thee, I thus take a crown and come to him, but if he is a sinner, I come in great corruption, and out of their sins I make a crown for my head, and I shake them with great fear, so that they are dismayed.” Abraham said to him, “And art

thou, indeed, he that is called Death?” He answered, and said, “I am the bitter name,” but Abraham answered, “I will not go with thee.” And Abraham said to Death, “Show us thy corruption.” And Death revealed his corruption, showing two heads, the one had the face of a serpent, the other head was like a sword. All the servants of Abraham, looking at the fierce mien of Death, died, but Abraham prayed to the Lord, and he raised them up. As the looks of Death were not able to cause Abraham’s soul to depart from him, God removed the soul of Abraham as in a dream, and the archangel Michael took it up into heaven. After great praise and glory had been given to the Lord by the angels who brought Abraham’s soul, and after Abraham bowed down to worship, then came the voice of God, saying thus: “Take My friend Abraham into Paradise, where are the tabernacles of My righteous ones and the abodes of My saints Isaac and Jacob in his bosom, where there is no trouble, nor grief, nor sighing, but peace and rejoicing and life unending.”³¹⁷

³¹⁷. Extract from the two versions (A, B) of the Testament of Abraham. On the Jewish character of this work comp. Ginzberg, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, I, 93–96. A few additional remarks on this pseudepigraphon may be given here. The idea of trees speaking with a human voice (B 3) occurs also in the legend recorded in vol. IV, p. 164; see also the *Steinschneider-Festschrift*, 148. The changing of tears into pearls (3) is also found in rabbinic legends (see vol. .IV, p. 84). A heavenly fire consumed the food offered to the angel (A 4); for rabbinic parallel sources see above, note 144. The goat eaten by Abraham was brought back to life (A 4); a similar statement is found in rabbinic sources (see above, notes, 113 and 246). In this pseudepigraphon

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Abraham's activity did not cease with his death, and as he interceded in this world for the sinners, so will he intercede for

Abraham is described as a giant (B 9), and this is in agreement with the view of the Rabbis (comp. above, note 97). A parallel to the beautiful legend contrasting God's mercy with man's short-sightedness (A 10, B12), is found in the Moses legend, vol. III, pp. 115–116. Grimm's tale about Peter and the smith is certainly based upon the legend in the Testament of Abraham. The episode about the fragrant herbs of paradise, mentioned in the Roumanian version of this pseudepigraph (10), which Abraham strewed over his house, becomes intelligible only if we take it in connection with the Jewish Machpelah legend; comp. notes 264 and 300.—The old sources have comparatively little to tell of Abraham's funeral and the mourning over him. On the day of Abraham's death, the chiefs of all the nations mourned for him, saying: Woe to the world that lost its leader, and woe to the ship that lost her steersman (Baba Batra 91a–91b; MHG I, 381). Yashar Toledot, 50b, reads: All the land of Canaan, men, women, and children, mourned a whole year (corresponding to the year of mourning customary among Jews; comp. Semahot 10; Mo'ed Katan 22b) for Abraham. They knew that he was pious toward God and kind to men, and that it was on account of his merits that God refrained from destroying them for the sins of the inhabitants of the

earth. At Abraham's funeral Isaac was the chief mourner, and not his elder brother Ishmael, who willingly yielded all the honors to Isaac, in recognition of his piety and of the fact that he had been his father's favorite child. At the same time, it is recorded, that during Abraham's lifetime Ishmael repented of his evil ways (comp., however, Index, s. v. "Ishmael"), and when he died, deeply mourned by Isaac (Yashar Toledot, 44b), he entered paradise as a good and pious man; comp. Baba Batra 16b; BR 67. 3; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 25. 8.

them in the world to come. On the day of judgment he will sit at the gate of hell, and he will not suffer those who kept the law of circumcision to enter therein.³¹⁸ {307}

³¹⁸. 'Erubin 19a; BR 68. 7; Tan. B. I, 82; Tan. Lek 20 and Tazria' 5; MHG I, 251–252; EZ 25, 46; ShR 19. 4; Tehillim I, 2, and 6, 58; Ekah I, 56; Menahot 53b; Tan. quoted by Makiri, Prov. 31. 21; Yelammedenu in *Ma'aseh Rokeah*, 52; Zohar I, 8a (here it is Duma, the door-keeper of Gehenna, who takes the place of Abraham); Al-Barceloni, 58–59 and 141. In rabbinic literature the designation mostly employed for circumcision is the "covenant" (ברית) Or the "covenant of Abraham" (בריתו של אברהם); see the lexica of Levy, Kohut, and Jastrow, s. v. ברית. Its description as the holy covenant is only found in Maccabees 1. 15 and 63, as well as in the old formula of the benediction on circumcision (Tosefta Berakot 6. 13; Shabbat 173b; Siddur, 582). Comp. also *Zadokite Fragments*, p. 12, line 11, and the remarks on this passage by Ginzberg, *Unbekannte Sekte*, p. 111. The designation of a Jew as a son of the covenant, found in *Zadokite Fragments*, *loc. cit.*, as well as in the very ancient Mishnah Baba Kamma 1. 2–3, makes it very probable that this religious ceremony was regarded by the people as having a sacramental, or at least a semi-sacramental character. Hence the great prominence given to this ceremony in rabbinic literature; comp. especially Nedarim, Mishnah 3. 11, Tosefta 2. 4–7, Babli 31b–32a, and Yerushalmi 38b; Mekilta Yitro 1, 58a; Yelammedenu, in Yalkut II, 321, on Jer. 33, and in Supplement to Yalkut (=BHM VI, 79). The great importance of this ceremony may also be seen from the fact that it supersedes the Sabbath; comp. Shabbat 19. 5 and Jub. 15. 14. Charles, *ad loc.*, entirely misunderstands this Mishnah, and does not seem to know that to this very day circumcision is performed on the eighth day even if it be the Sabbath. A haggadic description of a dispute as to precedence between circumcision and Sabbath, and of the final victory of the former, is found in Yelammedenu, *loc. cit.* The phrase "to be in Abraham's bosom", found in the New

Testament, and sporadically also in rabbinic literature (e. g., Kiddushin 72b; Ekah I. 85), has, however, nothing to do with the conception of the sacramental character of circumcision. The pious are gathered to their fathers (4 Maccabees 12. 17; BHM V, 50), and, accordingly, "to be in Abraham's bosom" is abridged from the complete expression "to be in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob," the three patriarchs.—In reply to the attacks on circumcision by the Church Fathers, who especially dwell upon the fact that the "pious" before Abraham had not been circumcised (Justin Martyr, *Dialogue*, 19 and 33; Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, 5. 9, and *Adv. Jud.*, 4; it is to be observed that if this argument against circumcision were valid, it would apply with equal cogency to baptism; comp. Tertullian, *De Baptismo*, 13), the Jewish legend asserts that Adam, Seth, and Melchizedek were born with the sign of the covenant upon them. See ARN I, 12, and parallel passages cited by Schechter, as well as BR II. 6 and 46. 3. This statement was subsequently misunderstood, and in the Midrashim these three pre-Abrahamic patriarchs share this distinction with other pious men who lived after Abraham. In Jub. 15. 27 it is stated of certain angels of a lower rank that "they were created circumcised." A similar statement occurs in the kabbalistic literature; comp. Tikkunim 47.—The old rabbinic sources are not concerned about the rational explanation of the ceremony of circumcision. BR 66. 3 and parallel passages recorded by Theodor remark that nature does not produce anything quite ready for use, but expects man to improve upon its creations. This applies also to a man's body which becomes perfect after its natural state has been improved upon by circumcision. A somewhat different explanation is given in Tan. B. III, 35, which is the source of Sa'adya in his *Polemic against Hiwi*. Philo, very likely for apologetic motives, gives several reasons for circumcision (*De Spec. Legib.*, at the beginning, and

THE PATRON OF HEBRON

Once upon a time some Jews lived in Hebron, few in number, but pious and good, and particularly hospitable. When strangers came to the Cave of Machpelah to pray there, the inhabitants of the place fairly quarrelled with each other for the privilege of entertaining the guests, and the one who carried off the victory rejoiced as though he had found great spoil.

On the eve of the Day of Atonement, it appeared that, in spite of all their efforts, the dwellers at Hebron could not secure the tenth man needed for public Divine service, and they feared they would have none on the holy day. Toward evening, when the sun was about to sink, they descried an old man with silver white beard, bearing a sack upon his shoulder, his raiment tattered, and his feet badly swollen from much walking. They ran to meet him, took him to one of the houses, gave him food and drink, and, after supplying him with new white garments, they all together went to the synagogue for worship. Asked what his name was, the stranger replied, Abraham.

At the end of the fast, the residents of Hebron cast lots for the privilege of entertaining the guest. Fortune favored the beadle,

Quaestiones, Gen. 3, 47-48), some of which are also found in the works of medieval philosophers; comp., e. g., Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed*, III. 49.—The rabbinic authors of the middle ages quote many a Haggadah concerning circumcision from the Midrashim which are not found in the literature that is still extant. Comp. *Menorat ha-Maor*, III, 3, 1, 1; *Kad ha-Kemah*, *Millah*. See also *Yalkut Hadash*, s. v. "Millah," and Glassberg, *Zikron Berit*, passim.

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who, the envy of the rest, bore his guest away to his house. On the way, he suddenly disappeared, and the beadle could not find him anywhere. In vain all the Jews of the place went on a quest for him. Their sleepless night, spent in searching, had no result. The stranger could not be found. But no sooner had the beadle lain down, toward morning, weary and anxious, to snatch some sleep, than he saw the lost guest before him, his face luminous as lightning, and his garments magnificent and studded with {308} gems radiant as the sun. Before the beadle, stunned by fright, could open his mouth, the stranger spake, and said: "I am Abraham the Hebrew, your ancestor, who rests here in the Cave of Machpelah. When I saw how grieved you were at not having the number of men prescribed for a public service, I came forth to you. Have no fear! Rejoice and be merry of heart!"³¹⁹

On another occasion Abraham granted his assistance to the people of Hebron. The lord of the city was a heartless man, who oppressed the Jews sorely. One day he commanded them to pay a large sum of money into his coffers, the whole sum in uniform coins, all stamped with the same year. It was but a pretext to kill the Jews. He knew that his demand was impossible of fulfilment.

The Jews proclaimed a fast and day of public prayer, on which to supplicate God that He turn aside the sword suspended above them. The night following, the beadle in a dream saw an awe-inspiring old man, who addressed him in the following words:

³¹⁹. 'Emek ha-Melek, 14a–14b; Reischer, *Sha'are Yerushalayim*, 10.8 In this and in the following legend the beadle is the hero.

“Up, quickly! Hasten to the gate of the court, where lies the money you need. I am your father Abraham. I have beheld the affliction wherewith the Gentiles oppress you, but God has heard your groans.” In great terror the beadle arose, but he saw no one, yet he went to the spot designated by the vision, and he found the money and took it to the congregation, telling his dream at the same time. Amazed, they counted the gold, precisely the amount required of them by the prince, no more and no less. They surrendered the sum to him, and he who had considered compliance with his demand impossible, recognized now that God is with the Jews, and thenceforth they found favor in his eyes.³²⁰

³²⁰. Reischer, *Sha‘are Yerushalayim*, 10.9.

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VI

JACOB

THE BIRTH OF ESAU AND JACOB

THE FAVORITE OF ABRAHAM

THE SALE OF THE BIRTHRIGHT

ISAAC WITH THE PHILISTINES

ISAAC BLESSES JACOB

ESAU'S TRUE CHARACTER REVEALED

JACOB LEAVES HIS FATHER'S HOUSE

JACOB PURSUED BY ELIPHAZ AND ESAU

THE DAY OF MIRACLES

JACOB WITH LABAN

THE MARRIAGE OF JACOB

THE BIRTH OF JACOB'S CHILDREN

JACOB FLEES BEFORE LABAN

THE COVENANT WITH LABAN

JACOB AND ESAU PREPARE TO MEET

JACOB WRESTLES WITH THE ANGEL

THE MEETING BETWEEN ESAU AND JACOB

THE OUTRAGE AT SHECHEM

A WAR FRUSTRATED

THE WAR WITH THE NINEVITES
THE WAR WITH THE AMORITES
ISAAC BLESSES LEVI AND JUDAH
JOY AND SORROW IN THE HOUSE OF JACOB
ESAU'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST JACOB
THE DESCENDANTS OF ESAU

VI

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JACOB

THE BIRTH OF ESAU AND JACOB

Isaac was the counterpart of his father in body and soul. He resembled him in every particular — “in beauty, wisdom, strength, wealth, and noble deeds.”¹ It was, therefore, as great an honor for Isaac to be called the son of his father as for Abraham to be called the father of his son, and though Abraham was the progenitor of thirty nations, he is always designated as the father of Isaac.²

Despite his many excellent qualities, Isaac married late in life. God permitted him to meet the wife suitable to him only after he had successfully disproved the mocking charges of Ishmael, who was in the habit of taunting him with having been circumcised at the early age of eight days, while Ishmael had submitted himself voluntarily to the operation when he was thirteen years old. For this reason God demanded Isaac as a sacrifice when he had attained to full manhood, at the age of thirty-seven, and Isaac was ready to give up his life. Ishmael's jibes were thus robbed of their

¹ Tan. Shemot 1; Tan. B. I, 128; Aggadat Bereshit 40, 79; ShR 1. 1. It is also said that through Isaac these virtues came to Jacob, and through him to Joseph; comp. MHG II, 4, and note 204 on vol. I, p. 262.

² MHG I, 387; comp. also *ibid.*, 388, and Sifre D., 312, as well as BR 63. 2, and the sources cited in note 1.

sting, and Isaac was permitted to marry. But another delay occurred before his marriage could take place. Directly after the sacrifice on Mount Moriah, his mother died, and he mourned her for three years.³ Finally he married Rebekah, who was then a maiden of fourteen.⁴

Rebekah was “a rose between thorns.” Her father was {312} the Aramean Bethuel, and her brother was Laban, but she did not walk in their ways.⁵ Her piety was equal to Isaac’s.⁶ Nevertheless their marriage was not entirely happy, for they lived together no less than twenty years without begetting children.⁷ Rebekah

³ MHG I, 388; comp. note 229 on vol. I, p. 274, and note 303 on vol. I, 297. Isaac’s age at the time of the ‘Akedah is variously given as thirty-seven or twenty-six, comp. sources cited in note 229 on vol. I, p. 274.

⁴ MHG I, 388-389. According to another view she married at the age of three; comp. the sources cited by Schechter, *ad loc.*; Seder ‘Olam 1; BR 57. 1, and parallel passages cited by Theodor; Yashar Hayye Sarah, 49a; MHG I, 770-771. She died at the age of one hundred and thirty-three; according to another view, she died at the age of one hundred and forty-four, or according to others at that of one hundred and forty-three. Comp. MHG (last-cited passage) and Midrash Aggada I, 62-63.

⁵ BR 63. 4, WR 23. 1; Shir 2. 2. In view of the similarity between ארמי “Aramean” and רמי “deceiver”, these sources remark with reference to Gen. 25. 20 that Rebekah came from a people of deceivers. Shu’aib, Toledot, 13a, understands this to mean that not only Laban, but also his sister Rebekah and her sons Jacob and Esau were not free from cunning and deceit; comp. Gen. 27. 6 and 40, as well as 30. 38.

⁶ MHG I, 389.

⁷ PRE 22, in accordance with Gen. 25. 20, 26. The statement of Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 25. 21 that Rebekah was without a child for

besought her husband to entreat God for the gift of children, as his father Abraham had done. At first Isaac would not do her bidding. God had promised Abraham a numerous progeny, and he thought their childlessness was probably Rebekah's fault, and it was her duty to supplicate God, and not his. But Rebekah would not desist, and husband and wife repaired to Mount Moriah together to pray to God there. And Isaac said: "O Lord God of heaven and earth, whose goodness and mercies fill the earth, Thou who didst take my father from his father's house and from his birthplace, and didst bring him unto this land, and didst say unto him, To thee and thy seed will I give the land, and didst promise him and declare unto him, I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven and as the sand of the sea, now may Thy words be verified which Thou didst speak unto my father. For Thou art the Lord our God, our eyes are toward Thee, to give us seed of men as Thou didst promise us, for Thou art the Lord our God, and our eyes are upon Thee."⁸ Isaac prayed furthermore that all children

twenty-two years of her married life is very strange. Comp. *Ha-Zofeh*, III, 136–138, and *Hadar*, Gen. 25. 27. Comp. also Midrash Aggada I, 63, and Tosafot, Yebamot 64a (beginning לילי).

⁸. Yashar Toledot, 50a–50b, partly following PRE 32. Yebamot 64a states that the childless marriage was due to both of them and not to Rebekah alone. The same view occurs also in Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 25. 21, and Zohar I, 137b. See also the sources cited in note 10. Isaac's prayer was accompanied by a sacrifice on mount Moriah; PRE 32; Targum Yerushalmi, *loc. cit.* According to Zohar I, 137a, he brought a burnt-offering. The older sources, however, speak only of Isaac's prayer and the later Haggadah is based upon the combination of the

destined for him might be born unto him from this pious wife of his, and Rebekah made the same petition regarding her husband Isaac and the children destined for her.

Their united prayer was heard.⁹ Yet it was chiefly for the sake of Isaac that God gave them children. It is true, Rebekah's piety equalled her husband's, but the prayer of a pious man who is the son of a pious man is far more efficacious {313} than the prayer of one who, though pious himself, is descended from a godless father.

The prayer wrought a great miracle, for Isaac's physique was such that he could not have been expected to beget children, and equally it was not in the course of nature that Rebekah should bear children.¹⁰

When Rebekah had been pregnant seven months,¹¹ she began to wish that the curse of childlessness had not been removed from her.¹² She suffered torturous pain, because her twin sons began their lifelong quarrels in her womb. They strove to kill each other. If Rebekah walked in the vicinity of a temple erected to idols, Esau

interpretation of ויעתר given in BR 63. 5 with that of Sanhedrin 103a. On the reason of the sterility of the "mothers" see MHG I, 390, and the sources cited in note 116 on vol. I, p. 237.

⁹. BR 63. 5; Shemuel 6, 64; Ruth R., 4. 12; Zohar I, 137b. A different view is found in MHG I, 389.

¹⁰. Yebamot 64a–64b. MHG I, 390, on the contrary, maintains that Rebekah's prayer was as efficacious as that of Isaac.

¹¹. Yashar Toledot, 50b. Comp. PRE 32, and Luria's remarks, *ad loc.*

¹². BR 62. 6.

moved in her body, and if she passed a synagogue or a Bet ha-Midrash, Jacob essayed to break forth from her womb.¹³ The quarrels of the children turned upon such differences as these. Esau would insist that there was no life except the earthly life of material pleasures, and Jacob would reply: "My brother, there are two worlds before us, this world and the world to come. In this world, men eat and drink, and traffic and marry, and bring up sons and daughters, but all this does not take place in the world to come. If it please thee, do thou take this world, and I will take the other."¹⁴ Esau had Samael as his ally, who desired to slay Jacob in his mother's womb. But the archangel Michael hastened to Jacob's aid. He tried to burn Samael, and the Lord saw it was necessary to constitute a heavenly court for the purpose of arbitrating the case of Michael and Samael.¹⁵ Even the quarrel between the two

¹³. BR 67. 6. The dispute of the brothers in their mother's womb is a favorite topic in the legends; comp. Tan. B. V, 36; Tan. Ki-Teze 4; Tehillim 58, 300; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 25. 22; PRE 32; Zohar I, 137b and 138b. Luke 1. 41 may be cited as a parallel to it. "God makes known the future actions of the pious, as well as of the wicked, while they are still in their mother's womb"; MHG I, 390-391; Tehillim 58, 299; Yoma 82a-83a. See also the following note.

¹⁴. Ez 19, 26-27; *Da'at*, Gen. 43. 14. Ziyroni, Gen. 25. 22, connects this legend with the one given in vol. I, pp. 57-58, about the creation of man.

¹⁵. Abkir in Yalkut I, 110. The statement of Jub. 25. 17 that Jacob's guardian angel is mightier than Esau's is very likely based on the assumption that Jacob's (=Israel's) guardian angel is Michael, while Esau's (Rome's) is Sammael. Comp. Index, s. v. "Michael" and "Sammael". Rebekah, who, as a prophetess (all the mothers were

brothers regarding the birthright had its beginning before they emerged from the womb of their mother. Each desired to be the first to come into the world. It was only {314} when Esau threatened to carry his point at the expense of his mother's life that Jacob gave way.¹⁶

Rebekah asked other women whether they, too, had suffered such pain during their pregnancy, and when they told her they had not heard of a case like hers, except the pregnancy of Nimrod's mother, she betook herself to Mount Moriah, whereon Shem and Eber had their Bet ha-Midrash. She requested them as well as Abraham to inquire of God what the cause of her dire suffering was.¹⁷ And Shem replied: "My daughter, I confide a secret to thee. See to it that none finds it out. Two nations are in

endowed with the gift of prophecy; comp. the sources cited in note 77), foresaw that in the future the Romans, the descendants of Esau, will slay the great Jewish scholars (comp. vol. I, p. 21 and note 85), prayed to God not to destroy all the scholars; MHG I, 391, and, in abridged form, *Nur al-Zulm*, 95. See also MHG I, 396.

¹⁶. MHG I, 390–391. The injury Esau caused to his mother consisted in tearing her womb, as a consequence of which she never bore any more children, though she was destined to be the "mother of twelve tribes"; PK 3, 23a–23b; PR 13, 48a; Tan. B. V, 36; Tan. Ki-Teze 4; BR 63. 6. A different view is found in Tan. B. IV, 221, and Aggadat Bereshit 72, 141.

¹⁷. Yashar Toledot, 50. 6; *Pa'aneah*, Gen. 25. 22, maintains, on the contrary, that she did not go to Abraham in her distress, for she did not want to sadden his heart. This is in agreement with sources cited in the following note, which do not mention Abraham. The reference to Nimrod's mother occurs only in the midrashic fragment published by Ginsberg, *Geonica*, II, 326. Comp. also MHG I, 392.

thy womb, and how should thy body contain them, seeing that the whole world will not be large enough for them to exist in it together peaceably? Two nations they are, each owning a world of its own, the one the Torah, the other sin. From the one will spring Solomon, the builder of the Temple, from the other Vespasian, the destroyer thereof. These two are what are needed to raise the number of nations to seventy. They will never be in the same estate. Esau will vaunt lords, while Jacob will bring forth prophets, and if Esau has princes, Jacob will have kings.¹⁸ They, Israel and Rome, are the two nations destined to be hated by all the world.¹⁹

¹⁸. Tehillim 9, 83–84, and, with essential variants, MHG I, 392–393; partly also in BR 64. 6–7. Comp. further Yerushalmi Targumim Gen. 25. 22; Yelammedenu in supplement to Yalkut 16=BHM VI, 80; Zohar I, 137b; Ephraim, I, 61D; Theodoretus on Gen., *loc. cit.*; Jerome, Gen. 14. 18. Rebekah received the revelation through Shem or another medium, since, with the exception of Sarah, no woman was ever found worthy to receive a divine communication directly; Yerushalmi Sotah 7, 21b, BR, *loc. cit.*; Tehillim, *loc. cit.*, and parallel passages. Comp., however, note 15.

¹⁹. BR 63. 7; Tehillim 9, 84; Yelammedenu in Supplement to Yalkut, 16=BHM VI, 80. The use of the names Edom, Seir, Esau, and similar ones, to describe Rome is very old, and was probably coined at the time of Herod, whose designation “the Idumean” was applied to his masters, the Romans. When Rome adopted Christianity, the same appellations were transferred to the Christians and Christianity. See the very interesting collection of material in Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie*, 437–452, and *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie*, 620. In the Amoraic portions of the talmudic and midrashic literature the use of Edom for Rome is met with quite frequently; comp., e. g., BR 9. 13–14; 10. 7; 63. 9 (the Haggadah concerning Edom-Rome occurs also in MHG I, 396, with

One will exceed the other in strength. First Esau will subjugate the whole world, but in the end Jacob will rule over all.²⁰ The older of the two will serve the younger, provided this one is pure of heart, otherwise the younger will be enslaved by the older.”²¹

The circumstances connected with the birth of her twin sons were as remarkable as those during the period of Rebekah’s pregnancy. Esau was the first to see the light, and {315} with him all impurity came from the womb;²² Jacob was born clean and

which version 4 Ezra 6. 9-10 is closely related); 83. 4. The appellation of Edom for Rome is rarely found in tannaitic sources; comp., however, Midrash Tannaim 72 and Mekilta Amalek 2, 56a, where several Tannaim, who flourished about 100 C. E., in speaking of Rome, use the designation of Amalek for it. Early Christian authorities likewise apply these biblical appellatives to Rome; comp. e. g., Jerome, Is. 21. 2, who, in agreement with R. Meir (Yerushalmi Ta’anit 1, 64a), explains the prophecies about Duma and Seir to refer to Rome. Accordingly the use of Edom for Rome in Peshitta, Ps. 12. 9, does not prove, as Duval, *R.E.J.*, XIV, 50, maintains, its Jewish origin. Comp. also Abrabanel, *Mashmia’ Yeshu’ah*, 18. 3, and Sa’adya’s *Polemic against Hiwi*, 76. Sa’adya, a man with an independent mind, rejects the tradition that the Romans are descendants of Edom. See also vol. II, p. 158. On the descendants of Esau as rulers of Rome, comp. vol. II, p. 159, seq, where Kittim = Rome.

^{20.} MHG I, 394. Comp. also the passages in BR and 4 Ezra referred to in the preceding note.

^{21.} BR 63. 7; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 25. 23; MHG I, 393. In the last-named passage attention is called to the ambiguous phraseology in the verse of Gen., *loc. cit.*, which may also be translated: “And to the elder shall be servant the younger”.

^{22.} BR 63. 8; MHG I, 391, which reads: Jacob should have been born

sweet of body. Esau was brought forth with hair, beard, and teeth, both front and back,²³ and he was blood-red, a sign of his future sanguinary nature.²⁴ On account of his ruddy appearance he remained uncircumcised. Isaac, his father, feared that it was due to poor circulation of the blood, and he hesitated to perform the circumcision. He decided to wait until Esau should attain his thirteenth year, the age at which Ishmael had received the sign of the covenant. But when Esau grew up, he refused to give heed to his father's wish, and so he was left uncircumcised.²⁵ The opposite

first, but Esau threatened him that if Jacob did not grant him precedence he would kill their mother. Comp. note 16. Similarly BR, *loc. cit.*, emphasizes the fact that, though Jacob was born last, he was conceived first.

²³ Targum Yerushalmi, Gen. 25. 25. Comp. also BR 63. 7 and note 28.

²⁴ BR 63. 8; MHG I, 395. See also the quotation, from an unknown Midrash, in Yalkut Reubeni, Gen., *loc. cit.*; *Pa'aneah*, Gen., *loc. cit.*; Hasidim 71.

²⁵ *Hadar*, *Da'at*, and *Shu'aib* (the last named gives a wrong source) on Gen. 25. 25. The designation of Esau as the "uncircumcised one", in Tan. B. I, 158, does not belong here, but refers to the widespread legend that Esau removed the sign of the covenant by means of an operation (epispasm); comp. Tan. B. I, 127; BR 63. 13; PRE 29 (on the text see *Eshkol* II, 132, according to which read *ועשו תועשו* (מל יעבב ועשו תועשו)); Ruth R. (introduction); Epiphanius, *De Mens. et Pond.*, 16; ER 29, 125–126. But in the last-named Midrash it is not Esau, as in all the other sources, but his children, who, after Isaac's death, "despised" the Abrahamic covenant. This legend about Esau's rejection of circumcision is very likely of an anti-Christian nature (comp. note 19 and note 318 on vol. I, p. 306), though it possibly reflects the feeling of the Jew during the Hadrianic

of his brother in this as in all respects, Jacob was born with the sign of the covenant upon his body, a rare distinction.²⁶ But Esau also bore a mark upon him at birth, the figure of a serpent, the symbol of all that is wicked and hated of God.²⁷

The names conferred upon the brothers are pregnant with meaning. The older was called Esau, because he was 'Asui, fully developed when he was born, and the name of the younger was given to him by God, to point to some important events in the future of Israel by the numerical value of each letter. The first letter in *Ya'akov*, Yod, with the value of ten, stands for the decalogue; the second, 'Ayin, equal to seventy, for the seventy elders, the leaders of Israel; the third, Kof, a hundred, for the Temple, a hundred ells in height; and the last, Bet, for the two tables of stone.²⁸

persecutions. Comp., however, Philo, 2 *Moses*, 43.

²⁶. ARN 2, 2; Tehillim 9, 84; Tan. B. I, 32; Tan. Noah 5. The other men distinguished in this way are: Adam, Seth, Enoch, Noah, Shem, Terah, Joseph, Moses, Balaam, Samuel, David, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Zerubbabel. Comp. note 318 on vol. I, p. 306. PRE 24, on the other hand, speaks of the circumcision performed by Isaac on Jacob.

²⁷. Ziyroni, Gen. 25. 25.

²⁸. The interpretation of the name Esau occurs in Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 25. 25; Yashar Toledot, 50b, and, with some variants, *Hadar*, *ad loc.* For other interpretations of the names of Esau, Edom, and Seir see BR 63. 8; Lekah, *ad loc.*; MHG I, 396. Comp. also Rashi, *ad loc.* The interpretation of the name Jacob occurs in Tan. Shemot 4, where the name Isaac is explained in a similar way. BR, *loc. cit.*, emphasizes the fact that it was God Himself who gave Jacob his name. On the men

THE FAVORITE OF ABRAHAM

While Esau and Jacob were little, their characters could not be judged properly. They were like the myrtle and the thorn-bush, which look alike in the early stages of their {³¹⁶} growth. After they have attained full size, the myrtle is known by its fragrance, and the thorn-bush by its thorns.

In their childhood, both brothers went to school, but when they reached their thirteenth year, and were of age, their ways parted. Jacob continued his studies in the Bet ha-Midrash of Shem and Eber, and Esau abandoned himself to idolatry and an immoral life.²⁹ Both were hunters of men, Esau tried to capture them in order to turn them away from God, and Jacob, to turn them toward God.³⁰ In spite of his impious deeds, Esau possessed the art of winning his father's love. His hypocritical conduct made

distinguished in this manner see note 122 on vol. I, p. 239; comp. also BaR 18. 21; *Neweh Shalom*, 76; Lekah 1. 121.

²⁹. BR 63. 9; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 25. 27; Yashar Toledot, 53b; PRE 32. Comp. also Berakot 16a, where it is said that Scripture sometimes uses the word "tent" as a metaphor for "house of study". The Bet ha-Midrash of Shem and Eber is also alluded to in BR 94. 8; Shir 6. 2; Koheleth 5. 11. Comp. further ER 5, 29 and 32, where, in addition to the industry with which Jacob devoted himself to his studies, his uprightness is spoken of. See also Tan. B. I, 125, 134, 167, 206, as well as note 34.

³⁰. MHG I, 397.

Isaac believe that his first-born son was extremely pious. “Father,” he would ask Isaac, “what is the tithe on straw and salt?” The question made him appear God-fearing in the eyes of his father, because these two products are the very ones that are exempt from tithing.³¹ Isaac failed to notice, too, that his older son gave him forbidden food to eat. What he took for the flesh of young goats was dog’s meat.³²

Rebekah was more clear-sighted. She knew her sons as they really were, and therefore her love for Jacob was exceeding great. The oftener she heard his voice, the deeper grew her affection for him.³³ Abraham agreed with her. He also loved his grandson Jacob, for he knew that in him his name and his seed would be called. And he said unto Rebekah, “My daughter, watch over my son Jacob, for he shall be in my stead on the earth and for a blessing in the midst of the children of men, and for the glory of the whole seed of Shem.” Having admonished Rebekah thus to keep guard over Jacob, who was destined to be the bearer of the blessing given to Abraham by God, he called for his grandson, {317} and in the presence of Rebekah he blessed him, and said: “Jacob, my beloved son, whom my soul loveth, may God bless

^{31.} BR 63. 10; Tan. Toledot 7; Yelammedenu in *Nur al-Zulm*, 96; Leket Midrashim 6a (a quotation from a supposed Midrash on Job); PK, 199a; MHG I, 397. In the last named passage it is said that Isaac knew the real character of his elder son, but hoped by love and kindness, to influence him to mend his ways. The same statement occurs also in Shu’aib, Toledot, 12d.

^{32.} Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 27. 31. Comp. note 100.

^{33.} BR 63. 10.

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thee from above the firmament, and may He give thee all the blessing wherewith He blessed Adam, and Enoch, and Noah, and Shem, and all the things of which He told me, and all the things which He promised to give me may He cause to cleave to thee and to thy seed forever, according to the days of the heavens above the earth. And the spirit of Mastema shall not rule over thee or over thy seed, to turn thee from the Lord, who is thy God from henceforth and forever. And may the Lord God be a father to thee, and mayest thou be His first-born son, and may He be a father to thy people always. Go in peace, my son.”³⁴

And Abraham had good reason to be particularly fond of Jacob, for it was due to the merits of his grandson that he had been rescued from the fiery furnace.³⁵

³⁴ Jub. 19. 16-30. See also *ibid.* 14, which reads: And Jacob learned to write. Comp. note 29. MHG I, 397, in citing BR 63. 9, reads: *ובית מדרשו של אברהם*. This reading must have been known to Yashar Toledot, 51a, where it is explicitly stated that Abraham instructed Jacob in the ways of the Lord. On the seven pious men who preceded Abraham, *i. e.*: Adam, Seth, Enoch, Mahalalel, Enoch, Noah, and Shem, referred to in Jub., *loc. cit.*, comp. note 28 on vol. I, p. 11.

³⁵ WR 36. 4; Tan. Toledot 4; Shemot 4; Aggadat Bereshit 64, 130. This Haggadah is based on Is. 29. 22; but in Sanhedrin 19b this verse is differently interpreted. Abraham should have been the father of the twelve tribes, but Jacob took his place to save him the trouble of rearing children. WR, *loc. cit.*, states that mankind, including Abraham, was created for the merits of Jacob. Jacob's superiority over Abraham is expressed in many other statements of the Haggadah. It is for Jacob's merits that the Jordan became dry, that Israel might be able to enter the

Isaac and Rebekah, knowing of Abraham's love for their young

Holy Land; BR 76. 5. It was he who was the chosen one among the Fathers; *ibid.* 1. For Jacob's sake Israel was redeemed from Egyptian bondage, and will be redeemed by the Messiah; Haserot 2b; BR 75. 13. God loves Israel on account of Jacob; Lekah, Exod. 20. 19. It is for his sake that He makes His Shekinah dwell in Israel: Shir 7. 6. The Torah would have been revealed to Jacob, were it not for the fact that his descendants were not numerous enough in his life-time; an unknown Midrash quoted by Shu'aib, Shemini 'Azeret, 126b, and Yitro, 32b. When Israel suffers or commits a sin, it is Jacob who feels it more than the other patriarchs, and accordingly his joy will be the greatest when the future redemption comes: Tehillim 14, 115; PR 41, 174b. The conflicting view, which accords to Abraham the highest rank among the Fathers, is also given in most of the sources cited above. One may safely assert that the older Haggadah (universalistic) favors Abraham, the younger one (nationalistic) Jacob. This later view reached its highest state of development in the Kabbalah; comp., e. g., Zohar I, 86b; II, 23a. The man in the moon has Jacob's face; Kanah 10b; TShBZ, 220. Comp. note 102 on vol. I, p. 25, and note 6 on vol. IV, p. 4. Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata* 1. 15, speaks of the face of the Sibyl in the moon. Origen, in *Joan.* 2. 25, and in *Gen.* 3. 9, quotes, from the lost Jewish pseudepigraphic work, the Prayer of Joseph, the following remarkable words of Jacob concerning himself. He describes himself as an "angel of God, the first servant in God's presence", whereas the angel who wrestled with him is the third in rank. The statement that Jacob never died, which the Amoraim vainly attempted to explain (comp. Ta'anit 5b, according to which the embalming and burying of Jacob were docetic: see Rashi, *ad loc.*, and note 39 on vol. III, p. 22), originally belonged to a legend, which, like the pseudepigraphic work mentioned above, considered Jacob to have been an angel. In this legend the patriarch Jacob is confounded with the Semitic god Jacobel mentioned in an

son, sent their father a meal by Jacob on the last Feast of Pentecost which Abraham was permitted to celebrate on earth, that he might eat and bless the Creator of all things before he died. Abraham knew that his end was approaching, and he thanked the Lord for all the good He had granted him during the days of his life, and blessed Jacob and bade him walk in the ways of the Lord, and especially he was not to marry a daughter of the Canaanites. Then Abraham prepared for death. He placed two of Jacob's fingers upon his eyes, and thus holding them closed he fell into his eternal sleep, while Jacob lay beside him on the bed. The lad did not know of his grandfather's death, until he called him, on awakening next morning, "Father, father," and received no

Egyptian inscription. Many an angel is nothing more than a degraded god. On Jacob's face in the heavenly throne, *Merkabah*, comp. note 134. The third patriarch (sometimes with the honorary designation "the pious"; comp. BaR 14. 12=Tadshe 10) is usually called Jacob in rabbinic literature, and not by his later name Israel, whereas Abraham is never called Abram; comp. Berakot 13a and note 122 on vol. I, p. 239. When Israel is used as the name of the patriarch, and not of the nation, the word סבא, "the old", is added; comp. BR 70. 2, 68. 11, 73. 2, 77. 1, and in many more places. With regard to the orthography of the name יעקב, the remark is found that the Bible spells the name *plene* יעקוב only in five passages, and in an equal number of places אליה is spelled defectively instead of אליהו. Jacob took one letter from Elijah and attached it to his own name, as a pledge that the prophet will not fail to be the harbinger of the gladsome tidings of the future redemption; Haserot 22. Jub. 19. 25 (comp. also Charles, *ad loc.*) shows that the glorification of Jacob is of very high antiquity.

answer.³⁶ {318}

THE SALE OF THE BIRTHRIGHT

Though Abraham reached a good old age, beyond the limit of years vouchsafed later generations, he yet died five years before his allotted time. The intention was to let him live to be one hundred and eighty years old, the same age as Isaac's at his death, but on account of Esau God brought his life to an abrupt close. For some time Esau had been pursuing his evil inclinations in secret. Finally he dropped his mask, and on the day of Abraham's death he was guilty of five crimes: he ravished a betrothed maiden, committed murder, doubted the resurrection of the dead, scorned the birthright, and denied God. Then the Lord said: "I promised Abraham that he should go to his fathers in peace. Can I now permit him to be a witness of his grandson's rebellion against God, his violation of the laws of chastity, and his shedding of blood? It is better for him to die now in peace."³⁷

³⁶. Jub. 22. 1-23. 7. On the dream of Abraham, described in Jub., *loc. cit.*, comp. note 317 (end). On the point dwelt upon in Jub., *loc. cit.*, that with the death of Abraham the age of man was cut short and disease began to trouble the human race, comp. *Zadokite Fragments*, 10. 8-10 and note 272 on vol. I, p. 291, as well as note 357 on vol. II, p. 131. Yebamot 64b maintains that the cutting short of the age of man took place in the days of David.

³⁷. Baba Batra 16b; Tehillim 9, 83. A somewhat different view occurs in the Palestinian sources, BR 63. 12; PK 3, 22b; PR 12, 74 (this passage contains the addition that Esau was fifteen years old at the time of

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The men slain by Esau on this day were Nimrod and two of his adjutants. A long-standing feud had existed between Esau and Nimrod, because the mighty hunter before the Lord was jealous of Esau, who also devoted himself assiduously to the chase. Once when he was hunting it happened that Nimrod was separated from his people, only two men were with him. Esau, who lay in ambush, noticed his isolation, and waited until he should pass his covert. Then he threw himself upon Nimrod suddenly, and felled him and his two companions, who hastened to his succor. The outcries of the latter brought the attendants of Nimrod to the spot where he lay dead, but not before Esau had stripped him of his garments, and fled to the city with them.³⁸ {319}

Abraham's death; this was adopted by Yashar Toledot, 50b); Tan. B. V, 35; Tan. Shemot 1 (from Baba Batra, *loc. cit.*) and Ki-Teze 4; Yerushalmi Targumim Gen. 25. 29 and 34; an unknown midrashic source in Shu'aib, Toledot, 13b; MHG I, 399 and 401.

³⁸. Yashar Toledot, 51b–52a. According to Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 25. 25 and PRE 32 (the complete text is found in Yalkut I, 110, and *Nur al-Zulm*, 95), Esau killed also Nimrod's son Enoch, or rather Hiwwar (= "the leper"); comp. Aggadat Bereshit 19, 37 (here it is stated that Abraham killed Nimrod); PRE 24; Tan. B. I, 125; BR 65. 16 and 63. 13. Esau owed to Jacob his victory over Nimrod. Esau and Nimrod had been engaged in a bitter feud for a long time, and finally resolved to leave the decision to a duel. Jacob, knowing that Nimrod was invulnerable as long as he was clad in Adam's garments (comp. notes 78–80 on vol. I, p. 177, and the following note), advised his brother not to enter into combat before his adversary had removed his magic garments. Whereupon Esau put those garments on stealthily, and killed Nimrod in the duel; *Hadar* and *Da'at*

These garments of Nimrod had an extraordinary effect upon cattle, beasts, and birds. Of their own accord they would come and prostrate themselves before him who was arrayed in them. Thus Nimrod and Esau after him were able to rule over men and beasts.³⁹

After slaying Nimrod, Esau hastened cityward in great fear of his victim's followers. Tired and exhausted he arrived at home to find Jacob busy preparing a dish of lentils. Numerous male and female slaves were in Isaac's household. Nevertheless Jacob was so simple and modest in his demeanor that, if he came home late from the Bet ha-Midrash, he would disturb none to prepare his meal, but would do it himself.⁴⁰ On this occasion he was cooking lentils for his father, to serve to him as his mourner's meal after the death of Abraham. Adam and Eve had eaten lentils after the murder of Abel, and so had the parents of Haran, when he perished in the fiery furnace. The reason they are used for the mourner's meal is that the round lentil symbolizes death: as the lentil rolls, so death, sorrow, and mourning constantly roll about among men, from one to the other.⁴¹

Esau accosted Jacob thus, "Why art thou preparing lentils?"

on Gen. 25. 29–32.

³⁹. BR 63. 13. Comp. the preceding note.

⁴⁰. MHG I, 398.

⁴¹. Baba Batra 16b; BR 63. 14; PRE 35. Jerome, *Epist.* 39. 3 also mentions the custom in use among the Jews of his time to serve lentils for the mourner's meal. Comp. also Leket Midrashim 2b; Zohar I, 139a–139b; *Hadar*, Gen. 25. 30; Tan. B. I, 125–126.

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Jacob: "Because our grandfather passed away; they shall be a sign of my grief and mourning, that he may love me in the days to come."

Esau: "Thou fool! Dost thou really think it possible that man should come to life again after he has been dead and has mouldered in the grave?"⁴² He continued to taunt Jacob. "Why dost thou give thyself so much trouble?" he said. "Lift up thine eyes, and thou wilt see that all men {320} eat whatever comes to hand—fish, creeping and crawling creatures, swine's flesh, and all sorts of things like these, and thou vexest thyself about a dish of lentils."

Jacob: "If we act like other men, what shall we do on the day of the Lord, the day on which the pious will receive their reward, when a herald will proclaim: Where is He that weigheth the deeds of men, where is He that counteth?"

Esau: "Is there a future world? Or will the dead be called back to life? If it were so, why hath not Adam returned? Hast thou heard that Noah, through whom the world was raised anew, hath reappeared? Yea, Abraham, the friend of God, more beloved of Him than any man, hath he come to life again?"

Jacob: "If thou art of opinion that there is no future world, and that the dead do not rise to new life, then why dost thou want thy birthright? Sell it to me, now, while it is yet possible to do so. Once

^{42.} PR 12, 47b–48a; a somewhat different text from that of the edition is found in Yalkut Reubeni, Gen. 25. 32.

the Torah is revealed, it cannot be done. Verily, there is a future world, in which the righteous receive their reward. I tell thee this, lest thou say later I deceived thee.”⁴³

Jacob was little concerned about the double share of the inheritance that went with the birthright. What he thought of was the priestly service, which was the prerogative of the first-born in ancient times, and Jacob was loth to have his impious brother Esau play the priest, he who despised all Divine service.⁴⁴

The scorn manifested by Esau for the resurrection of the dead he felt also for the promise of God to give the Holy Land to the seed of Abraham. He did not believe in it, and {321} therefore he was willing to cede his birthright and the blessing attached thereto in exchange for a mess of pottage.⁴⁵ In addition, Jacob paid him in

⁴³ MHG I, 399-400. Comp. also EZ 19, 26-27, where the sale of the birthright by Esau to Jacob is explained as the renunciation by the former of his share in the world to come in favor of the latter, while retaining this world for himself. Comp. also Tan. B. I, 126, and Sekel, 100.

⁴⁴ BR 63. 13. On the priestly functions of the first-born in pre-Mosaic times, comp. vol. I, p. 332; vol. III, pp. 93, 211, and 226. Philo, *Quaestiones*, Gen. 4, 127, and Hasidim 446, maintain that Jacob's intention in buying the birthright from his brother was to take away from him the means to lead a dissipated and voluptuous life. In the last-named source it is stated that Jacob, after the consummation of the deal, was ready to return the birthright to Esau, provided he would become a pious and God-fearing man. Comp. Lekah, Gen. 25. 31, and the preceding note.

⁴⁵ Lekah, Gen. 25. 31, based on an unknown Midrash. Besides lentils,

coin,⁴⁶ and, besides, he gave him what was more than money, the wonderful sword of Methuselah, which Isaac had inherited from Abraham and bestowed upon Jacob.⁴⁷

Esau made game of Jacob. He invited his associates to feast at his brother's table, saying, "Know ye what I did to this Jacob? I ate his lentils, drank his wine, amused myself at his expense, and sold my birthright to him." All that Jacob replied was, "Eat and may it do thee good!" But the Lord said, "Thou despisest the birthright, therefore I shall make thee despised in all generations." And by way of punishment for denying God and the resurrection of the dead, the descendants of Esau were cut off from the world.⁴⁸

Jacob gave Esau some red wine; MHG I, 399, and BR 63. 12. In the last-named passage, as well as in many others, stress is laid on the gluttony of Esau, who asked Jacob to fill him with food; Tan. B. I, 126 (זיבורית has been misunderstood by Buber and others; it means "a bowl"); PK 6, 59a (= Yalkut II, 950, on Prov. 13, where Yelammedenu is erroneously given as source); PR 16, 82a; BaR 21. 20; Tan. Pinehas 13.

⁴⁶ Lekah, Gen. 25. 34, based on an unknown midrashic source. The use of זיהוב and אדום to describe a certain coin (=gulden) in this source betrays its late age. The pot of lentils was, accordingly, not the real price for the birthright, but is to be understood as the handsel given by Jacob to Esau; *Hadar* and *Midrash Aggada*, Gen. 26. 25.

⁴⁷ Sekel and *Imre No'am*, Gen. 25. 26. Comp. vol. I, p. 141, and note 63 appertaining thereto; see further vol. III, p. 411, and note 853 appertaining thereto, as well as Index, s. v. "David, Sword of".

⁴⁸ MHG I, 400-401; BR 63. 14. That Esau denied the existence of God, comp. note 37. *Da'at*, Gen. 25. 27, quotes Yerushalmi (not in our text) to the effect that Esau started on his impious mode of life two years prior to

As naught was holy to Esau, Jacob made him swear, concerning the birthright, by the life of their father, for he knew Esau's love for Isaac, that it was strong.⁴⁹ Nor did he fail to have a document made out, duly signed by witnesses, setting forth that Esau had sold him the birthright together with his claim upon a place in the Cave of Machpelah.⁵⁰

Though no blame can attach to Jacob for all this, yet he secured the birthright from him by cunning, and therefore the descendants of Jacob had to serve the descendants of Esau.⁵¹

Abraham's death. Out of respect for his grandfather, however, he hid his wickedness from the eyes of man. But as soon as Abraham died, he threw his mask off. Comp. note 37 on vol. I, p. 318.

⁴⁹ Midrash Aggada Gen. 25. 33, and similarly Philo, *De Special. Leg.*, ii, 2; ii, 241, with reference to Gen. 31. 53. Comp. Ginzberg, *Unbekannte Sekte*, 130–131 (note).

⁵⁰ Yashar Toledot, 53a–53b, based on old sources; comp. vol. I, pp. 393 and 417.

⁵¹ Midrash ha Ne'elam (end of paragraphs ר"א ור"י), 36d. Comp. further vol. I, p. 399 and vol. IV, p. 418, and note 126. One often meets with the statement that Esau's descendants (Romans, or rather Christians) received the dominion over the world as a reward for the filial affection Esau showed towards his father Isaac; see, e. g., DR 1. 1; DZ. 23; and in many other places. Hasidim 341 reads: Esau went hunting..., exposing himself thereby to great dangers, that he should be able to provide his father with game. His reward consists in his children's dominion over the world. Mishle 30. 107 says: Esau received the dominion (over the world) for the merits of Abraham. As to the question whether Jacob's dealing with Esau was entirely justified, see Hasidim 446, which is the source for *Da'at* and *Hadar* on Gen. 25. 33.

ISAAC WITH THE PHILISTINES

The life of Isaac was a faithful reflex of the life of his father. Abraham had to leave his birthplace; so also Isaac. Abraham was exposed to the risk of losing his wife; so also {³²²} Isaac. The Philistines were envious of Abraham; so also of Isaac. Abraham long remained childless; so also Isaac. Abraham begot one pious son and one wicked son; so also Isaac. And, finally, as in the time of Abraham, so also in the time of Isaac, a famine came upon the land.⁵²

At first Isaac intended to follow the example of his father and remove to Egypt, but God appeared unto him, and spake: "Thou art a perfect sacrifice, without a blemish, and as a burnt offering is made unfit if it is taken outside of the sanctuary, so thou wouldst be profaned if thou shouldst happen outside of the Holy Land. Remain in the land, and endeavor to cultivate it. In this land dwells the Shekinah, and in days to come I will give unto thy children the realms possessed by mighty rulers, first a part thereof, and the whole in the Messianic time."⁵³

Comp. vol. I, p. 320, and note 43.

⁵². MHG I, 401 (יִרְיָא=relatives, compatriots); Tan. Toledot 9. The famine occurred immediately after the death of Abraham, and was much more grievous than the one which forced him to emigrate to Egypt; Sekel, Gen. 26. 1.

⁵³. BR 64. 3; Tan. B. I, 128 and 168; MHG I, 401; Sekel, Gen. 24. 6; *Ha-Hoker* I, 344. The land of the Philistines is a part of the Holy Land; comp.

Isaac obeyed the command of God, and he settled in Gerar. When he noticed that the inhabitants of the place began to have designs upon his wife, he followed the example of Abraham, and pretended she was his sister.⁵⁴ The report of Rebekah's beauty reached the king himself, but he was mindful of the great danger to which he had once exposed himself on a similar occasion, and he left Isaac and his wife unmolested.⁵⁵ After they had been in Gerar for three months, Abimelech noticed that the manner of Isaac, who lived in the outer court of the royal palace, was that of a husband toward Rebekah.⁵⁶ He called him to account, saying, "It might have happened to the king himself to take the woman thou didst call thy sister."⁵⁷ Indeed, Isaac lay under the suspicion of

Da'at, *Hadar*, and *Shu'aib* on Exod. 14. 16; *Hasidim* 269. See also vol. I, p. 348.

⁵⁴ MHG I, 403.

⁵⁵ Aggadat Bereshit 26. 10; Yashar, *Toledot*, 52b. With regard to the difference in the attitude of the Philistines towards Abraham and Isaac, Bereshit Rabbeti (*Magazin* XV, 98) quotes, as an explanation, the proverb "He who was bitten by a snake fears a snakelike rope", and the fable of the lion and the fox. Comp. Epstein, *ad loc.* On Abimelech the king of the Philistines, comp. vol. I, pp. 290–291, and Lekah, Gen. 25. 1.

⁵⁶ Yashar, *Toledot*, 52b; MHG I, 403; Philo, Gen. 4. 188; BR 64. 5; Midrash Aggada, Lekah, *Hadar*, and *Da'at* on Gen. 26. 8. According to Zohar I, 140b, and III, 113b, Abimelech found out by means of astrology the true relation between Isaac and Rebekah.

⁵⁷ Onkelos and Yerushalmi Targumim on Gen. 26. The rendering of תָּחַב by "the most prominent one" is frequently found in the Talmud; comp. e. g. Megillah 28a (ascribed to R. Akiba's teacher); Hullin 28a. Comp. also Yashar, *Toledot*, 53a, and the dissenting view of 2 Targum

having illicit intercourse with Rebekah, for at first the people of the place would not believe {323} that she was his wife. When Isaac persisted in his statement,⁵⁸ Abimelech sent his grandees for them, ordered them to be arrayed in royal vestments, and had it proclaimed before them, as they rode through the city: "These two are man and wife. He that toucheth this man or his wife shall surely be put to death."

Thereafter the king invited Isaac to settle in his domains, and he assigned fields and vineyards to him for cultivation, the best the land afforded.⁵⁹ But Isaac was not self-interested. The tithe of all he possessed he gave to the poor of Gerar. Thus he was the first to introduce the law of tithing for the poor, as his father Abraham had been the first to separate the priests' portion from his fortune.⁶⁰ Isaac was rewarded by abundant harvests; the land yielded a hundred times more than was expected, though the soil was barren and the year unfruitful. He grew so rich that people wished to have "the dung from Isaac's she-mules rather than

Yerushalmi, which paraphrases אָדָם by חָד מִן טַלִּיא "a young man."

⁵⁸. MHG I, 404.

⁵⁹. Yashar, Toledot, 53a. Comp. also BR 64. 7.

⁶⁰. PK II, 98a; PR 25, 127b; Tan. B. V, 24; Tan. Rëeh 14. PRE 33, EZ. 1. 170, and Targumim Yerushalmi, Gen. 26. 12, find in this verse an indication that Isaac was very wealthy, as the large quantity of grain which he is said to have possessed represented only the tenth part of his yearly income, the tithes which he gave away. Jub. 13. 25 and 32. 8 ascribes the introduction of the priestly tithe to Abraham and Jacob. Comp. also BR 64. 6 and Mishle 30, 105.

Abimelech's gold and silver."⁶¹ But his wealth called forth the envy of the Philistines, for it is characteristic of the wicked that they begrudge their fellow-men the good, and rejoice when they see evil descend upon them, and envy brings hatred in its wake, and so the Philistines first envied Isaac, and then hated him. In their enmity toward him, they stopped the wells which Abraham had had his servants dig. Thus they broke their covenant with Abraham and were faithless, and they have only themselves to blame if they were exterminated later on by the Israelites.

Isaac departed from Gerar, and began to dig again the wells of water which they had digged in the days of Abraham his father, and which the Philistines had stopped. His {³²⁴} reverence for his father was so great that he even restored the names by which Abraham had called the wells. To reward him for his filial respect, the Lord left the name of Isaac unchanged, while his father and his son had to submit to new names.⁶²

After four attempts to secure water, Isaac was successful; he found the well of water that followed the Patriarchs. Abraham had

^{61.} BR 64. 6; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 26. 2. Comp. also vol. IV, p. 360, l. 3 (from below), where "Israel" is a printer's error for "Isaac".

^{62.} MHG I, 407-408, and the parallel passages cited by Schechter. Haserot 14 is the source for the remarks in MHG about Isaac's filial piety and modesty. R. Bahya, Gen. 26. 18, cites the same remark from Sa'adya Gaon's commentary on the Pentateuch. Philo, *Quaestiones*, Gen. 4. 194, likewise dwells on Isaac's extraordinary filial piety. The masoretic note in MHG about the biblical places, where the expression הלך וגדל is used, is found also in Aggadat Esther 9. 9. Comp. also note 122 vol. I, p. 239, and note 35.

obtained it after three diggings. Hence the name of the well, Beer-sheba, “the well of seven diggings,” the same well that will supply water to Jerusalem and its environs in the Messianic time.⁶³

Isaac’s success with his wells but served to increase the envy of the Philistines, for he had come upon water in a most unlikely spot and, besides, in a year of drouth. But “the Lord fulfils the desire of them that fear Him.” As Isaac executed the will of his Creator, so God accomplished his desire.⁶⁴ And Abimelech, the king of Gerar, speedily came to see that God was on the side of Isaac, for, to chastise him for having instigated Isaac’s removal from Gerar, his house was ravaged by robbers in the night, and he himself was stricken with leprosy.⁶⁵ The wells of the Philistines ran dry as soon as Isaac left Gerar, and also the trees failed to yield their fruit. None could be in doubt but that these things were the chastigation for their unkindness.

⁶³ PRE 35, in accordance with the correct text in MHG I, 408. On the number of wells which Isaac dug, and their symbolic significance, comp. BR 64. 8. Septuagint, on Gen. 26. 32 reads *שבע*, whereas the masoretic text has *שלוש*. But the reading of the Septuagint is found also in rabbinic sources; comp. Midrash Tannaim 73, and Ginzberg’s remarks on it in Geiger’s *Kebuzzat Maamarim*, 411. The fourth well is identified with the well of Miriam; comp. vol. III, p. 52, and vol. I, p. 324.

⁶⁴ MHG I, 408. Comp. the sources quoted in note 61.

⁶⁵ BR 64. 9. Lekah, Gen. 26. 26, identifies Abimelech, the king of Gerar at the time of Isaac, with the king of that name in Abraham’s days. A different view is given in Yashar Toledot, 53a. See MHG I, 409 (ח"מ); note 53, and note 270 on vol. I, 290–291.

Now Abimelech entreated his friends, especially the administrator of his kingdom, to accompany him to Isaac and help him win back his friendship.⁶⁶ Abimelech and the Philistines spake thus to Isaac: “We have convinced ourselves that the Shekinah is with thee, and therefore we desire thee to renew the covenant which thy father made with us, that {325} thou wilt do us no hurt, as we also did not touch thee.” Isaac consented. It illustrates the character of the Philistines strikingly that they took credit unto themselves for having done him no hurt. It shows that they would have been glad to inflict harm upon him, for “the soul of the wicked desireth evil.”

The place in which the covenant was made between Isaac and the Philistines was called Shib'ah, for two reasons, because an oath was “sworn” there, and as a memorial of the fact that even the heathen are bound to observe the “seven” Noachian laws.⁶⁷

^{66.} Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 26. 20 and 28. The Philistines came to Isaac imploring him to intercede in their behalf; he willingly granted their request; Targum Yerushalmi, Gen. 26. 27; comp. also Sifre D., 38. Isaac moved out of Gerar because “change of place brings about change of luck”; MHG I, 408–409, and Midrash Aggada Gen. 26. 22. A similar remark occurs in Rosh ha-Shanah 16b, with reference to Abraham’s emigration to Palestine. Here also the different view is cited to the effect that only emigration to Palestine may change one’s luck. Comp. also note 122 on vol. I, p. 239 with regard to change of names.

^{67.} MHG I, 410–411. On the covenant between Isaac and the Philistines, comp. vol. IV, pp. 93–94. On the meaning of the name Beer-Sheba see vol. I, p. 270, as well as the sources cited in note 63. Characteristic of the wickedness of the Philistines are the words of Abimelech, who spoke of

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For all the wonders executed by God for Isaac, and all the good he enjoyed throughout his life, he is indebted to the merits of his father. For his own merits he will be rewarded in future.⁶⁸ On the great day of judgment it will be Isaac who will redeem his descendants from Gehenna. On that day the Lord will speak to Abraham, "Thy children have sinned," and Abraham will make reply, "Then let them be wiped out, that Thy Name be sanctified." The Lord will turn to Jacob, thinking that he who had suffered so much in bringing his sons to manhood's estate would display more love for his posterity. But Jacob will give the same answer as Abraham. Then God will say: "The old have no understanding, and the young no counsel. I will now go to Isaac. Isaac," God will address him, "thy children have sinned," and Isaac will reply: "O Lord of the world, sayest Thou *my* children, and not *Thine*? When they stood at Mount Sinai and declared themselves ready to execute all Thy bidding before even they heard it, Thou didst call Israel 'My first-born,' and now they are *my* children, {326} and not

adultery as of a peccadilo (Gen. 26. 10: כמעט "as a trifle"), whereas pious people, on the other hand, belittle their good deeds, but consider their failings as grave sins; MHG I, 404. See also ER 25, 128–129. After Abraham's death, Isaac said to himself: "Woe unto me! How will God deal with me now that my father is dead, and I have no good deeds like his to my credit?" God in His mercy thereupon appeared to Isaac.

⁶⁸. MHG I, 409. Here it is also stated that it was not on account of egotistical motives that Isaac exerted himself in digging the wells. Wherever the pious people take up their abode, they are anxious to provide the people of the neighborhood with water.

Thine! Let us consider. The years of a man are seventy. From these twenty are to be deducted, for Thou inflicttest no punishment upon those under twenty. Of the fifty years that are left, one-half are to be deducted for the nights passed in sleep. There remain only twenty-five years, and these are to be diminished by twelve and a half, the time spent in praying, eating, and attending to other needs in life, during which men commit no sins. That leaves only twelve years and a half. If Thou wilt take these upon Thyself, well and good. If not, do Thou take one-half thereof, and I will take the other half." The descendants of Isaac will then say, "Verily, thou art our true father!" But he will point to God, and admonish them, "Nay, give not your praises to me, but to God alone," and Israel, with eyes directed heavenward, will say, "Thou, O Lord, art our Father; our Redeemer from everlasting is Thy name."⁶⁹

⁶⁹. Shabbat 89b; PRK, 33a and 37b. This legend is given in the form of an interpretation of Is. 63. 16, where Abraham and Jacob are mentioned, but not Isaac. The "first" and "third" patriarchs deserted their descendants, but not Isaac, who pleaded for them with God. A different view occurs in BR 67. 7 (see also the statement of Raba in Shabbat, *loc. cit.*), which maintains, on the contrary, that the prophet, Isaiah, *loc. cit.*, did not mention Isaac among "the Fathers", because he did not act as a father of Israel, when he bestowed the power of the sword on Esau (= Rome). Shir 8. 10 (this is the source Rashi, Sukkah 52b, had in mind, not Yalkut, as given in margin) reads: Isaac went to the gates of Gehenna to his children. This hints at our legend; but it cannot be ascertained with which form thereof it was acquainted, whether with the one of the Talmud, or with that of PRK. Ginzberg, *Unbekannte Sekte*, 64, calls attention to the fact that in this legend twenty is taken to be the age of

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It was Isaac, or, as he is sometimes called, Elihu the son of Barachel, who revealed the wonderful mysteries of nature in his arguments with Job.⁷⁰

At the end of the years of famine, God appeared unto Isaac, and bade him return to Canaan. Isaac did as he was commanded, and he settled in Hebron. At this time he sent his younger son Jacob to the Bet ha-Midrash of Shem and Eber, to study the law of the Lord. Jacob remained there thirty-two years. As for Esau, he refused to learn, and he remained in the house of his father. The chase was his only occupation, and as he pursued beasts, so he pursued men, seeking to capture them with cunning and deceit.

On one of his hunting expeditions, Esau came to Mount Seir, where he became acquainted with Judith, of the family {327} of Ham, and he took her unto himself as his wife, and brought her

majority, in accordance with a view which prevailed in early times. The reduction of the four hundred years of the Egyptian servitude to two hundred and ten (comp. vol. II, p. 318, note 124) is likewise due to the merits of Isaac, who, in exchange of this, had to submit to a reduction in the numerical value of his name. He should have been called Yishak (ישחק), but with the exception of one place (Jer. 33. 26), he is called Yizhak (יצחק), and the difference between ש and ז amounts to two hundred and ten, corresponding to the years of the Egyptian servitude. See *Hadar*, *Imre No'am*, and *Pa'aneah* on Exod. 6. 1; Midrash Aggada, Exod. 4. 24, and Gen. 21. 1; Shu'aib, Wa-Yiggash 21a; Yalkut Reubeni, Exod. 1. 1 (here it is given as a quotation from ; but the statement may be doubted). Comp. also Batte Midrashot, III, 28.

⁷⁰. Yerushalmi Sotah 5, 20d.

to his father at Hebron.

Ten years later, when Shem his teacher died, Jacob returned home, at the age of fifty. Another six years passed, and Rebekah received the joyful news that her sister-in-law 'Adinah, the wife of Laban, who, like all the women of his house, had been childless until then, had given birth to twin daughters, Leah and Rachel.⁷¹ Rebekah, weary of her life on account of the woman chosen by her older son, exhorted Jacob not to marry one of the daughters of Canaan, but a maiden of the family of Abraham. He assured his mother that the words of Abraham, bidding him to marry no woman of the Canaanites, were graven upon his memory, and for this reason he was still unmarried, though he had attained the age of sixty-two, and Esau had been urging him for twenty-two years past to follow his example and wed a daughter of the people of the land in which they lived. He had heard that his uncle Laban had daughters, and he was resolved to choose one of them as his wife. Deeply moved by the words of her son, Rebekah thanked him and gave praise unto God with the words: "Blessed be the Lord God, and may His Holy Name be blessed for ever and ever, who hath given me Jacob as a pure son and a holy seed; for he is Thine, and Thine shall his seed be continually and throughout all the generations for evermore. Bless him, O Lord, and place in my mouth the blessing of righteousness, that I may bless him."

And when the spirit of the Lord came over her, she laid her hands upon the head of Jacob and gave him her maternal blessing. It ended with the words, "May the Lord of the {328} world

^{71.} Yashar, Toledot 43a-43b.

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love thee, as the heart of thy affectionate mother rejoices in thee, and may He bless thee.”⁷²

ISAAC BLESSES JACOB

Esau's marriage with the daughters of the Canaanites was an abomination not only in the eyes of his mother, but also in the eyes of his father. He suffered even more than Rebekah through the idolatrous practices of his daughters-in-law. It is the nature of man to oppose less resistance than woman to disagreeable circumstances. A bone is not harmed by a collision that would shiver an earthen pot in pieces. Man, who is created out of the dust of the ground, has not the endurance of woman formed out of bone. Isaac was made prematurely old by the conduct of his daughters-in-law, and he lost the sight of his eyes. Rebekah had been accustomed in the home of her childhood to the incense burnt before idols, and she could therefore bear it under her own roof-tree. Unlike her, Isaac had never had any such experience while he abode with his parents, and he was stung by the smoke arising from the sacrifices offered to their idols by his daughters-in-law in his own house.⁷³ Isaac's eyes had suffered earlier in life,

⁷². Jub. 25. 1–23. Manifestly Rebekah is assumed to have been a prophetess. This is in agreement with Seder 'Olam 21, and parallel passages cited by Ratner, note 25, that the “fathers” and “mothers” were endowed with the prophetic spirit. Comp., however, note 18.

⁷³. Tan. Toledot 8; MHG I, 411–412. On the idolatry of Esau's wives, comp. BR 65. 4 (here Rebekah is described as the daughter of an

too. When he lay bound upon the altar, about to be sacrificed by his father, the angels wept, and their tears fell upon his eyes, and there they remained and weakened his sight.

At the same time he had brought the scourge of blindness down upon himself by his love for Esau. He justified the wicked for a bribe, the bribe of Esau's filial love, and loss of vision is the punishment that follows the taking of bribes. "A gift," it is said, "blinds the eyes of the wise." {329}

Nevertheless his blindness proved a benefit for Isaac as well as Jacob. In consequence of his physical ailments, Isaac had to keep at home, and so he was spared the pain of being pointed out by the people as the father of the wicked Esau.⁷⁴ And, again, if his

idolatrous priest); Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 26. 35; Aggadat Bereshit 41, 83 (Esau himself burned incense to the idols); Abkir in Yalkut I, 114; Yalkut II, 956 on Prov. 17. 25; MHG I, 411 (נ'ג). See also the following note.

⁷⁴. BR 65. 4–10, which also gives the different view to the effect that Isaac's blindness was caused by his looking at the Shekinah at the time of the 'Akedah. Comp. note 248 on vol. I, p. 282; PRE 32; Targum Yerushalmi, Gen. 27. 1; DR 11. 3; an unknown midrashic source quoted in Yalkut I, 101 (ויעקד). See also vol. IV. p. 361, note 58. The looking at the wicked causes blindness, and Isaac looked too often at Esau; Megillah 28a. This passage gives also another View, according to which Isaac's blindness was a consequence of the curse called down by Abimelech upon Sarah's children (a haggadic interpretation of the "covering of the eyes"; Gen. 20. 16); for even the curse of an ordinary person sometimes takes effect. The evil ways of the children cause the parents to age prematurely, as may be seen from what happened to Isaac, Eli, and Samuel. The wickedness of one's child or disciple brings blindness to the

power of vision had been unimpaired, he would not have blessed Jacob. As it was, God treated him as a physician treats a sick man who is forbidden to drink wine, for which, however, he has a strong desire. To placate him, the physician orders that warm water be given him in the dark, and he be told that it is wine.⁷⁵

When Isaac reached the age of one hundred and twenty three, and was thus approaching the years attained by his mother, he began to meditate upon his end. It is proper that a man should

father or master, respectively, as is proved by the blindness of Isaac and Ahijah the Shilonite. See Aggadat Bereshit 41, 83; Tan. Hayye Sarah 2 and Ki-Teze 4; PK 3, 23a; Tan. B. V, 35; Shemuel 8, 72; BR, loc. cit. Comp. vol. IV, p. 180, note 6. There is also another view which maintains that Isaac's blindness was his punishment for preferring the wicked Esau to the God-fearing Jacob. Besides this bodily punishment, he was also punished spiritually by losing the prophetic spirit; BR, loc. cit.; Tan. B. I, 30; Tan. Toledot 8; MHG I, 417; Batte Midrashot, IV, 14. Some, however, maintain that Isaac had prayed to God to send bodily ailments upon men, that they might atone for their sins, and his blindness was the first case of disease which came upon men. See BR, loc. cit., and vol. I, p. 292, note 272.

⁷⁵ MHG I, 516; BR 65, 8; Tan. Toledot 8; Philo, Gen. 4, 196. The last passage adds that Isaac regained his sight after Jacob received the blessing from him. Philo (198) also remarks that Isaac knew very well the true character of his two sons; he nevertheless wished to bless the wicked Esau, in the hope that this distinction would induce him to mend his ways, whereas there was no need to offer Jacob any inducement to do good. The same view occurs in rabbinic sources; comp. note 31 and vol. I, 339, note 106.

prepare for death when he comes close to the age at which either of his parents passed out of life. Isaac reflected that he did not know whether the age allotted to him was his mother's or his father's, and he therefore resolved to bestow his blessing upon his older son, Esau, before death should overtake him.⁷⁶ He summoned Esau, and he said, "My son," and Esau replied, "Here am I," but the holy spirit interposed: "Though he disguises his voice and makes it sound sweet, put no confidence in him. There are seven abominations in his heart. He will destroy seven holy places—the Tabernacle, the sanctuaries at Gilgal, Shiloh, Nob, and Gibeon, and the first and the second Temple."

Gently though Esau continued to speak to his father, he yet longed for his end to come.⁷⁷ But Isaac was stricken with spiritual as well as physical blindness. The holy spirit deserted him, and he could not discern the wickedness of his older son. He bade him sharpen his slaughtering knives {330} and beware of bringing him the flesh of an animal that had died of itself, or had been torn by a beast, and he was to guard also against putting an animal before Isaac that had been stolen from its rightful owner. "Then," continued Isaac, "will I bless him who is worthy of being blessed."⁷⁸

⁷⁶. BR 65. 12; Lekah Gen. 17. 2. Differently in MHG I, 418.

⁷⁷. Tan. B. I, 130; MHG I, 418 (ב'). It is difficult to harmonize this View with the high praise bestowed by the Haggadah upon Esau for his filial piety; comp. note 51. On the seven holy places, comp. also vol. I, p. 270. On the seven abominations (Prov. 6. 15), see BR 65. 11; WR 16. 1.

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This charge was laid upon Esau on the eve of the Passover, and Isaac said to him: "To-night the whole world will sing the Hallel unto God. It is the night when the storehouses of dew are unlocked. Therefore prepare dainties for me, that my soul may bless thee before I die." But the holy spirit interposed, "Eat not the bread of him that hath an evil eye."⁷⁹ Isaac's longing for tidbits was due to his blindness. As the sightless cannot behold the food they eat, they do not enjoy it with full relish, and their appetite must be tempted with particularly palatable morsels.

Esau sallied forth to procure what his father desired, little recking the whence or how, whether by robbery or theft.⁸⁰ To hinder the quick execution of his father's order, God sent Satan on the chase with Esau. He was to delay him as long as possible. Esau would catch a deer and leave him lying bound, while he pursued other game. Immediately Satan would come and liberate the deer, and when Esau returned to the spot, his victim was not to be found. This was repeated several times. Again and again the quarry was run down, and bound, and liberated, so that Jacob was able meanwhile to carry out the plan of Rebekah whereby he

⁷⁸. BR 65. 4 and 13; Tan. Toledot 8. Another view finds in the different kinds of weapons mentioned by Isaac (Gen. 27. 3) an allusion to the "four kingdoms", which ruled the world by the might of the sword. See BR, *loc. cit.*, and Tan. B. I, 131.

⁷⁹. PRE 36; Targum Yerushalmi 27. 1; ShR 15. 11; Zohar I, 142a. Comp. also vol. I, p. 224, note 76.

⁸⁰. BR 65. 13; Koheleth 5. 10.

would be blessed instead of Esau.

Though Rebekah had not heard the words that had passed between Isaac and Esau, they nevertheless were revealed to her through the holy spirit,⁸¹ and she resolved to restrain {331} her husband from taking a false step. She was not actuated by love for Jacob, but by the wish of keeping Isaac from committing a detestable act.⁸² Rebekah said to Jacob: "This night the storehouses of dew are unlocked; it is the night during which the celestial beings chant the Hallel unto God, the night set apart for the deliverance of thy children from Egypt, on which they, too, will sing the Hallel. Go now and prepare savory meat for thy father, that he may bless thee before his death.⁸³ Do as I bid thee, obey me as thou art wont, for thou art my son whose children, every one, will be good and God-fearing — not one shall be graceless."

In spite of his great respect for his mother,⁸⁴ Jacob refused at first to heed her command. He feared he might commit a sin,⁸⁵

^{81.} BR 67. 9; Tan. Toledot 11; Tan. B. I, 131; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 27. 5; Tan. Toledot 10. On Rebekah as a prophetess see note 72, and Index, s. v. "Prophetesses". A different view is found in Lekah, *ad loc.*, and MHG I, 421, which, on the contrary, remark: Women are eavesdroppers, as may be seen from Rebekah's action. Comp. vol. I, p. 66.

^{82.} Philo, *Quaestiones*, Gen. 200.

^{83.} PRE 36; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 27. 6. On the first day of Passover the quantity of dew is fixed for the ensuing year, and on the last day of Tabernacles (Shemini 'Azeret) the quantity of rain; comp. Mishnah Rosh ha-Shanah 1. 2; Ta'anit 1. 1-2, and Luria, PRE, *ad loc.*

^{84.} Lekah and Midrash Aggada on Gen. 27. 8.

especially as he might thus bring his father's curse down upon him. As it was, Isaac might still have a blessing for him, after giving Esau his. But Rebekah allayed his anxieties, with the words: "When Adam was cursed, the malediction fell upon his mother, the earth, and so shall I, thy mother, bear the imprecation, if thy father curses thee. Moreover, if the worst comes to the worst, I am prepared to step before thy father and tell him, 'Esau is a villain, and Jacob is a righteous man.'"

Thus constrained by his mother, Jacob, in tears and with body bowed, went off to execute the plan made by Rebekah.⁸⁵ As he was to provide a Passover meal, she bade him get two kids, one for the Passover sacrifice and one for the festival sacrifice.⁸⁶ To soothe Jacob's conscience, she added that her marriage contract entitled her to two kids daily. "And," she continued, "these two kids will bring good unto {332} thee, the blessing of thy father, and they will bring good unto thy children, for two kids will be the atoning sacrifice offered on the Day of Atonement."

Jacob's hesitation was not yet removed. His father, he feared, would touch him and convince himself that he was not hairy, and therefore not his son Esau. Accordingly, Rebekah tore the skins of the two kids into strips and sewed them together, for Jacob was so

⁸⁵. PRE 36; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 37. 11.

⁸⁶. BR 65. 15. Comp. also MHG I, 424 (מ"ב).

⁸⁷. PRE 36; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 27. 9. By דתנין, in PRE, reference is made to Tosefta Pesahim 5. 3, according to which מטעמים (Gen, *loc. cit.*) is to be taken as a festival sacrifice. Comp. Targum Yerushalmi, *ad loc.*

tall a giant that otherwise they would not have sufficed to cover his hands.⁸⁸ To make Jacob's disguise complete, Rebekah felt justified in putting Esau's wonderful garments on him. They were the high priestly raiment in which God had clothed Adam, "the first-born of the world," for in the days before the erection of the Tabernacle all the first-born males officiated as priests. From Adam these garments descended to Noah, who transmitted them to Shem, and Shem bequeathed them to Abraham, and Abraham to his son Isaac, from whom they reached Esau as the older of his two sons. It was the opinion of Rebekah that as Jacob had bought the birthright from his brother, he had thereby come into possession of the garments as well.⁸⁹ There was no need for her to go and fetch them from the house of Esau. He knew his wives far too well to entrust so precious a treasure to them; they were in the safe-keeping of his mother. Besides, he used them most frequently in the house of his parents. As a rule, he did not lay much stress

^{88.} BR 65. 14; WR 21. 11 and 27. 9; Tan. Toledot 10 and Emor 12; PR 47, 191a. Goats' skins were used for the tabernacle in remembrance of Jacob who obtained the blessings by means of goats' skins; Shir 2. 4.

^{89.} Tan. B. I, 133 (read: *לְאָדָם... שְׁהִיָּה בְכוֹרִי*) and 181; BaR 4. 8; Aggadat Bereshit 43, 85-86. Comp. notes 39, 44, as well as vol. I, p. 177, notes 78-80. Jerome, Gen. 27. 16, also mentions the Jewish tradition according to which the choicest garments were the priestly garments worn by the first-born who performed the priestly service before Aaron's time. That Isaac, though the first-born of his mother (and inasmuch as Ishmael was the son of a bondwoman, the former was the first legitimate child of his father), did not act as priest himself, is due to the circumstance that his blindness disqualified him from the priesthood. Comp. Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 18.

upon decent apparel. He was willing to appear on the street clad in rags, but he considered it his duty to wait upon his father arrayed in his best. "My father," Esau was in the habit of saying, "is a king in my sight, and it would ill become me to serve before him in anything {333} but royal apparel." To the great respect he manifested toward his father, the descendants of Esau owe all their good fortune on earth. Thus doth God reward a good deed.

Rebekah led Jacob equipped and arrayed in this way to the door of Isaac's chamber. There she parted from him with the words, "Henceforward may thy Creator assist thee."⁹⁰ Jacob entered, addressing Isaac with "Father," and receiving the response, "Here am I! Who art thou, my son?" he replied equivocally, "It is I, thy first-born son is Esau." He sought to avoid a falsehood, and yet not betray that he was Jacob.⁹¹ Isaac then said: "Thou art greatly in haste to secure thy blessing. Thy father Abraham was seventy-five years old when he was blessed, and thou art but sixty-three." Jacob

⁹⁰. BR 65. 16–17; DR I. 15; PR 23, 124a; MHG I, 424–425.

⁹¹. Tan. B. I, 131; BR 65. 18. The Haggadah would not admit that Jacob uttered an unqualified untruth, especially as his answer to Rebekah's suggestion was: To tell a lie is as great a sin as to worship idols (BR, *loc. cit.*, and Sanhedrin 92a). Accordingly, Gen. 27. 19 is explained in such a way, that Jacob's words, though somewhat ambiguous, do not express an untruth. The construction of the Hebrew sentence admits of such an explanation without difficulty. Jub. 26. 13 goes still further, and makes Jacob answer his father: "I am thy son." Similarly with regard to verse 24, it is remarked that Jacob's answer was: "I" (=It is I), and not "I am Esau." Comp. Lekah and Rashi, *ad loc.*

replied awkwardly, “Because the Lord thy God sent me good speed.” Isaac concluded at once that this was not Esau, for he would not have mentioned the name of God, and he made up his mind to feel the son before him and make sure who he was. Terror seized upon Jacob at the words of Isaac, “Come near, I pray thee, that I may feel thee, my son.” A cold sweat covered his body, and his heart melted like wax. Then God caused the archangels Michael and Gabriel to descend. The one seized his right hand, the other his left hand, while the Lord God Himself supported him, that his courage might not fail him. Isaac felt him, and, finding his hands hairy, he said, “The voice is Jacob’s voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau,” words in which he conveyed the prophecy that so long as the voice of Jacob is heard in the houses of prayer and of learning, the hands of Esau will not be able {334} to prevail against him. “Yes,” he continued, “it is the voice of Jacob, the voice that imposes silence upon those on earth and in heaven,” for even the angels may not raise their voices in praise of God until Israel has finished his prayers.

Isaac’s scruples about blessing the son before him were not yet removed, for with his prophetic eye he foresaw that this one would have descendants who would vex the Lord. At the same time, it was revealed to him that even the sinners in Israel would turn penitents, and then he was ready to bless Jacob. He bade him come near and kiss him, to indicate that it would be Jacob who would imprint the last kiss upon Isaac before he was consigned to the grave—he and none other. When Jacob stood close to him, he discerned the fragrance of Paradise clinging to him, and he exclaimed, “See, the smell of my son is as the smell of the field

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which the Lord hath blessed.”⁹²

The fragrance emanating from Jacob was not the only thing about him derived from Paradise. The archangel Michael had fetched thence the wine which Jacob gave his father to drink,⁹³ that an exalted mood might descend upon him, for only when a man is joyously excited the Shekinah rests upon him.⁹⁴ The holy

⁹² BR 65. 19-23; Tan. B. I, 131-132 and 134-135 (comp. *ibid.* 165, where the episode with the angel is given in connection with Jacob's terror at meeting Esau on his return from Mesopotamia); Tan. Toledot 11; Ephraim, I, 77D. On the assistance rendered by the two archangels, Michael and Gabriel, comp. also BR 63. 14, where it is said that they drew up the bill of sale, transferring the birthright from Esau to Jacob. On the fragrance from paradise, and how Isaac recognized it, see vol. I, p. 286, note 255, and vol. I, p. 297, note 300, as well as vol. IV, p. 205, note 54. According to Tan. B. I, 145, the bodies of the pious emit a celestial fragrance like that of paradise (comp. vol. III, p. 5), while according to another view the paradise fragrance which Isaac discerned came from Jacob's garments which originally belonged to Adam who had worn them in paradise; comp. vol. I, p. 332. The statement Tan. B. I, 141, that God caused the garments to emit a fragrance like the aromatic perfume of the incense used in the temple is a later modification of the Haggadah in BR 65. 23, and Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 27. 27.

⁹³ Tan. B. I, 135; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 27. 35 (with the addition that the wine given by the archangel to Isaac was of the kind created at the very beginning of the world for the use of the pious in the world to come, and which is “preserved in its grapes”, = *יין המשומר*, till that time; comp. note 79 on vol. I, p. 20). A similar Haggadah is found in Shu'aib, Toledot, 12c, and Shir, 52b. A badly mutilated form of this legend occurs in a Pahlevi writing. Comp. *R.E.J.*, XVIII, 13-14.

spirit filled Isaac, and he gave Jacob his tenfold blessing: “God give thee of the dew of heaven,” the celestial dew wherewith God will awaken the pious to new life in days to come; “and of the fatness of the earth,” the goods of this world; “and plenty of corn and wine,” the Torah and the commandments which bestow the same joy upon man as abundant harvests;⁹⁵ “peoples shall serve thee,” the Japhethites and the Hamites; “nations {335} shall bow down to thee,” the Shemite nations; “thou wilt be lord over thy brethren,” the Ishmaelites and the descendants of Keturah; “thy mother’s sons will bow down to thee,” Esau and his princes; “cursed be every one that curseth thee,” like Balaam; “and blessed be every one that blesseth thee,” like Moses.⁹⁶

For each blessing invoked upon Jacob by his father Isaac, a similar blessing was bestowed upon him by God Himself in the same words. As Isaac blessed him with dew, so also God: “And the remnant of Jacob shall be in the midst of many peoples as dew from the Lord.” Isaac blessed him with the fatness of the earth, so also God: “And he shall give the rain of thy seed, that thou shalt sow the ground withal; and bread of the increase of the ground,

⁹⁴ Zohar Shir 1. 2. On joy as the necessary condition for the manifestation of the holy spirit, comp. Shabbat 30b; vol. II, p. 116, note 294.

⁹⁵ MHG I, 430; PRE 32, and comp. Luria, *ad loc.* The midrashic literature contains many interpretations of the “blessing”, all of which are based on the assumption that it is nothing but a prophecy of Israel’s history. See BR 66. 1–4; Tan. B. I, 133–134; Aggadat Bereshit 42, 86–87.

⁹⁶ BR 66. 4; Tan. B. I, 136; MHG I, 430; Yerushalmi Targumim Gen. 27. 29; Aggadat Bereshit 42, 87.

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and it shall be fat and plenteous.” Isaac blessed him with plenty of corn and wine, so also God: “I will send you corn and wine.” Isaac said, “Peoples shall serve thee,” so also God: “Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers; they shall bow down to thee with their faces to the earth, and lick the dust of thy feet.” Isaac said, “Nations shall bow down to thee,” so also God: “And He will make thee high above all nations which He hath made, in praise, and in name, and in honor.”

To this double blessing his mother Rebekah joined hers: “For He shall give His angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways. They shall bear thee up in their hands, lest thou dash thy feet against a stone. Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder; the young lion and the serpent shalt thou trample under feet. Because he hath set his love upon me, therefore will I deliver him; I will set him on high, because he hath known my name.” {336}

The holy spirit added in turn: “He shall call upon me, and I will answer him; I will be with him in trouble; I will deliver him, and honor him. With long life will I satisfy him, and show him my salvation.”⁹⁷

Jacob left the presence of his father crowned like a bridegroom, adorned like a bride, and bathed in celestial dew, which filled his bones with marrow, and transformed him into a hero and a

⁹⁷ BR 75. 8; MHG I, 438. In Rebekah’s blessing an allusion is found to the legend (vol. I, p. 333) that Michael and Gabriel came to Jacob’s assistance; comp. also note 92.

giant.⁹⁸

Of a miracle done for him at that very moment Jacob himself was not aware. Had he tarried with his father an instant longer, Esau would have met him there, and would surely have slain him. It happened that exactly as Jacob was on the point of leaving the tent of his father, carrying in his hands the plates off which Isaac had eaten, he noticed Esau approaching, and he concealed himself behind the door. Fortunately, it was a revolving door, so that though he could see Esau, he could not be seen by him.

ESAU'S TRUE CHARACTER REVEALED

Esau arrived after a delay of four hours.⁹⁹ In spite of all the efforts he had put forth, he had not succeeded in catching any game, and he was compelled to kill a dog and prepare its flesh for his father's meal.¹⁰⁰ All this had made Esau ill-humored, and

⁹⁸. PRE 32; comp. Index, 3. 22. "Dew, Celestial."

⁹⁹. Tan. B. I, 136; Tan. Toledot 11; BR 66. 5; *Hadar* and *Da'at* on Gen. 27. 30, cite the Haggadah that Michael and Gabriel came to Jacob's assistance at the moment of Esau's arrival. Comp. notes 92 and 97 as well as Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 27. 30.

¹⁰⁰. Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 27. 31. PRE 32, according to the reading in MHG I, 431, maintains, on the contrary, that Esau finally succeeded in catching a hart; comp. also Tan. Toledot 11, and Tan. B. I, 131. The sentence cited by Ginsburger (Targum, *ad loc.*) from PRE cannot be the source of Targum. The Karaite Hadassi, *Eshkol*, No. 362, 133a, quotes the following from the Midrash: Esau was in the habit of serving his father meat of animals not slaughtered according to the law, and on one

when he bade his father partake of the meal, the invitation sounded harsh. "Let my father arise," he said, "and eat of his son's venison." Jacob had spoken differently; he had said, "Arise, I pray thee, sit and eat of my venison." The words of Esau terrified Isaac greatly. His fright exceeded that which he had felt when his father was about to offer him as a sacrifice, and he cried {337} out, "Who then is he that hath been the mediator between me and the Lord, to make the blessing reach Jacob?" — words meant to imply that he suspected Rebekah of having instigated Jacob's act.

Isaac's alarm was caused by his seeing hell at the feet of Esau. Scarcely had he entered the house when the walls thereof began to get hot on account of the nearness of hell, which he brought along with him. Isaac could not but exclaim, "Who will be burnt down yonder, I or my son Jacob?" and the Lord answered him, "Neither thou nor Jacob, but the hunter."

occasion, when he failed to catch any game, he prepared a *ragoût* out of the flesh of young dogs and hares, and put it before Isaac. But no sooner did Isaac touch the plate than the dogs began to bark, and he became frightened as narrated in the Bible, Gen. 27. 33. The Karaite Mordecai b. Nissim, 65, likewise mentions this legend, but he cannot be cited as an independent authority for this, since he undoubtedly made use of *Eshkol*. It is not improbable that the Karaites, in their attempt to ridicule the Rabbanites, exaggerated the statement of Targum Yerushalmi, *loc. cit.*, though the barking of dead dogs is not impossible in legend: comp. vol. I, p. 236, note 113. See also vol. I, pp. 329–330, with regard to Esau's preparation of the food according to the law, in contrast to the view ascribed to the Rabbis by the Karaites.

Isaac told Esau that the meat set before him by Jacob had had marvellous qualities. Any savor that one desired it possessed, it was even endowed with the taste of the food that God will grant the pious in the world to come. "I know not," he said, "what the meat was. But I had only to wish for bread, and it tasted like bread, or fish, or locusts, or flesh of animals, in short, it had the taste of any dainty one could wish for." When Esau heard the word "flesh," he began to weep, and he said: "To me Jacob gave no more than a dish of lentils, and in payment for it he took my birthright. What must he have taken from thee for flesh of animals?" Hitherto Isaac had been in great anguish on account of the thought that he had committed a wrong in giving his blessing to his younger son instead of the first-born, to whom it belonged by law and custom. But when he heard that Jacob had acquired the birthright from Esau, he said, "I gave my blessing to the right one!"

In his dismay, Isaac had had the intention of cursing Jacob for having wrested the blessing from him through {338} cunning. God prevented him from carrying out his plan. He reminded him that he would but curse himself, seeing that his blessing contained the words, "Cursed be every one that curseth thee." But Isaac was not willing to acknowledge his blessing valid as applied to Jacob, until he was informed that his second son was the possessor of the birthright. Only then did he say, "Yea, he shall be blessed," whereat Esau cried with an exceeding great and bitter cry. By way of punishment for having been the cause of such distress, a descendant of Jacob, Mordecai, was also made to cry with a loud and bitter cry, and his grief was brought forth by the Amalekite Haman, the descendant of Esau. At the words of Isaac, "Thy

brother came with wisdom, and hath taken away thy blessing,” Esau spat out in vexation, and said, “He took away my birthright, and I kept silence, and now that he takes away my blessing, should I also keep silence?”¹⁰¹ Is not he rightly named Jacob? for he hath supplanted me these two times.”¹⁰²

Isaac continued to speak to Esau: “Behold, I have made him thy lord, he is thy king, and do what thou wilt, thy blessings will still belong to him; all his brethren have I given to him for slaves, and what slaves possess belongs to their owner. There is nothing for it, thou must be content that thou wilt receive thy bread baked from thy master.” The Lord took it ill of Isaac that he cheered him with such kind words. “To Mine enemy,” He reproached him, “thou sayest, ‘What shall I do for thee, my son?’” Isaac replied, “O that he might find grace with Thee!” God: “He is a recreant.” Isaac: “Doth he not act righteously when he honors his parents?” God: “In the land of uprightness {339} will he deal wrongfully, he will stretch his hand forth in days to come against the Temple.”

^{101.} BR 65. 18 and 67. 1-4; Tan. B. I, 141-143; Tan. Toledot 11-13; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 27. 33. Great terror took hold of Isaac at the time of the ‘Akedah, when God opened the heavens and Isaac beheld the “chambers of the *Merkabah*”; Tan. B. I, 141. Comp. also the quotation from the Pesikta in *Da‘at*, on Gen. 27. 1 (not found in our texts), as well as Zohar I, 143a, 144a. With regard to the suspicion against Rebekah, see note 81. Jacob who caused fright and terror to his father was punished “measure for measure”, and terror seiz’d hold of him at the report of Joseph’s death. See Zohar I, 144b.

^{102.} Lekah Gen. 27. 36. הָיָה is taken to be identical with talmudic הָיָה “so”.

Isaac: “Then let him enjoy much good in this world, that he may not behold the abiding-place of the Lord in the world to come.”¹⁰³

When it became plain to Esau that he could not induce his father to annul the blessing bestowed upon Jacob, he tried to force a blessing for himself by an underhand trick. He said: “Hast thou but one blessing, my father? bless me, even me also, O my father, else it will be said thou hast but one blessing to bestow. Suppose both Jacob and I had been righteous men, had not then thy God had two blessings, one for each?” The Lord Himself made reply: “Silence! Jacob will bless the twelve tribes, and each blessing will be different from every other.” But Isaac felt great pity for his older son, and he wanted to bless him, but the Shekinah forsook him, and he could not carry out what he purposed. Thereupon Esau began to weep. He shed three tears — one ran from his right eye, the second from his left eye, and the third remained hanging from his eyelash. God said, “This villain cries for his very life, and should I let him depart empty-handed?” and then He bade Isaac bless his older son.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ BR 67. 5; Tan. B. I, 143. Comp. also Megillah 6a and PRE 39 (end), as well as Mishle 26, 100, and Tehillim 10, 95.

¹⁰⁴ Tan. B. I, 143–144 and III, 79; Sanhedrin 101b (where בפלילה “argument”, is to be read, with MHG I, 113, 433, and not בעלילה “accusation”, as our texts have it. See Ginzberg, *Randglossen zum hebräischen Ben Sira*, 7. 7 and 14); PRK ed. G. 52, where וחזה is to be explained in accordance with vol. III, p. 58, note 10. On the tears shed by Esau, comp. ER 13, 65 (two tears), and 19, 114; 2 ARN 48, 130; Tehillim 80, 362; Tan. Kedoshim 15; Sekel 100; vol. IV, p. 418. Philo, Gen. 4, 233, reads: Isaac mistook Esau’s tears to be tears of repentance, and he

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The blessing of Isaac ran thus: "Behold, of the fat of the earth shall be thy dwelling," by which he meant Greater Greece, in Italy; "and of the dew of heaven from above," referring to Bet-Gubrin; "and by thy sword shalt thou live, and thou shalt serve thy brother," but when he casts off the yoke of the Lord, then shalt thou "shake his yoke from off thy neck," and thou wilt be his master.¹⁰⁵

The blessing which Isaac gave to his older son was bound {340} to no condition whatsoever. Whether he deserved them or not, Esau was to enjoy the goods of this world. Jacob's blessing, however, depended upon his pious deeds; through them he would have a just claim upon earthly prosperity. Isaac thought: "Jacob is a righteous man, he will not murmur against God, though it should come to pass that suffering be inflicted upon him in spite of his upright life. But that reprobate Esau, if he should do a good

blessed him, believing that he had forsaken his evil ways.

¹⁰⁵ BR 67. 6. Comp. also Onkelos and Yerushalmi Targumim Gen. 27. 40, as well as Jub. 26. 31. In the last-named source this biblical verse is rendered as follows: And it shall come to pass when thou becomest great (תרב instead of תרד?) and dost shake off his yoke from thy neck, thou wilt sin a grievous sin unto death, and thy seed will be uprooted from under the heaven. "Grievous sin" is a haggadic rendering of ופרקת עלו, which is explained in accordance with this mishnic use of על (פורק על "to cast off the heavenly yoke", while the other haggadic interpretation connects עלו with עול "young child"; hence the paraphrase "and thy seed", etc. On עול על "child", comp. Ginzberg's note in Geiger, *Kebuzzat Maamarim*. 384.

deed, or pray to God and not be heard, he would say, ‘As I pray to the idols for naught, so it is in vain to pray to God.’” For this reason did Isaac bestow an unconditional blessing upon Esau.¹⁰⁶[106]

JACOB LEAVES HIS FATHER’S HOUSE

Esau hated his brother Jacob on account of the blessing that his father had given him, and Jacob was very much afraid of his brother Esau, and he fled to the house of Eber, the son of Shem, and he concealed himself there fourteen years on account of his brother Esau, and he continued there to learn the ways of the Lord and His commandments. When Esau saw that Jacob had fled and escaped from him, and Jacob had cunningly obtained the blessing, then Esau grieved exceedingly, and he was also vexed at his father and mother. He also rose up and took his wife, and went away from his father and mother to the land of Seir. There he married his second wife, Basemath, the daughter of Elon the Hittite, and he called her name Adah, saying that the blessing had in that time passed from him. After dwelling in Seir for six months, Esau returned to the land of Canaan, and placed his two wives in his father’s house in Hebron. And the wives of Esau vexed and provoked Isaac and Rebekah {341} with their works, for they walked not in the ways of the Lord, but served their fathers’ gods of wood and stone, as their fathers had taught them, and they were more wicked than their fathers. They sacrificed and

¹⁰⁶. Tan. B. I, 134 and 135; Aggadat Bereshit 42, 86-87. See also note 75.

burnt incense to the Baalim, and Isaac and Rebekah became weary of them. And at the end of fourteen years of Jacob's residing in the house of Eber, Jacob desired to see his father and his mother, and he returned home. Esau had forgotten in those days what Jacob had done to him, in having taken the blessing from him, but when Esau saw Jacob returning to his parents, he remembered what Jacob had done to him, and he was greatly incensed against him, and he sought to slay him.¹⁰⁷

But Esau would not kill Jacob while his father was yet alive, lest Isaac beget another son. He wanted to be sure of being the only heir.¹⁰⁸ However, his hatred against Jacob was so great that he determined to hasten the death of his father and then dispatch Jacob. Such murderous plans Esau cherished in his heart, though he denied that he was harboring them. But God spoke, "Probably thou knowest not that I examine the hearts of men, for I am the Lord that searcheth the heart." And not God alone knew the secret desires of Esau. Rebekah, like all the Mothers, was a prophetess, and she delayed not to warn Jacob of the danger that hung over him. "Thy brother," she said to him, "is as sure of accomplishing his wicked purpose as though thou wert dead. Now therefore, my son, obey my voice, and arise, flee thou to Laban my brother, to Haran, and tarry with him for seven years, until thy brother's fury

¹⁰⁷. Yashar, Toledot, 53a–53b. Comp. notes 71 and 73.

¹⁰⁸. BR 75. 9; WR 27. 11; Tan. B. III, 95; Tan. Emor 13; ER 3, 12; PK 9, 78b–79a; Tehillim 2, 24; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 27. 41. See also note 118.

turn away.” In the goodness of her heart, Rebekah could not but believe that the anger of Esau was only a fleeting {³⁴²} passion, and would disappear in the course of time. But she was mistaken, his hate persisted until the end of his life.¹⁰⁹

Courageous as he was, Jacob would not run away from danger. He said to his mother, “I am not afraid; if he wishes to kill me, I will kill him,” to which she replied, “Let me not be bereaved of both my sons in one day.”¹¹⁰ By words Rebekah again showed her prophetic gift. As she spoke, so it happened—when their time came, Esau was slain while the burial of Jacob was taking place.¹¹¹

And Jacob said to Rebekah: “Behold, thou knowest that my father has become old and does not see, and if I leave him and go away, he will be angry and will curse me. I will not go; if he sends

¹⁰⁹. BR 67. 8–10. On Rebekah as a prophetess comp. now 81. Commenting on the words of Scripture “And Esau said in his heart” (Gen. 27. 41), the Midrash remarks: The pious are masters of their hearts (=passions), the wicked are slaves to their hearts. See BR, *loc. cit.*; Tehillim 14, 112. Esau was a consummate master of deceitfulness: he not only played the role of a loving son, while he was anxiously awaiting his father’s death (comp. Tehillim *loc. cit.*), but he also pretended to be a loving brother, in order that Jacob should not take any precautions against his murderous plans; Mishle 26, 99, and comp. vol. II, p. 7, note 11. According to Jub. 27. 1, Esau’s evil designs were revealed to Rebekah in a dream. It is difficult to harmonize this view with the description, given *ibid.* 26. 35, of the open hostility between the brothers.

¹¹⁰. Jub. 27. 5.

¹¹¹. Sotah 13a. Comp. vol. II, p. 154. Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 27. 45 explains these words of Rebekah differently.

me, only then will I go.”¹¹²

Accordingly, Rebekah went to Isaac, and amid tears she spoke to him thus: “If Jacob take a wife of the daughters of Heth, what good shall my life do me?”¹¹³ And Isaac called Jacob, and charged him, and said unto him: “Thou shalt not take a wife of the daughters of Canaan, for thus did our father Abraham command us according to the word of the Lord, which He had commanded him, saying, ‘Unto thy seed will I give the land; if thy children keep My covenant that I have made with thee, then will I also perform to thy children that which I have spoken unto thee, and I will not forsake them.’ Now therefore, my son, hearken to my voice, to all that I shall command thee, and refrain from taking a wife from amongst the daughters of Canaan. Arise, go to Haran, to the house of Bethuel, thy mother’s father, and take thee a wife from thence of the daughters of Laban, thy mother’s brother. Take heed lest thou shouldst forget the Lord thy God and all His ways in the land to which {343} thou goest, and shouldst join thyself to the people of the land, and pursue vanity, and forsake the Lord thy God. But when thou comest to the land, serve the Lord. Do not

^{112.} Jub. 27. 7. Similarly in Tan. B. I, 145 = Aggadat Bereshit 45, 91.

^{113.} BR 67. 11; גורפת מחוטמה, as a result of her incessant weeping which made her wipe her nose continually. The paraphrasing of אשה (Gen. 27. 46) by a “wicked wife” is found not only in Targum Yerushalmi, *ad loc.*, but also in Jub. 27. 8. Leket Midrashim 22a reads: Rebekah saw, in her prophetic vision, that Titus would destroy the temple which will be a hundred cubits high (a haggadic explanation of the masoretic note on Gen. *loc. cit.* that a small ק is to be written in קצתי).

turn to the right or to the left from the way which I commanded thee, and which thou didst learn. And may the Almighty God grant thee favor before the people of the land, that thou mayest take a wife there according to thy choice, one who is good and upright in the way of the Lord. And may God give unto thee and thy seed the blessing of thy father Abraham and make thee fruitful and multiply thee, and mayest thou become a multitude of people in the land whither thou goest, and may God cause thee to return to thy land, the land of thy father's dwelling, with children and with great riches, with joy and with pleasure."¹¹⁴

As the value of a document is attested by its concluding words, the signature of the witnesses, so Isaac confirmed the blessing he had bestowed upon Jacob.¹¹⁵ That none might say Jacob had secured it by intrigue and cunning, he blessed him again with three blessings, in these words, "In so far as I am endowed with the power of blessing, I bestow blessing upon thee. May God, with whom there is endless blessing, give thee His, and also the blessing wherewith Abraham desired to bless me, desisting only in order not to provoke the jealousy of Ishmael."¹¹⁶

^{114.} Yashar, Toledot, 54b–55a. Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 28. 3 reads: May the Lord give thee many possessions, and make twelve tribes issue from thee, and mayest thou be found meritorious to produce Synedrions consisting of seventy members, corresponding to the number of the nations of the earth.

^{115.} BR 67. 12.

^{116.} MHG I, 437-438. Comp. vol. I, p. 299. On the number of the blessings, see Tan. B. I, 136, and sources quoted in note 95.

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Seeing with his prophetic eye that the seed of Jacob would once be compelled to go into exile, Isaac offered up one more petition, that God would bring the exiles back again. He said, "He shall deliver thee in six troubles, and in the seventh there shall no evil touch thee." And also Rebekah prayed to God in behalf of Jacob: "O Lord of the world, {344} let not the purpose prosper which Esau harbors against Jacob. Put a bridle upon him, that he accomplish not all he wills to do."¹¹⁷

When Esau observed that even his father's love had passed from him to Jacob, he went away, to Ishmael, and he addressed him as follows: "Lo, as thy father gave all his possessions to thy brother Isaac, and dismissed thee with empty hands, so my father purposeth to do to me. Make thyself ready then, go forth and slay thy brother, and I will slay mine, and then we two shall divide the whole world between us." And Ishmael replied: "Why dost thou want me to slay thy father? thou canst do it thyself." Esau said: "It hath happened aforetime that a man killed his brother—Cain murdered Abel. But that a son should kill his father is unheard of."

Esau did not really shrink back from parricide, only it chanced not to fit the plan he had hatched. "If Ishmael slays my father," he said to himself, "I am the rightful redeemer, and I shall kill Ishmael to avenge my father, and if, then, I murder Jacob, too, everything will belong to me, as the heir of my father and my

¹¹⁷. BR 75. 8. Comp. vol. I, pp. 335–336. See further Index, s. v. "Dominions."

uncle.”¹¹⁸ This shows that Esau’s marriage with Mahalath, the daughter of Ishmael and grandchild of Abraham, was not concluded out of regard for his parents, who were opposed to his two other wives, daughters of the Canaanites. All he desired was to enter into amicable relations with Ishmael in order to execute his devilish plan.¹¹⁹

But Esau reckoned without his host. The night before his wedding with Mahalath Ishmael died, and Nebaioth, the son of Ishmael, stepped into his father’s place, and gave {345} away his sister.¹²⁰ How little it had been in Esau’s mind to make his parents happy by taking a granddaughter of Abraham to wife, appears from the fact that he kept his two other wives, the Canaanitish women. The daughter of Ishmael followed the example of her companions, and thus she but added to the grief caused the parents of Esau by their daughters-in-law.¹²¹ And the opportunity

^{118.} MHG I, 440; Aggadat Bereshit 2, 6, and 46, 95–96; Tehillim 14, 112; *Nur al-Zulm*, 87. Comp. also BR 67. 8, and note 108. *Hadar* on Gen. 27. 42 quotes, from an unknown midrashic source, the statement that God had revealed to Shem Esau’s evil designs; and the prophet informed the latter that his secrets were known to him.

^{119.} BR 67. 8. Comp. the preceding note.

^{120.} MHG I, 440, where נִגַּף יִשְׁמָעֵאל is to be read. A somewhat different version is found in *Nur al-Zulm*, 87, which reads: When Esau saw that Ishmael was unwilling to carry out his plans, he refused to marry Mahalath, who had been betrothed to him, and the marriage took place only after her father’s death. See also Seder ‘Olam 2 and Megillah 17a, where it is stated that Ishmael died after the betrothal, but before the marriage of his daughter.

might have been a most favorable one for Esau to turn aside from his godless ways and amend his conduct, for the bridegroom is pardoned on his wedding day for all his sins committed in years gone by.¹²¹

Scarcely had Jacob left his father's house, when Rebekah began to weep, for she was sorely distressed about him. Isaac comforted her, saying: "Weep not for Jacob! In peace doth he depart, and in peace will he return. The Lord, God Most High, will guard him

^{121.} BR 67. 13. Here, as well as in the sources cited in the following note, Mahalath is identified with Basemath mentioned in Gen. 36. 3. This view is also shared by Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 28. 9. Philo, Gen. 4, 245, in agreement with BR, calls attention to the word על (Gen. 28. 9), which indicates that Esau did not separate himself from his Canaanitish wives, as his parents had hoped. In BR לגרשם is perhaps to be read instead of להתגרש, and the Midrash wants to say that at first Esau had intended to divorce his Canaanitish wives, but changed his mind. The difference between Esau and Jacob became evident to everybody, when the former married the ungodly daughter of Ishmael, while the latter married the pious daughters of Laban; Yelammedenu in Supplement to Yalkut 18 = BHM VI, 181; Lekah, Gen. 28. 9. Comp. the following note.

^{122.} Yerushalmi Bikkurim 3, 65d; Shemuel 17, 95 and in abridged form BR 67. 13. In all these sources the identity of Mahalath with Basemath is presupposed. See the preceding note. Like this third wife of Esau, his two first ones also had double names: Oholibamah- Judith, and Adah-Basemath. Accordingly, there is no contradiction between Gen. 26. 34 and 36. 3. Comp. Lekah, Gen. 26. 46, and Rashi, Gen. 36. 2. These two authorities, though agreeing on this point, differ in their explanations of the meaning of the names, and show thereby that they made use of different sources. Comp. also ps.-Philo, 9, top.

against all evil and be with him. He will not forsake him all the days of his life. Have no fear for him, for he walketh on the right path, he is a perfect man, and he hath faith in God—he will not perish.”¹²³

JACOB PURSUED BY ELIPHAZ AND ESAU

When Jacob went away to go to Haran, Esau called his son Eliphaz, and secretly spoke unto him, saying: “Now hasten, take thy sword in thy hand and pursue Jacob, and pass before him in the road, and lurk for him and slay him with thy sword in one of the mountains, and take all belonging unto him, and come back.” And Eliphaz was dexterous and expert with the bow, as his father had taught him, and he was a noted hunter in the field and a valiant {³⁴⁶} man. And Eliphaz did as his father had commanded him. And Eliphaz was at that time thirteen years old, and he arose and went and took ten of his mother’s brothers with him, and pursued Jacob. And he followed Jacob closely, and when he overtook him, he lay in ambush for him on the borders of the land of Canaan, opposite to the city of Shechem. And Jacob saw Eliphaz and his men pursuing after him, and Jacob stood in the place in which he was going in order to know what it was, for he did not understand their purpose. Eliphaz drew his sword and

¹²³ Jub. 27. 13–48. On the expression “my sister”, used by Isaac in his address to Rebekah, see Charles, *ad loc.* He errs, however, in maintaining that the use of “brother” in the sense of “fellow-believer” (comp. 1 Corinth. 9. 5) is unknown in rabbinic literature. See Baba Kamma 88a: אחיך במצות. Comp. also MHG I, 341.

went on advancing, he and his men, toward Jacob, and Jacob said unto them, "Wherefore have you come hither, and why do you pursue with your swords?" Eliphaz came near to Jacob, and answered as follows, "Thus did my father command me, and now therefore I will not deviate from the orders which my father gave me." And when Jacob saw that Esau had impressed his command urgently upon Eliphaz, he approached and supplicated Eliphaz and his men, saying, "Behold, all that I have, and that which my father and mother gave unto me, that take unto thee and go from me, and do not slay me, and may this thing that thou wilt do with me be accounted unto thee as righteousness." And the Lord caused Jacob to find favor in the sight of Eliphaz and his men, and they hearkened to the voice of Jacob, and they did not put him to death, but took all his belongings, together with the silver and gold that he had brought with him from Beer-sheba. They left him nothing. When Eliphaz and his men returned to Esau, and told him all that had happened to them with Jacob, he was wroth with his son Eliphaz and with his men, because they had not put Jacob to {347} death. And they answered, and said unto Esau, "Because Jacob supplicated us in this matter, not to slay him, our pity was moved toward him, and we took all belonging to him, and we came back." Esau then took all the silver and gold which Eliphaz had taken from Jacob, and he put them by in his house.¹²⁴

¹²⁴ Yashar Toledot, 55a-55b, where יהודה instead of בנין is to be read, since Shechem is not at the end of the Holy Land. A similar legend was known to Rashi; see his remarks on Gen. 19. 11. The statement of Berliner, *ad loc.*, that R. Judah Gedaliah, in his *Ot Emet*, 37a, quotes this

Nevertheless Esau did not give up the hope of intercepting Jacob on his flight and slaying him. He pursued him, and with his men occupied the road along which he had to journey to Haran. There a great miracle happened to Jacob. When he observed what Esau's intention was, he turned off toward the Jordan river, and, with eyes directed to God, he cleft the waters with his wanderer's staff, and succeeded in crossing to the other side. But Esau was not to be deterred. He kept up the pursuit, and reached the hot springs at Baarus before his brother, who had to pass by there. Jacob, not knowing that Esau was on the watch for him, decided to bathe in the spring, saying, "I have neither bread nor other things needful, so I will at least warm my body in the waters of the well." While he was in the bath, Esau occupied every exit, and Jacob would surely have perished in the hot water, if the Lord had not caused a miracle to come to pass. A new opening formed of itself, and through it Jacob escaped. Thus were fulfilled the words,

legend from BR is based on a misunderstanding; comp. the following note, and note 156. The older Midrashim cite two views: according to one, Isaac, though a very rich man, sent his son away empty-handed, and God was wroth with him on this account. But the other view maintains that Jacob left his parental home laden with wealth. On his way to Laban, however, he was attacked by Esau, who robbed him of everything he had with him. See BR 68. 2 (גרוד "bare life", instead of גרוד; comp. the use of the adverb גרודא "only" in Talmud); Tan. B. I, 145-146; Aggadat Bereshit 45, 92-93, and 67, 136. Isaac, according to the first view, was punished for his lack of paternal love. The Shekinah deserted him, and did not return to him until the day of his death; Tan., Aggadat Bereshit, *loc. cit.*; Makiri, Ps. 121, 234. On this desertion of the holy spirit (= Shekinah), comp. vol. I, p. 329.

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“When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee; when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burnt,” for Jacob was saved from the waters of the Jordan and from the fire of the hot spring.

At the same time with Jacob, a rider, leaving his horse and his clothes on the shore, had stepped into the river to cool {³⁴⁸} off, but he was overwhelmed by the waves, and he met his death. Jacob put on the dead man’s clothes, mounted his horse, and went off. It was a lucky chance, for Eliphaz had stripped him of everything, even his clothes, and the miracle of the river had happened only that he might not be forced to appear naked among men.¹²⁵

Though Jacob was robbed of all his possessions, his courage did not fail him. He said: “Should I lose hope in my Creator? I set my eyes upon the merits of my fathers. For the sake of them the Lord will give me His aid.” And God said: “Jacob, thou puttest thy trust in the merits of thy fathers, therefore I will not suffer thy foot to be moved; He that keepeth thee will not slumber. Yea, still more! While a keeper watcheth only by day as a rule, and sleepeth by night, I will guard thee day and night, for, behold, He that

¹²⁵ Tan. B. I, 145; Aggadat Bereshit 45, 93; quotation, from a Midrash in MS. by Azulai, *Midbar Kedemot* 'x, 3; Bereshit Rabbeti, cited by Epstein in *Mikkadmoniyyot*, 107–108, and in *Magazin*, XV, 73; R. Judah Gedaliah, *Ot Emet*, 37 (not from BR, but from Bereshit Rabbeti); Makiri, Ps. 121, 233–234. Yelammedenu in Supplement to Yalkut 19 (=BHM VI, 81), speaks of the dividing of the Jordan for Jacob on his return home. On “Baarus” or “Baaras”, see note 189.

keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep. The Lord will keep thee from all evil, from Esau as well as Laban; He will keep thy soul, that the Angel of Death do thee no hurt; He will keep thy going out and thy coming in, He will support thee now thou art leaving Canaan, and when thou returnest to Canaan.”¹²⁶

Jacob was reluctant to leave the Holy Land before he received direct permission from God. “My parents,” he reflected, “bade me go forth and sojourn outside of the land, but who knows whether it be the will of God that I do as they say, and beget children outside of the Holy Land?”¹²⁷ Accordingly, he betook himself to Beer-sheba. There, where the Lord had given permission to Isaac to depart from Canaan and go to Philistia, he would learn the will of the Lord concerning himself. {349}

He did not follow the example of his father and grandfather and take refuge with Abimelech, because he feared the king might force also him into a covenant, and make it impossible for his descendants of many generations to take possession of the Philistine land. Nor could he stay at home, because of his fear that Esau might wrest the birthright and the blessing from him, and to that he would not and could not agree.¹²⁸ He was as little disposed

¹²⁶. MHG I, 442–443; BR 68. 2 and 9; Tan. B. I, 145; Aggadat Bereshit 45, 93.

¹²⁷. MHG I, 443. This passage also remarks: After having taken leave from his parents, Jacob betook himself to Eber, in whose house he remained hidden for fourteen years, and then proceeded to Laban. These fourteen years he spent in the study of the Torah under the guidance of Eber. See BR 68. 5; Tan. B. I, 145; Index, s. v. “Shem and Eber”.

to take up the combat with Esau, for he knew the truth of the maxim, "He who courts danger will be overcome by it; he who avoids danger will overcome it." Both Abraham and Isaac had lived according to this rule. His grandfather had fled from Nimrod, and his father had gone away from the Philistines.¹²⁹

THE DAY OF MIRACLES

Jacob's journey to Haran was a succession of miracles. The first of the five that befell for his sake in the course of it was that the sun sank while Jacob was passing Mount Moriah, though it was high noon at the time. He was following the spring that appeared wherever the Patriarchs went or settled. It accompanied Jacob from Beer-sheba to Mount Moriah, a two days' journey. When he arrived at the holy hill, the Lord said to him: "Jacob, thou hast bread in thy wallet, and the spring of waters is near by to quench thy thirst. Thus thou hast food and drink, and here thou canst lodge for the night."" But Jacob replied: "The sun has barely passed the fifth of its twelve day stages, why should I lie down to sleep at so unseemly an hour?" But then Jacob perceived that the sun was about to sink, and he {350} prepared to make ready his bed.¹³⁰ It was the Divine purpose not to let Jacob pass the site of

^{128.} BR 68. 5 and 7; Tan. B. I, 151. In these sources Philistia is not considered as part of the Holy Land. On the different view see note 53.

^{129.} Tan. B. I, 147, and IV 161; Tan. Wa-Yehi 6 and Mass'e 1; Berakot 64a; Aggadat Bereshit 46, 95-96.

^{130.} PRE 35; BR 68. 10. Comp. also the sources cited in the following

the future Temple without stopping; he was to tarry there at least one night. Also, God desired to appear unto Jacob, and He shows Himself unto His faithful ones only at night.¹³¹ At the same time Jacob was saved from the pursuit of Esau, who had to desist on account of the premature darkness.¹³²

Jacob took twelve stones from the altar on which his father Isaac had lain bound as a sacrifice, and he said: "It was the purpose of God to let twelve tribes arise, but they have not been begotten by Abraham or Isaac. If, now, these twelve stones will unite into a single one, then shall I know for a certainty that I am destined to become the father of the twelve tribes." At this time

note, all of which presuppose that Jacob spent the night on mount Moriah. On the spring which followed him, comp. vol. II, 291, and vol. III, p. 52. The rendering of ויפגע by "and he prayed" in the Midrashim just cited is of tannaitic origin; comp. Mekilta Beshallah 2, 28a, and Mekilta RS, 45. This interpretation of ויפגע caused the word במקום, which follows it, to be taken to refer to God, in accordance with the frequent use of "the Place" (=τόπος by Philo) as a name of God. See Mahzor Vitry 500, and Duran, *Magen Abot*, II, 19. These two authorities quote Sifre to the effect that God is called "the Place". A statement of this kind is not found in our texts of the Sifre; but comp. Midrash Tannaim 222, where the text is very likely to be completed according to Tehillim 90, 390–391. On the meaning of במקום, comp. Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, s. v., and Landau, *Die ... Synonyma für Gott*, p. 30, seq.

¹³¹. BR 68. 10; Sanhedrin 95b; Koheleth 3. 14; Yerushalmi Targumim, Gen. 28. 10. According to a frequently quoted statement (BaR 20. 12; Tan. B. IV, 137; Tan. Balak 11; Aggadat Bereshit 67, 71), God reveals Himself to Jews by day, and to Gentiles by night. Comp. note 221.

¹³². Tan. B. I, 145; comp. also note 168.

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the second miracle came to pass, the twelve stones joined themselves together and made one, which he put under his head, and at once it became soft and downy like a pillow. It was well that he had a comfortable couch. He was in great need of rest, for it was the first night in fourteen years that he did not keep vigils. During all those years, passed in Eber's house of learning, he had devoted the nights to study. And for twenty years to come he was not to sleep, for while he was with his uncle Laban, he spent all the night and every night reciting the Psalms.¹³³

On the whole it was a night of marvels. He dreamed a dream in which the course of the world's history was unfolded to him. On a ladder set up on the earth, with the top of it reaching to heaven, he beheld the two angels who had been sent to Sodom. For one hundred and thirty-eight years they had been banished from the celestial regions, because {351} they had betrayed their secret mission to Lot. They had accompanied Jacob from his father's house thither, and now they were ascending heavenward. When they arrived there, he heard them call the other angels, and say, "Come ye and see the countenance of the pious Jacob, whose likeness appears on the Divine throne, ye who yearned long to see it," and then he beheld the angels descend from heaven to gaze upon him.¹³⁴ He also saw the angels of the four kingdoms

¹³³ BR 68. 11; Tan. B. (introduction), 123–124, and I, 146; Shir I. 16; PRE 35; Tehillim 91, 399; Yerushalmi Targumim Gen. 28. 10; Hullin 91b; see also BR 24. 5; ER 5, 29; Tan. B. I, 181; note 127. On the twelve tribes as a fixed order of nature, vol. II, pp. 30–31.

¹³⁴ BR 73. 12–14; Tan. B. I, 149–150; Sifre N., 119; Tehillim 78, 347;

ascending the ladder. The angel of Babylon mounted seventy

Lekah, Gen. 28. 12–13; MHG I, 449–451 (several interpretations of the vision of the ladder are given in this passage); Yerushalmi Targumim and Yalkut Reubeni on Gen. 28. 12. The angels took leave from Jacob at the time of his departure from the Holy Land, since each land has its own guardian angels, and the angels of Palestine could not accompany him to any other country; comp. note 390. According to one view given in BR, *loc. cit.*, the angels ascending to heaven on the ladder were the two angels who visited Lot, and who, till this memorable night, were excluded from heaven as a punishment for their boastful words: “For we will destroy this place” (Gen. 19. 13), as though the destruction of Sodom was their own work, and not the carrying out of the mission entrusted to them by God. As a further humiliation they had to make use of the ladder for their ascension; comp. Yalkut Reubeni, Gen. 19. 1. The idea that Jacob’s countenance is in the *Merkabah* is often referred to in rabbinic literature. Comp. (in addition to the sources cited at the beginning of this note) BR 78. 3 and 82. 2; Hullin 91a; BaR 4. 1; Tan. B. IV, 19; Tan. Bemidbar 19; Alphabet of R. Akiba 40 (‘ס) and second version 62 (חל"ק); BHM V, 63. The acquaintance of the Mohammedans with this legend has been pointed out by Goldziher. Jacob is the ideal man, and hence it is his countenance which represents the human race (comp. Ezek. 1. 10) on the divine throne. Joel, *Blicke in die Religionsgeschichte*, I, 117, gives an interesting parallel to this conception from Lobeck, *Aglaophamos*, 909. The angels from the very beginning praised God with the words (comp. 1 Chron. 16. 36) “Blessed be the Lord, the God of Israel.” When Adam was created, they asked God: “Is this the man whose God we proclaim Thee to be?” “No”, replied God, “he is a thief: he partook of the forbidden fruit.” When Noah was born, they repeated this question, and they received the answer: “No; he is a drunkard.” At the birth of Abraham the angels again addressed this question, and the answer was: “No; he is only a proselyte.” At the birth of

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rounds, the angel of Media, fifty-two, that of Greece, one hundred and eighty, and that of Edom mounted very high, saying, "I will ascend above the heights of the clouds, I will be like the Most High," and Jacob heard a voice remonstrating, "Yet thou shalt be brought down to hell, to the uttermost parts of the pit." God Himself reproved Edom, saying, "Though thou mount on high as the eagle, and though thy nest be set among the stars, I will bring thee down from thence."¹³⁵

Isaac they came again with the same question, and the reply was: "No; he loves him whom I hate" (Esau; comp. Mal. i. 3). But when Jacob was born, and the angels again addressed their question to God, He replied: "Yes: he is the one." See Tan. B. III, 72–73; Tan. Kedoshim 2; Aggadat Bereshit 61, 126. Comp. also Tan. Shofetim 15, and Makiri, Ps. 2, 16. Yelammedenu in Sikl's *Talmud Torah* reads: While Jacob was asleep the angels scrutinized him to ascertain whether he was the one on whose account they praised the Lord, as the God of Israel; comp. Poznanski in *Ha-Zofeh*, III, 19, and Ginzberg's note, *ibid.*, IV, 32. According to the version of this legend in Hullin 91a, BR 63. 12, and MHG I, 452, the angels intended to attack Jacob in his sleep, but God came to his rescue. The legend about the man in the moon, who is identified with Jacob, is perhaps connected with the old legend concerning Jacob's countenance in the divine throne. Comp. Sabba, Wa-Yeze, 31a, and Index, s. v. "Man in the Moon". Philo, *De Somniis*, 24, sees in Jacob's ladder the picture of man's fate: the one ascends and the other descends. A similar metaphor is used by the Rabbis who speak of the "revolving wheel"; comp. Tan. B. IV, 161; Tan. Mekilta 6; PK 2, 12a; WR 8. I, and in many other passages. See also Bontwetsch, in the *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1900, p. 76, *seq.*, and James, *Lost Apocalypse* 96, *seq.*

¹³⁵ PK 23, 150b–151a; WR 29. 2; PRE 35; Tan. Wa-Yeze 2; Tehillim 78.

Furthermore, God showed unto Jacob the revelation at Mount Sinai, the translation of Elijah, the Temple in its glory and in its spoliation, Nebuchadnezzar's attempt to burn the three holy children in the fiery furnace, and Daniel's encounter with Bel.¹³⁶

In this, the first prophetic dream dreamed by Jacob,¹³⁷ God made him the promise that the land upon which he was lying would be given to him, but the land he lay upon was the whole of Palestine, which God had folded together and put under him. "And," the promise continued, "thy seed will be like unto the dust of the earth. As the earth survives all things, so thy children will survive all the nations of the {³⁵²} earth. But as the earth is trodden upon by all, so thy children, when they commit trespasses, will be trodden upon by the nations of the earth."¹³⁸ And, furthermore, God promised that Jacob should spread out to the west and to the east, a greater promise than that given to his fathers Abraham and Isaac, to whom He had allotted a limited land. Jacob's was an unbounded possession.¹³⁹

347; ShR 32. 7.

¹³⁶. BR 68. 12. Comp. also the sources cited in note 134, as well as Midrash ha-Ne'elam On Gen. 28. 12.

¹³⁷. Midrash ha-Ne'elam Wa-Yeze (end), which has the additional remark that Jacob thereby noticed that he was in a holy place. God announced to him that the Shekinah would only dwell in the Holy Land, and reveal itself only to his descendants. Comp. note 215.

¹³⁸. BR. 69. 4-5; Hullin 91a. Comp. PR 11, 45b, and vol. I, p. 229, note 82.

¹³⁹. Shabbat 118a. The passage implies that this was granted to Jacob as a

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From this wondrous dream Jacob awoke with a start of fright, on account of the vision he had had of the destruction of the Temple.¹⁴⁰ He cried out, "How dreadful is this place! this is none other but the house of God, wherein is the gate of heaven through which prayer ascends to Him." He took the stone made out of the twelve, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it, which had flowed down from heaven for him, and God sank this anointed stone unto the abyss, to serve as the centre of the earth, the same stone, the Eben Shetiyah,¹⁴¹ that forms the

reward for his observance of the Sabbath. Comp. BR 69. 6 and note 280.

^{140.} BR 69. 7; Sifre D., 352. In PR 33, 153a, it is said that Jacob's fear was due to the fact that he was not addressed by God in the same manner as his fathers, in speaking to whom God used the word *Anoki* ("I am"). His fear, however, was soon allayed, when God used the same word in addressing him. Comp. Gen. 28. 13 and 15. Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 19. 1, remarks: Jacob spent the night in the open, as he did not care to lodge with the Canaanites whom he hated.

^{141.} PRE 35, which is the source of Rashi, Gen. 28. 18. The old sources (comp. vol. I, p. 12, notes 38 and 39) maintain that the *Eben Shetiyyah* is the "foundation stone" with which the formation of the earth began. Comp. Zohar I, 231, and Luria, PRE, *loc. cit.* The conception that the terrestrial sanctuary is placed opposite the celestial one is widespread, and occurs in very old sources. Comp. Mekilta Shirah 10, 43b; Yerushalmi Berakot 4, 8a; Ta'anit 16a; BR 55. 7; Shir 3. 10 and 4. 4; PR 40, 170a; Tan. B. I, 112; Tan. Pekude 1 and 2; MHG I, 454; Tehillim 30, 233. The distance from the terrestrial sanctuary to the celestial is only eighteen miles; BR 69. 7. It is to be observed that the Palestinian sources contrast the terrestrial with the celestial sanctuary, while in Babli (comp.,

centre of the sanctuary, whereon the Ineffable Name is graven, the knowledge of which makes a man master over nature, and over life and death.¹⁴²

Jacob cast himself down before the Eben Shetiyah, and entreated God to fulfil the promise He had given him, and also he prayed that God grant him honorable sustenance. For God had not mentioned bread to eat and raiment to put on, that Jacob might learn to have faith in the Lord. Then he vowed to give the tenth of all he owned unto God, if He would but grant his petition. Thus Jacob was the first to take a vow upon himself,¹⁴³ and the first, too, to separate the tithe from his income.¹⁴⁴

e. g., Ta'anit, *loc. cit.*) the opposites are terrestrial and celestial Jerusalem. Accordingly Tan. Pekude 2 is a Babylonian source, while Tan. Pekude 1 is a Palestinian one. On the heavenly Jerusalem in pseudepigraphic literature, comp. the references cited by Box, 4 Ezra, 198-199.

¹⁴² Targum Yerushalmi Exod. 28. 30; Targum Koheleth 3. 11; Toledot Yeshu. Comp. Krauss, *Leben Jesu*, 189, and Landauer, *Nöldeke-Festschrift (Orientalische Studien)*, 506. The legend speaks of the name of the Messiah as engraved on a jewel (comp. vol. I, p. 3) presupposes the idea that God's name was engraved on the *Eben Shetiyah*.

¹⁴³ PRE 35; BR 69. 6 and 70. 1-4.

¹⁴⁴ BR 70. 7; Tan. V, 24; comp. also note 60. The "ten days of penitence" were granted to Israel as a reward for the tithes which Jacob set aside; Sabba, Wa-Yishlah, 46b, based on an unknown midrashic source. The quotation from the "Midrash" in *Da'at* and *Hadar* on Gen. 28. 22 to the effect that Jacob was the first to give tithes from his income (in the halakic literature the phrase used is מעשר בספים; in this source it is מעשר ממון) is not found in the extant midrashic literature. Comp. note 63.

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God had promised him almost all that is desirable, but he {353} feared he might forfeit the pledged blessings through his sinfulness,¹⁴⁵ and again he prayed earnestly that God bring him back to his father's house unimpaired in body, possessions, and knowledge,¹⁴⁶ and guard him, in the strange land whither he was going, against idolatry, an immoral life, and bloodshed.¹⁴⁷

His prayer at an end, Jacob set out on his way to Haran, and the third wonder happened. In the twinkling of an eye he arrived at his destination. The earth jumped from Mount Moriah to Haran. A wonder like this God has executed only four times in the whole course of history.¹⁴⁸

The first thing to meet his eye in Haran was the well whence the inhabitants drew their supply of water. Although it was a great

¹⁴⁵. BR 70. 4. Comp. vol. I, pp. 380–381.

¹⁴⁶. MHG I, 456.

¹⁴⁷. BR 70. 4. These are the three cardinal sins; comp. Ginzberg, *Unbekannte Sekte*, 23. In view of the fact that “slandering one's fellow-man is as grievous a sin as worshipping idols” (Yerushalmi Peah 1, 16b, and parallel passages on the margin), the statement is found that Jacob prayed to God to guard him against slandering his fellow-men; BR, *loc. cit.*

¹⁴⁸. PRE 35; Targum Yerushalmi 28. 10 (in 1 Yerushalmi this is erroneously described as the fifth miracle; but the correct reading is found in 2 Yerushalmi). On the “jumping”, or more correctly, “contracting of the earth”, comp. vol. I, p. 294, note 287. A somewhat different version of the third miracle is found in Sanhedrin 95b; Hullin 91b; comp. the sources given in notes 130–131.

city, Haran suffered from dearth of water, and therefore the well could not be used by the people free of charge. Jacob's sojourn in the city produced a change. By reason of his meritorious deeds the water springs were blessed, and the city had water enough for its needs.

Jacob saw a number of people by the well, and he questioned them, "My brethren, whence be ye?" He thus made himself a model for all to follow. A man should be companionable, and address others like brothers and friends, and not wait for them to greet him. Each one should strive to be the first to give the salutation of peace, that the angels of peace and compassion may come to meet him. When he was informed that the by-standers hailed from Haran, he made inquiry about the character and vocation of his uncle Laban, and whether they were on terms of friendly intercourse with him. They answered briefly: "There is peace {354} between us, but if thou art desirous of inquiring further, here comes Rachel the daughter of Laban. From her thou canst learn all thou hast a mind to learn." They knew that women like to talk, wherefore they referred him to Rachel.¹⁴⁹

Jacob found it strange that so many should be standing idle by the well, and he questioned further: "Are you day laborers? then it is too early for you to put by your work. But if you are pasturing

¹⁴⁹ MHG I, 457; comp. Schechter, *ad loc.* The "blessing of the water" is found, in abridged form, in BR 70. 19 and Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 28. 22 and 31. 22. The talkativeness of young women is also alluded to by Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 19. 4. This author adds that the shepherds told Jacob of Laban's prominent social position. Comp. BR 70. 11.

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your own sheep, why do you not water your flocks and let them feed?"¹⁵⁰ They told him they were waiting until all the shepherds brought their flocks thither, and together rolled the stone from the mouth of the well. While he was yet speaking with them, Rachel came with her father's sheep, for Laban had no sons, and a pest having broken out shortly before among his cattle, so few sheep were left that a maiden like Rachel could easily tend them. Now, when Jacob saw the daughter of his mother's brother approaching, he rolled the great stone from the mouth of the well as easily as a cork is drawn from a bottle—the fourth wonder of this extraordinary day. Jacob's strength was equal to the strength of all the shepherds; with his two arms alone he accomplished what usually requires the united forces of a large assemblage of men.¹⁵¹ He had been divinely endowed with this supernatural strength on leaving the Holy Land. God had caused the dew of the resurrection to drop down upon him, and his physical strength was so great that even in a combat with the angels he was victorious.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰. BR 70. 11. Lekah, Gen. 29, 7, dwells on the duty of great men to correct the evil ways of their fellow-men, and not say: "It is none of our affairs".

¹⁵¹. PRE 36; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 29. 10, and 2 Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 28. 10. Laban was blessed with sons only after Jacob's arrival; BR 73. 12, and thence in Rashi, Gen. 30. 27. See vol. III, p. 373.

¹⁵². PRE 32 (the text of the editions is to be supplemented by the reading of *Ketab Tamim*, 88). Comp. also note 98. On Jacob's gigantic strength, see vol. I, pp. 374 and 412, as well as vol. II, p. 137.

The fifth and last wonder of the day was that the water rose from the depths of the well to the very top, there was no need to draw it up, and there it remained all the twenty years that Jacob abode in Haran.¹⁵³ {355}

JACOB WITH LABAN

Rachel's coming to the well at the moment when Jacob reached the territory belonging to Haran was an auspicious omen. To meet young maidens on first entering a city is a sure sign that fortune is favorable to one's undertakings. Experience proves this through Eliezer, Jacob, Moses, and Saul. They all encountered maidens when they approached a place new to them, and they all met with success.¹⁵⁴

Jacob treated Rachel at once as his cousin, which caused significant whispering among the by-standers. They censured Jacob for his demeanor toward her, for since God had sent the deluge upon the world, on account of the immoral life led by men, great chastity had prevailed, especially among the people of the east. The talk of the men reduced Jacob to tears. Scarcely had he kissed Rachel when he began to weep, for he repented of having done it.

¹⁵³ Yerushalmi Targumim Gen. 28. 22 and 31. 22; PRE 36. Comp. note 149, as well as vol. I, p. 270, 295 and vol. II, p. 291. PRK, 26a, points out that for Jacob the water rose to the top, whereas for Moses it only rose high enough to be drawn. This is the source for MHG I, 459.

¹⁵⁴ PRE 36; Yerushalmi Targumim Gen. 27. 22. Comp. note 152.

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There was reason enough for tears. Jacob could not but remember sadly that Eliezer, his grandfather's slave, had brought ten camels laden with presents with him to Haran, when he came to sue for a bride for Isaac, while he had not even a ring to give to Rachel. Moreover, he foresaw that his favorite wife Rachel would not lie beside him in the grave, and this, too, made him weep.

As soon as Rachel heard that Jacob was her cousin, she ran home to tell her father about his coming. Her mother was no longer among the living, else she would naturally have gone to her. In great haste Laban ran to receive Jacob. He reflected, if Eliezer, the bondman, had come with ten camels, what would not the favorite son of the family bring with him, and when he saw that Jacob was unattended, {356} he concluded that he carried great sums of money in his girdle, and he threw his arms about his waist to find out whether his supposition was true. Disappointed in this, he yet did not give up hope that his nephew Jacob was a man of substance. Perhaps he concealed precious stones in his mouth, and he kissed him in order to find out whether he had guessed aright. But Jacob said to him: "Thou thinkest I have money. Nay, thou art mistaken, I have but words."¹⁵⁵ Then he went on to tell him how it had come about that he stood before him empty-handed. He said that his father Isaac had sent him on his

¹⁵⁵ BR 70. 13. Rebekah, on a similar occasion, ran to her mother who was still alive; but Rachel's mother was dead; BR, *loc. cit.* and 60. 7. Josephus, contrary to the words of Scripture (Gen. 24. 50; comp. Septuagint), maintains that Rebekah's father was dead, and this was the reason why she ran to her mother to report Eliezer's arrival.

way provided with gold, silver, and money, but he had encountered Eliphaz, who had threatened to slay him. To this assailant Jacob had spoken thus: "Know that the descendants of Abraham have an obligation to meet, they will have to serve four hundred years in a land that is not theirs. If thou slayest me, then you, the seed of Esau, will have to pay the debt. It were better, therefore, to take all I have, and spare my life, so that what is owing may be paid by me. Hence," Jacob continued, "I stand before thee bare of all the substance carried off by Eliphaz."¹⁵⁶

This tale of his nephew's poverty filled Laban with dismay. "What," he exclaimed, "shall I have to give food and drink for a month or, perhaps, even a year to this fellow, who has come to me empty-handed!" He betook himself to his teraphim, to ask them for counsel upon the matter, and they admonished him, saying: "Beware of sending him away from thy house. His star and his constellation are so lucky that good fortune will attend all his undertakings, and for his sake the blessing of the Lord will rest upon all thou doest, in thy house or in thy field." {357}

Laban was satisfied with the advice of the teraphim, but he was embarrassed as to the way in which he was to attach Jacob to his house. He did not venture to offer him service, lest Jacob's conditions be impossible of fulfilment. Again he resorted to the

¹⁵⁶. MHG I, 460-461; Yalkut Reubeni, Gen. 28. 20. According to Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 29. 3, Laban ran to meet Jacob, because the report had reached him (through Rachel?) of his relative's gigantic strength and piety. On Jacob being robbed of his possessions by Eliphaz, see vol. I, 345-346 and 379.

teraphim, and asked them with what reward to tempt his nephew, and they replied: "A wife is his wage; he will ask nothing else of thee but a wife. It is his nature to be attracted by women, and whenever he threatens to leave thee, do but offer him another wife, and he will not depart."¹⁵⁷

Laban went back to Jacob, and said, "Tell me, what shall thy wages be?" and he replied, "Thinkest thou I came hither to make money? I came only to get me a wife,"¹⁵⁸ for Jacob had no sooner beheld Rachel than he fell in love with her and made her a proposal of marriage. Rachel consented, but added the warning: "My father is cunning, and thou art not his match." Jacob: "I am his brother in cunning." Rachel: "But is deception becoming unto the pious?" Jacob: "Yes, 'with the righteous righteousness is seemly, and with the deceiver deception.' But," continued Jacob, "tell me wherein he may deal cunningly with me." Rachel: "I have an older sister, whom he desires to see married before me, and he will try to palm her off on thee instead of me." To be prepared for Laban's trickery, Jacob and Rachel agreed upon a sign by which he would recognize her in the nuptial night.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ Yalkut Reubeni (citing Galya Raza) on Gen. 29. 15. The interpretation of נִקְבָּה (Gem, lac. cit.) as נִקְבָּה is also found in Zohar I, 160b.

¹⁵⁸ BR 70. 14. From the perfect וְעַבַדְתִּי (Gen. 29. 15) is inferred there that for a short time Laban had Jacob work for low wages. This short, time, however, was sufficient for Jacob to find out Rachel's excellent character; *Imre No'am*, Gen. 29. 15.

¹⁵⁹ Megillah 13a (on the text comp. Rabbinovicz, *ad loc.*, and MHG I, 463-464). The sign consisted in Rachel's touching Jacob's right toe, right

Thus warned to be on his guard against Laban, Jacob worded his agreement with him regarding his marriage to Rachel with such precision that no room was left for distortion or guile. Jacob said: "I know that the people of this {358} place are knaves, therefore I desire to put the matter very clearly to thee. I will serve thee seven years for Rachel, hence not Leah; for thy daughter, that thou bringest me not some other woman likewise named Rachel; for the younger daughter, that thou exchangest not their names in the meantime."

Nothing of all this availed: "It profits not if a villain is cast into a sawmill" — neither force nor gentle words can circumvent a rascal. Laban deceived not only Jacob, but also the guests whom he invited to the wedding.

THE MARRIAGE OF JACOB

After Jacob had served Laban seven years, he said to his uncle: "The Lord destined me to be the father of twelve tribes. I am now eighty-four years old, and if I do not take thought of the matter now, when can I?"¹⁶⁰ Thereupon Laban consented to let him have his daughter Rachel to wife, and he was married forty-four years after his brother Esau. The Lord often defers the happiness of the pious, while He permits the wicked to enjoy the fulfilment of their desires soon.¹⁶¹ Esau, however, had purposely chosen his fortieth

thumb, and right lobe; Azulai, *Hesed le-Abraham* II, 6.

¹⁶⁰. BR 70. 17–18. On Jacob's age at his marriage, see Seder 'Olam 2, and parallels cited by Ratner.

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year for his marriage; he had wanted to indicate that he was walking in the footsteps of his father Isaac, who had likewise married at forty years of age. Esau was like a swine that stretches out its feet when it lies down, to show that it is cloven-footed like the clean animals, though it is none the less one of the unclean animals. Until his fortieth year Esau made a practice of violating the wives of other men, and then at his marriage he acted as though he were following the example of his pious father. Accordingly, the woman he married was of his own kind, Judith, a daughter {359} of Heth, for God said: "This one, who is designed for stubble, to be burnt by fire, shall take unto wife one of a people also destined for utter destruction." They, Esau and his wife, illustrated the saying, "Not for naught does the raven consort with the crow; they are birds of a feather."¹⁶²

^{161.} BR 68. 4.

^{162.} BR 65. 1-3 (הלך is here a euphemism for sexual intercourse). The designation of Esau (=Rome) as "swine" is very common in rabbinic literature, and occurs in so old a source as Enoch 89. 12. Originally it was not intended as an expression of contempt, but was coined with reference to the standard of the Roman legion stationed in Palestine, which had as its emblem a boar, a wild swine, and hence the designation of Rome as חזיר מיער "the boar out of the wood". See *R.E.J.*, XLVII, 178; Epstein, *Mikkadmoniyyot*, 35; Blau, *Masoretische Untersuchungen*, 55-56. Comp. also WR 13. 5; Tehillim 80. 363; ARN 34, 100. In the time to come Esau will wrap himself in a praying-shawl (=Talit), and will attempt to take his seat among the pious; but God will drag him away from his seat, and expel him from the company of the pious. See Yerushalmi Nedarim 3, 38a. A favorite topic of the Haggadah is Rome's deceit and guile.

Far different it was with Jacob. He married the two pious and lovely sisters, Leah and Rachel, for Leah, like her younger sister, was beautiful of countenance, form, and stature. She had but one defect, her eyes were weak, and this malady she had brought down upon herself, through her own action. Laban, who had two daughters, and Rebekah, his sister, who had two sons, had agreed by letter, while their children were still young, that the older son of the one was to marry the older daughter of the other, and the younger son the younger daughter. When Leah grew to maidenhood, and inquired about her future husband, all her tidings spoke of his villainous character, and she wept over her fate until her eyelashes dropped from their lids. But Rachel grew more and more beautiful day by day, for all who spoke of Jacob praised and extolled him, and “good tidings make the bones fat.”

In view of the agreement between Laban and Rebekah, Jacob refused to marry the older daughter Leah. As it was, Esau was his mortal enemy, on account of what had happened regarding the birthright and the paternal blessing. If, now, Jacob married the maiden appointed for him, Esau would never forgive his younger brother. Therefore Jacob resolved to take to wife Rachel, the younger daughter of his uncle.¹⁶³

Laban was of another mind. He purposed to marry off {360} his older daughter first, for he knew that Jacob would consent to serve him a second period of seven years for love of Rachel. On the day of the wedding he assembled the inhabitants of Haran, and

¹⁶³ Tan. B. I, 152–153 and 157; Tan. Wa-Yeze 4; BR 70. 16 and 71. 2; Baba Batra 125a; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 29. 17; Zohar I, 223a, and II, 29b

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addressed them as follows: "Ye know well that we used to suffer from lack of water, and as soon as this pious man Jacob came to dwell among us, we had water in abundance." "What hast thou in mind to do?" they asked Laban. He replied: "If ye have naught to say against it, I will deceive him and give him Leah to wife. He loves Rachel with an exceeding great love, and for her sake he will tarry with us yet seven other years." "Do as it pleaseth thee," his friends said. "Well, then," said Laban, "let each one of you give me a pledge that ye will not betray my purpose."

With the pledges they left with him, Laban bought wine, oil, and meat for the wedding feast, and he set a meal before them which they had themselves paid for. Because he deceived his fellow-citizens thus, Laban is called Arami, "the deceiver." They feasted all day long, until late at night, and when Jacob expressed his astonishment at the attention shown him, they said to him: "Through thy piety thou didst a great service of lovingkindness unto us, our supply of water was increased unto abundance, and we desire to show our gratitude therefor." And, indeed, they tried to give him a hint of Laban's purpose. In the marriage ode which they sang they used the refrain "Halia," in the hope that he would understand it as Ha Leah, "This is Leah." But Jacob was unsuspecting and noticed nothing.

When the bride was led into the nuptial chamber, the guests extinguished all the candles, much to Jacob's amazement. {361} But their explanation satisfied him. "Thinkest thou," they said, "we have as little sense of decency as thy countrymen?" Jacob therefore did not discover the deception practiced upon him until morning. During the night Leah responded whenever he

called Rachel, for which he reproached her bitterly when daylight came. “O thou deceiver, daughter of a deceiver, why didst thou answer me when I called Rachel’s name?” “Is there a teacher without a pupil?” asked Leah, in return. “I but profited by thy instruction. When thy father called thee Esau, didst thou not say, Here am I?”¹⁶⁴

Jacob was greatly enraged against Laban, and he said to him: “Why didst thou deal treacherously with me? Take back thy daughter, and let me depart, seeing thou didst act wickedly toward me.”¹⁶⁵ Laban pacified him, however, saying, “It is not so done in our place, to give the younger before the first-born,” and Jacob agreed to serve yet seven other years for Rachel, and after the seven days of the feast of Leah’s wedding were fulfilled, he married Rachel.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴. BR 70. 19. See also Tan. B. I, 152; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 29. 12; MHG I, 463 (where **הא לאה** must be read instead of **הא רחל** of the editions and MSS.). For the obscure **דכין** (BR, *loc. cit.*) MHG has **מבדין** “deceivers”, which makes good sense. The inhabitants of Haran tried to allay Jacob’s fear that a trick might be played on him, and they told him that they were not deceivers like himself. Comp., however, Sifra 20. 23, 93b, where the immoral life of the Canaanites is contrasted with the chastity of the “dwellers in the east”, by which the east-Arameans are very likely meant. According to BR, *loc. cit.*, this seems to allude to the modesty of the Haranites. In BR 70. 12 and PK 3, 43a, “the sons of the east”, praised for their modesty, are the Persians and Medes, as may be seen from the parallel passage in Berakot 8b.—Yashar Wa-Yeze, 57a–57b, is an amplification of BR 70. 14.

¹⁶⁵. Jub. 28. 4.

With Leah and Rachel, Jacob received the handmaids Zilpah and Bilhah, two other daughters of Laban, whom his concubines had borne unto him.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶. BR 70. 19; Yerushalmi Mo'ed Katan I, 80d; Jub. 28. 8. The statement of Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 19. 7, that Jacob married Rachel after having served seven years is due to a misunderstanding of the Hebrew שבע (Gen. 29. 27), which means "septinate" and "week". On the basis of Gen. 29. 26, Jub., *loc. cit.*, states that it is forbidden to give a younger daughter in marriage before the elder one. Laban and the Haranites, as authorities on Jewish law, are rather strange figures.

¹⁶⁷. BR 74. 13; PRE 36; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 29. 24 and 29. Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 19. 8, likewise points out that Bilhah and Zilpah were not bondwomen. According to the 12 Testaments, Naphtali I. 9, these two handmaids were the daughters of Rotheus, a brother of Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, a God-fearing man belonging to the family of Abraham. That Bilhah and Zilpah were sisters is also stated in Jub. 28. 9. The tendency of Jewish legend is to make all the tribes related to Abraham, on their paternal as well as their maternal side, and hence the statement that Rotheus was of the family of Abraham. *Pa'aneah*, Gen. 27. 2, maintains that after the death of Rachel (and Leah?) Jacob made Bilhah and Zilpah legitimate wives. Comp. vol. I, 415. The old rabbinic literature has no difficulty in explaining Jacob's marrying two sisters. The laws of the Torah became binding only after the revelation on Sinai; comp. vol. I, p. 292, note 275. The later authorities and especially the Kabbalists, on the other hand, developed many a theory to explain this marriage of Jacob. Comp. e. g. Recanati, Lev. 18. 6. Out of respect for Jacob the Torah, in dealing with prohibited marriages, does not mention the punishment for marrying two sisters; R. Bahya, Lev. 20. 21.

THE BIRTH OF JACOB'S CHILDREN

The ways of God are not like unto the ways of men. A man clings close to his friend while he has riches, and forsakes him when he falls into poverty. But when God sees a mortal unsteady and faltering, He reaches a hand out to him, and raises him up. Thus it happened with Leah. She was hated by Jacob, and God visited her in mercy. Jacob's aversion {362} to Leah began the very morning after their wedding, when his wife taunted him with not being wholly free from cunning and craft himself. Then God said, "Help can come to Leah only if she gives birth to a child; then the love of her husband will return to her."¹⁶⁸ God remembered the tears she had shed when she prayed that her doom, chaining her to that recreant Esau, be averted from her, and so wondrous are the uses of prayer that Leah, besides turning aside the impending decree, was permitted to marry Jacob before her sister and be the first to bear him a child. There was another reason why the Lord was compassionately inclined toward Leah. She had gotten herself talked about. The sailors on the sea, the travellers along the highways, the women at their looms, they all gossiped about Leah, saying, "She is not within what her seeming is without. She appears to be pious, but if she were, she would not have deceived her sister."¹⁶⁹ To put an end to all this tattle, God granted her the

¹⁶⁸. Tan. B. I, 151-152; Aggadat Bereshit 48, 97-98. According to BR 71. 2, Leah was hated by Jacob because she deceived her sister. See also Yelammedenu in Yalkut, II, 394, on Is. 3, and MHG I, 466, as well as 468.

¹⁶⁹. BR 71. 2. See also vol. I, p. 359.

distinction of bearing a son at the end of seven months after her marriage. He was one of a pair of twins, the other child being a daughter. So it was with eleven of the sons of Jacob, all of them except Joseph were born twins with a girl, and the twin sister and brother married later on.¹⁷⁰ Altogether it was an extraordinary childbirth, for Leah was barren, not formed by nature to bear children.

She called her first-born son Reuben, which means "See the normal man," for he was neither big nor little, neither dark nor fair, but exactly normal.¹⁷¹ In calling her oldest child Reuben, "See the son," Leah indicated his future character. "Behold the difference," the name implied, "between {363} my first-born son and the first-born son of my father-in-law. Esau sold his birthright to Jacob of his own free will, and yet he hated him. As for my first-born son, although his birthright was taken from him without his consent, and given to Joseph, it was nevertheless he who rescued Joseph from the hands of his brethren."¹⁷²

Leah called her second son Shime'on, "Yonder is sin," for one

¹⁷⁰. PRE 36; BR 84. 21 and 82. 2. The last-named source contains the addition that Benjamin had two twin-sisters; comp. vol. II, pp. 37-39. On the difference of the ages of Jacob's sons, and on the meaning of their names, see vol. II, pp. 187-188, notes 1 and 4.

¹⁷¹. MHG I, 468-469 and 192. The old Midrashim make no mention of Leah's sterility.

¹⁷². Berakot 7b; MHG I, 469, which reads: My father-in-law's first-born is a robber and a thief; my first-born is very scrupulous in his actions, and is careful not to touch other people's property. Comp. note 190.

of his descendants was that Zimri who was guilty of vile trespasses with the daughters of Moab.¹⁷³

The name of her third son, Levi, was given him by God Himself, not by his mother. The Lord summoned him through the angel Gabriel, and bestowed the name upon him as one who is “crowned” with the twenty-four gifts that are the tribute due to the priests.¹⁷⁴

At the birth of her fourth son, Leah returned thanks to God for a special reason. She knew that Jacob would beget twelve sons, and if they were distributed equally among his four wives, each would bear three. But now it appeared that she had one more than her due share, and she called him Jehudah, “thanks unto God.” She was thus the first since the creation of the world to give thanks to God,¹⁷⁵ and her example was followed by David and

¹⁷³ BR 6I. 4; MHG I, 469, and Sabba, Wa-Yeze, 35d, seem to have read שם עון in BR.

¹⁷⁴ DR, according to the reading of Rashi, Gen. 29. 34, but not found in our texts. A similar Haggadah occurs also in MHG I, 469, whose source is probably Bereshit Rabbeti; see Schechter, *ad loc.*, and comp. further vol. I, p. 298, note 312, as well as vol. I, p. 387 and Zohar II, 19a. In MHG, *loc. cit.* the name Levi is associated with לָוֶה “borrowed”, as well as לָוֶה “accompanied”. Comp. the similar etymologies in Jub 31. 16; BR 71. 4; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 29. 34.

¹⁷⁵ Berakot 7b; BR 71. 4; Tan. Wa-Yeze 9. Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 29. 30 reads: She called him Judah, “Thanks unto God”, because he was destined to become the ancestor of the royal house of David, and further because from him will come forth David who will compose “songs of thanks” (=psalms of thanksgiving) unto the Lord. Comp. BR, *loc. cit.*;

Daniel, the descendants of her son Judah.

When Rachel saw that her sister had borne Jacob four sons, she envied Leah. Not that she begrudged her the good fortune she enjoyed, she only envied her for her piety, saying to herself that it was to her righteous conduct that she owed the blessing of many children.¹⁷⁶ Then she besought Jacob: "Pray unto God for me, that He grant me children, else my life is no life. Verily, there are four that {364} may be regarded as though they were dead, the blind, the leper, the childless, and he who was once rich and has lost his fortune." Jacob's anger was kindled against Rachel, and he said: "It were better thou shouldst address thy petition to God, and not to me, for am I in God's stead, who hath withheld from thee the fruit of the womb?"¹⁷⁷ God was displeased with this answer that Jacob made to his sad wife. He rebuked him with the words: "Is it

Tan. Wa-Yeze 6; Shemuel 28. 130; note 4 on vol. II, p. 188.

¹⁷⁶. BR 71. 6; Aggadat Bereshit 51, 103-104. Comp. also the preceding note. Women are of a jealous disposition, and Rachel shared this weakness with her sex; BR 18. 2, and parallel passages cited by Theodor. According to ER 18, 99, Rachel was married fourteen years before she bore a child; comp. vol. II, p. 187, note 1.

¹⁷⁷. Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 30. 1-2, which essentially follows Tan. B. I, 156, and BR 71. 6; but these Midrashim do not say that Rachel asked Jacob to pray unto God for her. Aggadat Bereshit 51, 104, reads: "If thou so desirest, I shall certainly bear children, just as thou hast made the sheep bring forth their young." Comp. also the midrashic quotation in Sabba, Wa-Yeze, 34a. On the "four that may be regarded as though they were dead", comp. vol. II, p. 327, note 142, and vol. III, pp. 190, 259.

thus thou wouldst comfort a grief-stricken heart? As thou livest, the day will come when thy children will stand before the son of Rachel, and he will use the same words thou hast but now used, saying, 'Am I in the place of the Lord?'"

Rachel also made reply to Jacob, saying: "Did not thy father, too, entreat God for thy mother with earnest words, beseeching Him to remove her barrenness?" Jacob: "It is true, but Isaac had no children, and I have several." Rachel: "Remember thy grandfather Abraham, thou canst not deny that he had children when he supplicated God in behalf of Sarah!" Jacob: "Wouldst thou do for me what Sarah did for my grandfather?" Rachel: "Pray, what did she?" Jacob: "She herself brought a rival into her house." Rachel: "If that is all that is necessary, I am ready to follow the example of Sarah, and I pray that as she was granted a child for having invited a rival, so may I be blessed, too."¹⁷⁸ Thereupon Rachel gave Jacob Bilhah, her freed handmaid, to wife, and she bore him a son, whom Rachel called Dan, saying, "As the Lord was gracious unto me and gave me a son according to my petition, so He will permit Samson, the descendant of Dan, to judge his people, that it fall not into the hands of the Philistines."¹⁷⁹ Bilhah's {365} second son Rachel named Naphtali, saying, "Mine is the

¹⁷⁸. BR 71. 7; Aggadat Bereshit 51, 104, which has the additional remark that Rachel was very anxious to become a mother because she had a presentiment of her premature death.

¹⁷⁹. Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 30. 5. Lekah, Gen. 30. 4, reads: From the word לְאִשָּׁה "to wife" we are to infer that Jacob took her as his legitimate wife. BR 45. 3 has the same haggadic interpretation of לְאִשָּׁה with regard to its use in connection with Hagar. Comp. note 167.

bond that binds Jacob to this place, for it was for my sake that he came to Laban." At the same time she wanted to convey by this name that the Torah, which is as sweet as Nofet, "honeycomb," would be taught in the territory of Naphtali.¹⁸⁰ And the name had still a third meaning: "As God hath heard my fervent prayer for a son, so He will hearken unto the fervent prayer of the Naphtalites when they are beset by their enemies."¹⁸¹

Leah, seeing that she had left bearing, while Bilhah, her sister's handmaid, bore Jacob two sons, concluded that it was Jacob's destiny to have four wives, her sister and herself, and their half-sisters Bilhah and Zilpah. Therefore she also gave him her handmaid to wife.¹⁸² Zilpah was the youngest of the four women. It was the custom of that time to give the older daughter the older handmaid, and the younger daughter the younger handmaid, as their dowry, when they got married. Now, in order to make Jacob believe that his wife was the younger daughter he had served for, Laban had given Leah the younger handmaid as her marriage

^{180.} Tan. B. I, 156; BR 71. 8. From the beginning of the third century C. E. till about the end of the ninth, Tiberias situated in Naphtali (comp. Megillah 6a and Yerushalmi I, 70a) was the centre of Jewish learning in Palestine. Comp. BR 98. 17, with regard to the interpretation of the blessing given by Jacob to Naphtali. Other etymologies of the name Naphtali are found in BR 71. 8 and Tan., *loc. cit.*, as well as in MHG I, 472.

^{181.} Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 30. 8, with reference to Jud. 4. 6.

^{182.} MHG I, 473. On the relationship of Jacob's wives to one another, comp. note 167.

portion. This Zilpah was so young that her body betrayed no outward signs of pregnancy, and nothing was known of her condition until her son was born. Leah called the boy Gad, which means “fortune,” or it may mean “the cutter,” for from Gad was descended the prophet Elijah, who brings good fortune to Israel, and he also cuts down the heathen world.¹⁸³ Leah had other reasons, too, for choosing this name of double meaning. The tribe of Gad had the good fortune of entering into possession of its allotment in the Holy Land before any of the others,¹⁸⁴ and, also, Gad the son of Jacob was born circumcised.¹⁸⁵ {366}

To Zilpah’s second son Leah gave the name of Asher, “praise,” for, she said, “Unto me all manner of praise is due, for I brought my handmaid into the house of my husband as wife. Sarah did likewise, but only because she had no children, and so it was also with Rachel. But as for me, I had children, and nevertheless I

¹⁸³ BR 71. 8, according to the reading of Rashi, Gen. 30. 11. Hasidim 480 has several explanations of the name Gad, (= בגד), one of which is to the effect that it signifies “deception”, as well as “garment”. Leah put her garment on Zilpah, and in this manner deceived Jacob who thought that he was in the company of the mistress and not of the handmaid. For other etymologies of this name see Lekah, Gen. 30. 11. The opinion that the prophet Elijah belonged to the tribe of Gad is widespread; see vol. II, p. 145; vol. III, p. 462, and Index, s. v. “Elijah”.

¹⁸⁴ Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 30. 11.

¹⁸⁵ A midrashic quotation by Rashi, Gen. 30. 11. See Berliner, *ad loc.*, and vol. I, p. 306, note 318. BR 71. 18 and other sources (comp. note 183) also derive Gad from גָּדַג “he cut”; but the cutting does not refer to circumcision.

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subdued my passion, and without jealousy I gave my handmaid to my husband for wife. Verily, all will praise and extol me.”¹⁸⁶

Furthermore she spoke: “As the women will praise me, so the sons of Asher will in time to come praise God for their fruitful possession in the Holy Land.”¹⁸⁷

The next son born unto Jacob was Issachar, “a reward,” and once more it was Leah who was permitted to bring forth the child, as a reward from God for her pious desire to have the twelve tribes come into the world. To secure this result, she left no means untried.¹⁸⁸

It happened once that her oldest son Reuben was tending his father’s ass during the harvest, and he bound him to a root of dudaim, and went his way. On returning, he found the dudaim torn out of the ground, and the ass lying dead beside it. The beast had uprooted it in trying to get loose, and the plant has a peculiar quality, whoever tears it up must die.¹⁸⁹ As it was the time of the

¹⁸⁶. MHG I, 473–474. Comp. note 183.

¹⁸⁷. Yerushalmi Targumim Gen. 30. 13, following BR 71. 10.

¹⁸⁸. BR 72. 1 and 5. See note 194, and vol. II, pp. 201–202.

¹⁸⁹. An unknown midrashic source in Midrash Aggada Gen. 49. 14, and, in abridged form, 30. 14. In the last passage וְהוֹצִיא means “And it—the donkey—pulled it (the mandrake) out”, and must not be emended, as is done by Kaufmann, *Monatsschrift*, XXXIX, 139. The same story is cited also by Sabba, Wa-Yeze, 34a, and *Toledot Yizhak* (is it based on Sabba?), Gen. 30. 14. In *Nur al-Zulm*, 124, it is the dog, not the ass, which uprooted the mandrake, and this agrees with what Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, vii, 6. 3, says about the plant Baaras, which is very likely identical with

harvest, when it is permitted for any one to take a plant from a field, and as *dudaim* is, besides, a plant which the owner of a field esteems lightly, Reuben carried it home. Being a good son, he did not keep it for himself, but gave it to his mother. Rachel desired the *dudaim*, and she asked the plant of Leah, who parted with it to her sister, but on the condition that Jacob, when he returned from work in the evening, should {367} tarry with her for a while. It was altogether unbecoming conduct in Rachel to dispose thus of her husband. She gained the *dudaim*, but she lost two tribes. If she had acted otherwise, she would have borne four sons instead of two. And she suffered another punishment, her body was not

the mandrake. The expression קרא על יברוחא (Yerushalmi 'Erubin 10, 26c) clearly shows that the mandrake, like the Baaras of Josephus, was used in expelling demons. The anonymous commentator on Yerushalmi seems to understand the Talmud to refer to the charm used in uprooting the mandrake, which otherwise might cause death. But this could hardly be expressed by קרא על. It is very likely that the Aramaic name for the mandrake יברוחא "the chaser" describes it as a plant which chases demons away. The relation between the mandrake and the plant Adam "which kills anybody who comes near it" (comp. vol. I, pp. 31–32, note 148) is not quite clear. Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, II, 372–397, deals at great length and in a very interesting manner with the mandrake in folk-lore. The spot, where, according to Josephus, this plant of miraculous properties grew, is undoubtedly identical with Baaras, the place where Jacob, by a hair-breadth, escaped death at the hands of Esau; comp. vol. I, pp. 347–348. The name Baaras, given to this plant by Josephus, is perhaps to be explained as an abridgment of "the mandrake of Baara" = יברוחא די מערה. Comp. note 193, and vol. II, p. 204, note 11. Baara is the Grecized form for מערה; comp. Yerushalmi Shabbat 3, 6a.

permitted to rest in the grave beside her husband's.

Jacob came home from the field after night had fallen, for he observed the law obliging a day laborer to work until darkness sets in, and Jacob's zeal in the affairs of Laban was as great in the last seven years, after his marriage, as in the first seven, while he was serving for the hand of Rachel.¹⁹⁰ When Leah heard the braying of Jacob's ass, she ran to meet her husband,¹⁹¹ and without giving him time to wash his feet, she insisted upon his turning aside into her tent.¹⁹² At first Jacob refused to go, but God compelled him to enter, for unto God it was known that Leah acted from pure, disinterested motives.¹⁹³ Her dudaim secured two sons for her,

¹⁹⁰. BR 72. 2–4. Lekah, Gen. 30. 14, calls attention to the fact that, though Reuben was only ten years old at that time, he nevertheless knew what the law permits, and what it prohibits.

¹⁹¹. BR 99. 10; Nidah 31a, and thence in MHG I, 741 (= BR 98. 12, where read *חמור ליה גרם*; but comp. note 193); Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 30. 16; MHG I, 473. Geiger's statement, *Kebuzzat Maamarim*, 142, that the old Rabbis read *חמוד* instead of *חמור* (Gen. 49. 4), and hence the legend about the braying of the ass, is untenable, as shown by Ginzberg in Supplement to Geiger, *op. cit.*

¹⁹². BR 72. 5.

¹⁹³. Nidah 31a. Comp. also 'Erubin 100b. Jacob's ass walked up to Leah's tent without having been led there by its master; Haserot in Batte Midrashot, III, 5; comp. also note 191; *חמור לגרמיה* "the ass by itself" is a play on *חמור גרם* (Gen. 49. 14). Yerushalmi Sotah 3, 19a, and BR 72. 5, commenting on *הוא* (Gen. 30. 16), remark that this word refers to God, who alone was witness to Leah's pure motive in making Jacob stop with her. DR 7. 11 on the other hand, maintains with reference to *ותצא* (Gen.,

Issachar, the father of the tribe that devotes itself to the study of the Torah, whence his name meaning “reward,” and Zebulun, whose descendants carried on commerce, using their profits to enable their brethren of Issachar to keep at their studies.¹⁹⁴ Leah called this last-born son of hers Zebulun, “dwelling-place,” for she said, “Now will my husband dwell with me, seeing that I have borne him six sons, and, also, the sons of Zebulun will have a goodly dwelling-place in the Holy Land.”¹⁹⁵

Leah bore once more, and this last time it was a daughter, a man child turned into a woman by her prayer. When she conceived for the seventh time, she spake as follows: “God promised Jacob twelve sons. I bore him six, and each of the {³⁶⁸} two handmaids has borne him two. If, now, I were to bring forth another son, my sister Rachel would not be equal even unto the handmaids.” Therefore she prayed to God to change the male embryo in her womb into a female, and God hearkened unto her prayer.¹⁹⁶

loc. cit.) that Leah was a “gad-about”. In BR 18. 2, and parallels cited by Theodor, it is Dinah who is described by this expression. The substitution of the ass for the dog in the mandrake legend (comp. note 189) by some rabbinic authorities is due to a midrashic interpretation of חמור גרם (Gen. 49. 14).

¹⁹⁴ BR 72. 5; Shir 7. 4. On the compact between Zebulun and Issachar comp. vol. II, p. 144.

¹⁹⁵ Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 30. 20. Different etymologies of the name Zebulun are found in BR 72. 6 and MHG I, 476.

¹⁹⁶ Berakot 60a; Tan. B. I, 157; Tan. Wa-Yeze 8; Targum Yerushalmi 30. 12; Yerushalmi Berakot 9, 14a–14b; Tehillim 55, 292; MHG I, 479 (י"ל);

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Now all the wives of Jacob, Leah, Rachel, Zilpah, and Bilhah, united their prayers with the prayer of Jacob, and together they besought God to remove the curse of barrenness from Rachel. On New Year's Day, the day whereon God sits in judgment upon the inhabitants of the earth, He remembered Rachel, and granted her a son.¹⁹⁷ And Rachel spake, "God hath taken away my reproach," for all the people had said that she was not a pious woman, else had she borne children, and now that God had hearkened to her, and opened her womb, such idle talk no longer had any reason.¹⁹⁸

By bearing a son, she had escaped another disgrace. She had said to herself: "Jacob hath a mind to return to the land of his birth, and my father will not be able to hinder his daughters who have borne him children from following their husband thither with their children. But he will not let me, the childless wife, go, too, and he will keep me here and marry me to one of the uncircumcised."¹⁹⁹ She said furthermore, "As my son hath removed my reproach, so Joshua, his descendant, will roll away a reproach from the Israelites, when he circumcises them beyond

PRE 35.

¹⁹⁷. MHG I, 478-479 and 480 (ג"מ); Tehillim 55, 292; BR 73. 1 and 4. Comp. also Rosh ha-Shanah 11a.

¹⁹⁸. MHG I, 480-481, and comp. Schechter, *ad loc.* See also vol. I, p. 238, where it is said that Hagar declared that Sarah's sterility was a punishment for her impious life.

¹⁹⁹. BR 73. 3; Tan. B. I, 158 (which reads: Rachel feared that her father would take her away from Jacob and give her to Esau); Tehillim 55, 292; Aggadat Bereshit 51, 105; MHG I, 481.

Jordan.”²⁰⁰

Rachel called her son Joseph, “increase,” saying, “God will give me an additional son.” Prophetess as she was, she foresaw she would have a second son. But an increase added on by God is larger than the original capital itself. {369} Benjamin, the second son, whom Rachel regarded merely as a supplement, had ten sons, while Joseph begot only two. These twelve together may be considered the twelve tribes borne by Rachel.²⁰¹ Had Rachel not used the form of expression, “The Lord add to me another son,” she herself would have begotten twelve tribes with Jacob.²⁰²

^{200.} Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 30. 23. This Haggadah is based on the use of חרפה (Gen., *loc. cit.*, and Joshua 5. 9). See also MHG I, 481, which reads אין חרפה אלא ערלה.

^{201.} Tan. B. I, 158; BR 61. 4; Yerushalmi Berakot 9, 146. According to Yelammedenu 20 (= BHM VI, 81), Rachel prophesied that Joseph would be the ancestor of the (Ephraimitic) Messiah, who would arise at the end of days (בן אחרוננו של עולם is to be understood in this manner). Comp. also BR 73. 5–6 for several other prophecies found in Rachel’s words of Gen. 30. 24. The etymology given there of the name Joseph (יהוסף) as “the increase by the Lord” occurs also in Philo, *De Josepho*, 6.

^{202.} MHG I, 481. That Rachel bore children was a miracle, as she was sterile by nature, and this miracle was granted to her as a reward for her kindness to Leah, whom she saved from being put to shame by Jacob, who would have detected the fraud played on him by Laban, had not Rachel divulged to her sister the sign agreed upon by her and Jacob by which he would recognize her on the nuptial night. See BR 73. 4; Baba Batra 123a; Tan. B. I, 154; Tan. Wa-Yeze 6. Comp. vol I, p. 357; vol. IV, pp. 310, 390.

JACOB FLEES BEFORE LABAN

Jacob had only been waiting for Joseph to be born to begin preparations for his journey home. The holy spirit had revealed to him that the house of Joseph would work the destruction of the house of Esau, and, therefore, Jacob exclaimed at the birth of Joseph, "Now I need not fear Esau or his legions."²⁰³

About this time, Rebekah sent her nurse Deborah, the daughter of Uz, accompanied by two of Isaac's servants, to Jacob, to urge him to return to his father's house, now that his fourteen years of service had come to an end. Then Jacob approached Laban, and spoke, "Give me my wives and my children, that I may go unto mine own place, and to my country, for my mother has sent messengers unto me, bidding me to return to my father's house."²⁰⁴ Laban answered, saying, "O that I might find favor in thine eyes! By a sign it was made known unto me that God blesseth me for thy sake." What Laban had in mind was the treasure he had found on the day Jacob came to him, and he considered that a token of his beneficent powers.²⁰⁵ Indeed, God

²⁰³. BR 73. 6; Tan. B. I, 154 and 164; Bata Batra 123a; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 30. 25; and in many other places. Comp. vol. III, pp. 57-58 and 223. This Haggadah is described as an old tradition (מסורת).

²⁰⁴. Yashar Wa-Yeze, 57b-58a, and Hayye Sarah, 49a, where Deborah is declared to have been the daughter of Uz, the son of Abraham's brother Nahor. Comp. the sources quoted in note 300.

²⁰⁵. Tan. B. I, 161, and thence in Midrash Aggada and Targum

had wrought many a thing in the house of Laban that testified to the blessings spread abroad by the pious. Shortly before Jacob came, a pest had broken out among Laban's {370} cattle, and with his arrival it ceased.²⁰⁶ And Laban had had no son, but during Jacob's sojourn in Haran sons were born unto him.²⁰⁷

All the hire he asked in return for his labor and for the blessings he had brought Laban was the speckled and spotted among the goats of his herd, and the black among the sheep. Laban assented to his conditions, saying, "Behold, I would it might be according to thy word." The arch-villain Laban, whose tongue wagged in all directions, and who made all sorts of promises that were never kept, judged others by himself, and therefore suspected Jacob of wanting to deceive him.²⁰⁸ And yet, in the end, it was Laban himself who broke his word. No less than a hundred times he changed the agreement between them. Nevertheless his unrighteous conduct was of no avail. Though a three days' journey had been set betwixt Laban's flocks and

Yerushalmi, Gen. 30. 27. Comp. also the extract from Galya Raza in Yalkut Reubeni, Gen. 29. 17, and note 157.

²⁰⁶. PRE 26. Comp. note 151.

²⁰⁷. BR 73. 12; BaR 20. 19; Tan. B. IV, 142; Tan. Balak 12; MHG I, 485 (with the additional remark that the same thing happened to Jethro who had only daughters until the arrival of Moses into his house, when he was blessed with sons). On the blessing which the pious bring to those whom they visit, comp. Sifre D., 38; Berakot 42a; BR 73. 8; MHG I, 485–486; Zohar I, 161a. Comp. also note 151.

²⁰⁸. MHG I, 486. Laban's words (Gen. 30. 34) are taken to mean: O that thou mayest keep thy word!

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Jacob's, the angels were wont to bring the sheep belonging to Laban down to Jacob's sheep, and Jacob's droves grew constantly larger and better.²⁰⁹ Laban had given only the feeble and sick to Jacob, yet the young of the flock, raised under Jacob's tendance, were so excellent in quality that people bought them at a heavy price.²¹⁰ And Jacob had no need to resort to the peeled rods. He had but to speak, and the flocks bare according to his desire.²¹¹ What Laban deserved was utter ruin, for having permitted the pious Jacob to work for him without hire, and after his wages had been changed ten times, and ten times Laban had tried to overreach him, God rewarded him in this way.²¹² But his good luck with the flocks was only what Jacob deserved. Every faithful laborer is rewarded by God in this world, quite regardless {371} of what awaits him in the world to come.²¹³ With empty hands Jacob had come to Laban, and he left him with herds numbering six hundred thousand. Their increase had been marvellous, an

²⁰⁹. BR 73. 9-10 and 74. 3; Tan. B. I, 161; Tan. Wa-Yeze 11. The legend would not admit any trickery on the part of Jacob, and his cunning manipulations are turned into direct intervention of the angels. See Lekah, Gen. 30. 39 and *Or Zarua'* I, 227, No. 769.

²¹⁰. Tan. B. I, 161; Yashar Wa-Yeze, 58a-58b.

²¹¹. Tehillim 8, 78. Similarly Tan. B. I, 161; Tan. Wa-Yeze 11; BR 73. 10; MHG I, 487 (ב"ס). Comp. note 209.

²¹². MHG I, 490.

²¹³. MHG I, 488 (י"ס). Jacob made his cattle graze far away from cultivated land (comp. Gen. 30. 36), in order to avoid doing damage to the soil; MHG I, 487. Comp. also Baba Kamma 7. 7.

increase that will be equalled only in the Messianic time.²¹⁴

The wealth and good fortune of Jacob called forth the envy of Laban and his sons, and they could not hide their vexation in their intercourse with him. And the Lord said unto Jacob, "Thy father-in-law's countenance is not toward thee as beforetime, and yet thou tarriest with him? Do thou rather return unto the land of thy fathers, and there I will let My Shekinah rest upon thee, for I cannot permit the Shekinah to reside outside of the Holy Land."²¹⁵ Immediately Jacob sent the fleet messenger Naphtali²¹⁶ to Rachel and Leah to summon them to a consultation, and he chose as the place of meeting the open field, where none could overhear what was said.²¹⁷

²¹⁴. BR 73. 11; Koheleth 9. 11; Tan. B. I, 161-162. The fecundity of Messianic times refers to that of human beings, as may be seen from Mekilta Bahodesh 2, 63a, where it is said that in the time to come the number of children of each and every Jew will be equal to the number of Jews at the time of the exodus from Egypt. See also vol. II, p. 230, note 10.

²¹⁵. MHG I, 489; BR 74. 1; Tan. B. I, 160; PRE 26. See also Mekilta Bo (פתיחתא), 1b, which reads: When Israel entered into the Holy Land, all the other countries were excluded from being used as places of divine revelations. BR, *loc. cit.*, remarks that possessions acquired outside the Holy Land bring no blessings. Similarly Pesahim 50b; comp. note 274. See also note 137 and Index, s. v. "Holy Land".

²¹⁶. Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 31. 4. The fleet messenger Naphtali (comp. Gen. 4.9. 21) is often spoken of in Jewish legend; comp. vol. I., pp. 408-401; vol. II, pp. 25, 108-109, 154, 209; vol. III, p. 206.

²¹⁷. Berakot 8b; BR 74. 2; PR 4. 34a (BR is to be emended according to

The Legends of the Jews

His two wives approved the plan of returning to his home, and Jacob resolved at once to go away with all his substance, without as much as acquainting Laban with his intention. Laban was gone to shear his sheep, and so Jacob could execute his plan without delay.

That her father might not learn about their flight from his teraphim, Rachel stole them, and she took them and concealed them upon the camel upon which she sat, and she went on. And this is the manner they used to make the images: They took a man who was the first-born, slew him and took the hair off his head, then salted the head, and anointed it with oil, then they wrote “the Name” upon a small tablet of copper or gold, and placed it under his {³⁷²} tongue. The head with the tablet under the tongue was then put in a house where lights were lighted before it, and at the time when they bowed down to it, it spoke to them on all matters that they asked of it, and that was due to the power of the Name which was written upon it.²¹⁸

this text); Tan. B. IV, 110; Tan. Hukkat 6; Koheleth 7. 23; PRK (Grünhut’s edition, 50 and 41, כ”ו, where אין פושטין is to be read in accordance with Ketubot 48a. Among other peculiarities and customs of the Persians and the “children of the east” mention is also made of the fact that they do not kiss on the mouth. Comp., however, Herodotus I, 134, where the opposite is asserted. Comp. note 164.

²¹⁸. Yashar Wa-Yeze, 58b–59a (based on PRE 26, where, however, our texts read שם רוח טומאה “the name of an impure spirit”, instead of השם “the Ineffable Name of God” of Yashar); Tan. Wa-Yeze 12; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 31. 19; Lekah, Gen. 31. 34. Of the two descriptions of the

THE COVENANT WITH LABAN

Jacob departed and crossed the Euphrates, and set his face toward Gilead, for the holy spirit revealed to him that God would bring help there to his children in the days of Jephthah. Meantime the shepherds of Haran observed that the well, which had been filled to overflowing since the arrival of Jacob in their place, ran dry suddenly. For three days they watched and waited, in the hope that the waters would return in the same abundance as before. Disappointed, they finally told Laban of the misfortune, and he divined at once that Jacob had departed thence, for he knew that the blessing had been conferred upon Haran only for the sake of his son-in-law's merits.²¹⁹

On the morrow Laban rose early, assembled all the people of the city, and pursued Jacob with the intention of killing him when he overtook him. But the archangel Michael appeared unto him, and bade him take heed unto himself, that he do not the least

Teraphim by Ziyroni, Wa-Yeze (end), one is taken from PRE and the other from Lekah. His etymological explanation of this word (as connected with talmudic תורפה "shame", "decay" = בשת) is found in 'Aruk, s. v. See also Rashi, 1 Sam. 19. 13 and 2 Kings 23. 24. Rachel's motive in stealing Laban's idols was a laudable one; she said: Should I depart and leave the old man with his idolatry? See BR 74. 5; Tan. *loc. cit.*; Theodoretus, Gen. 31. 19. Comp. also Zohar I, 169b. On שם = the impure spirit, see note 313 on vol. I, 298.

²¹⁹. Yerushalmi Targumim Gen. 31. 21-22. Comp. ARN 9, 27, as well as notes 153, 205, 207.

unto Jacob, else would he suffer death himself.²²⁰ This message from heaven came to Laban during the night, for when, in extraordinary cases, God finds it necessary to reveal Himself unto the heathen, He does it only in the dark, clandestinely as it were, while He shows Himself to the prophets of the Jews openly, during daylight.

Laban accomplished the journey in one day for which {373} Jacob had taken seven,²²¹ and he overtook him at the mountain of Gilead. When he came upon Jacob, he found him in the act of praying and giving praise unto God.²²² Immediately Laban fell to

²²⁰. PRE 36; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 21. 24. It is a widespread view that Laban had intended to destroy Jacob and his family, root and branch. See Passover Haggadah beginning *צא ולמד*; Midrash Tannaim 172; Onkelos and Targum Yerushalmi Deut. 26. 5; Sifre D., 301; MHG I, 491. The angel restrained Laban from carrying out his plan of destruction, and admonished him, at the same time, not to have any dealings with Jacob whatsoever, not even to be kind to him, for “the kindness shown by the wicked causes pain to the pious”; Yebamot 103b, with reference to Gen. 31. 24. Laban feared not only the angel but also Esau, who might, in case of injury to Jacob, appear as “the avenger of blood” against him. See Aggadat Bereshit 108, note 2, and 125, note 5. Although Rachel had taken the Teraphim with her, Laban succeeded in getting another set, which revealed to him Jacob’s escape; Yashar, Wa-Yeze 59a. According to Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 31. 21–22, Laban noticed the absence of Jacob by the lack of water; comp. note 354.

²²¹. BR 74. 6–7. On the night as the time of divine revelations, see the sources cited in note 131, to which are to be added: WR 1. 13; Leket Midrashim, 6a and 20b; Zohar III, 113a and 200a.

remonstrating with his son-in-law for having stolen away unawares to him. He showed his true character when he said, "It is in the power of my hand to do thee hurt, but the God of thy father spake unto me yesternight, saying, Take heed to thyself that thou speak not to Jacob either good or bad." That is the way of the wicked, they boast of the evil they can do. Laban wanted to let Jacob know that only the dream warning him against doing aught that was harmful to Jacob prevented him from carrying out the wicked design he had formed against him.²²³

Laban continued to take Jacob to task, and he concluded with the words, "And now, though thou wouldst needs be gone, because thou sore longedst after thy father's house, yet wherefore hast thou stolen my gods?" When he pronounced the last words, his grandchildren interrupted him, saying, "We are ashamed of thee, grandfather, that in thy old age thou shouldst use such words as 'my gods.'" Laban searched all the tents for his idols, going first to the tent of Jacob, which was Rachel's at the same time, for Jacob always dwelt with his favorite wife. Finding nothing, he went thence to Leah's tent, and to the tents of the two handmaids, and, noticing that Rachel was feeling about here and there, his suspicions were aroused, and he entered her tent a

²²². Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 31. 23.

²²³. MHG I, 491-492. The power of which Laban boasted is the power of witchcraft, which he might have used against Jacob; Sabba, Wa-Yeze, 42c, and Ki-Tabo, 152c; Zohar I, 167b and 166a. Laban was a famous sorcerer (his grandson Balaam was by far his inferior), and Jacob was justified in pointing out to Esau (comp. Gen. 32. 5) that even this master of witchcraft could not prevail against him. See Zohar I, 167a.

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second time. He would now have found what he was looking for, if a miracle had not come to pass. The teraphim were transformed into drinking vessels, and Laban had to desist from his fruitless search. {374}

Now Jacob, who did not know that Rachel had stolen her father's teraphim in order to turn him aside from his idolatrous ways, was wroth with Laban, and began to chide with him. In the quarrel between them, Jacob's noble character manifested itself. Notwithstanding his excitement, he did not suffer a single unbecoming word to escape him. He only reminded Laban of the loyalty and devotion with which he had served him, doing for him what none other would or could have done. He said: "I dealt wrongfully with the lion, for God had appointed of Laban's sheep for the lion's daily sustenance, and I deprived him thereof. Could another shepherd have done thus? Yes, the people abused me, calling me robber and sneak thief, for they thought that only by stealing by day and stealing by night could I replace the animals torn by wild beasts. And as to my honesty," he continued, "is it likely there is another son-in-law who, having lived with his father-in-law, hath not taken some little thing from the household of his father-in-law, a knife, or other trifle? But thou hast felt about all my stuff, what hast thou found of all thy household stuff? Not so much as a needle or a nail."

In his indignation, and conscious of his innocence, Jacob exclaimed, "With whomsoever thou findest thy gods, he shall not live," words which contained a curse—the thief was cursed with premature death, and therefore Rachel had to die in giving birth to Benjamin. Indeed, the curse would have taken effect at once,

had it not been the wish of God that Rachel should bear Jacob his youngest son.²²⁴

After the quarrel, the two men made a treaty, and with his gigantic strength Jacob set up a huge rock as a memorial, {375} and a heap of stones as a sign of their covenant. In this matter Jacob followed the example of his fathers, who likewise had covenanted with heathen nations, Abraham with the Jebusites, and Isaac with the Philistines. Therefore Jacob did not hesitate to make a treaty with the Arameans.²²⁵ Jacob summoned his sons, calling them brethren, for they were his peers in piety and strength, and he bade them cast up heaps of stones. Thereupon he swore unto his father-in-law that he would take no wives beside his four daughters, either while they were alive or after their death, and Laban, on his part, swore that he would not pass over the heaps or

²²⁴ BR 74. 8-11; PRE 36; Tan. Wa-Yeze 13; Aggadat Bereshit 51, 105; PK 14, 116b; Koheleth 10. 5; Shemuel 22 (end). The view that even an unintentional curse or blessing takes effect is shared by the Talmud; see Mo'ed Katan 18a and Makkot 11a, which read: A compact is closed with the lips, *i. e.*, the spoken word is effective, be it a curse or a blessing. The account of Jacob's escape from Laban and of their meeting is given by Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 20. 9-11, with many embellishments. Jacob's excuse for his escape was that God implanted in every human heart the love of his native country, and Rachel's motive in stealing the Teraphim was to pacify her father by returning them to him, should he succeed in overtaking Jacob. The theft remained undiscovered for some time, because Laban did not think it possible that a woman in menstruation (comp. Gen. 31. 35) would dare to touch the Teraphim. On the effect of the spoken word, be it a curse or a blessing, comp. note 74.

²²⁵ Tan. Wa-Yishlah 4; BR 74. 13; PRE 36. Comp. vol. IV, p. 93.

over the pillar unto Jacob with hostile intent,²²⁶ and he took the oath by the God of Abraham, and the God of Nahor, while Jacob made mention of the Fear of Isaac. He refrained from using the term “the God of Isaac,” because God never unites His name with that of a living person, for the reason that so long as a man has not ended his years, no trust may be put in him, lest he be seduced by the evil inclination. It is true, when He appeared unto Jacob at Beth-el, God called Himself “the God of Isaac.” There was a reason for the unusual phrase. Being blind, Isaac led a retired life, within his tent, and the evil inclination had no power over him any more. But though God had full confidence in Isaac, yet Jacob could not venture to couple the name of God with the name of a living man, wherefore he took his oath by “the Fear of Isaac.”²²⁷

Early in the morning after the day of covenanting, Laban rose up, and kissed his grandchildren and his daughters, and blessed

²²⁶. BR 74. 13–14; PRE 26; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 31. 46; Yoma 77a–77b; MHG I, 495.

²²⁷. BR 94. 5 (Rashi, Gen. 31. 42, seems to have had a fuller text before him); Tan. Toledot 7; Tehillim 16, 120; comp. note 304. Tan. Wa-Yeze renders בַּחַיִּית אָבִיו (Gen. 31. 53) by “the life of his father”, which agrees with Philo, *Special. Leg.*, 2. 3. See Ginzberg, *Unbekannte Sekte*, 130–131 (note) and *Hadar*, Gen., *loc. cit.* Lekah, *ad loc.*, reads: He swore by the fear which seized Isaac at the ‘Akedah, when he had given up his spirit and come to life again only by means of the dew of life. See note 101; vol. I, p. 282, and note 243 appertaining thereto. Lekah is very likely the source for Zohar I, 60a (תוֹסֵפְתָא).

them. But these acts and words of his did not come from the heart; in his innermost thoughts he regretted that {376} Jacob and his family and his substance had escaped him.²²⁸ His true feelings he betrayed in the message which he sent to Esau at once upon his return to Haran, by the hand of his son Beor and ten companions of his son. The message read: "Hast thou heard what Jacob thy brother has done unto me, who first came to me naked and bare, and I went to meet him, and took him to my house with honor, and brought him up, and gave him my two daughters for wives, and also two of my maids? And God blessed him on my account, and he increased abundantly, and had sons and daughters and maid-servants, and also an uncommon stock of flocks and herds, camels and asses, also silver and gold in abundance. But when he saw that his wealth increased, he left me while I went to shear my sheep, and he rose up and fled in secrecy. And he put his wives and children upon camels, and he led away all his cattle and substance which he acquired in my land, and he resolved to go to his father Isaac, to the land of Canaan. And he did not suffer me to kiss my sons and daughters, and he carried away my daughters as captives of the sword, and he also stole my gods, and he fled. And now I have left him in the mountain of the brook of Jabbok, he and all belonging to him, not a jot of his substance is lacking. If it be thy wish to go to him, go, and there wilt thou find him, and thou canst do unto him as thy

²²⁸. BR 74. 6–7. On the night as the time of divine revelations, see the sources cited in note 131, to which are to be added: WR 1. 13; Leket Midrashim, 6a and 20b; Zohar III, 113a and 200a.

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soul desireth.”²²⁹

Jacob had no need to fear either Laban or Esau, for on his journey he was accompanied by two angel hosts, one going with him from Haran to the borders of the Holy Land, where he was received by the other host, the angels of Palestine.²³⁰ Each of these hosts consisted of no less than six hundred thousand angels,²³¹ and when he beheld them, {377} Jacob said: “Ye belong neither to the host of Esau, who is preparing to go out to war against me, nor the host of Laban, who is about to pursue me again. Ye are the hosts of the holy angels sent by the Lord.” And he gave the name Mahanaim, Double-Host, to the spot on which the second army relieved the first.²³²

²²⁹. Yashar Wa-Yeze, 59a-59b, where ואגדלו is to be explained in accordance with אשר גדלו בביתו, Wa-Yishlah, 60b. There is a number of different views concerning the relationship between Laban and Balaam: Laban is declared to be identical with Balaam, to have been Balaam's father, grandfather (Beor, Laban's son in Yashar is identical with Balaam's father), and uncle. See Sanhedrin 105a; BR 57. 4, and the parallel passages cited by Theodor, as well as *Hadar* and *Da'at* on Gen. 31. 52, and Exod. 1. 10; Mahzor Vitry 547; Zohar I, 166b.

²³⁰. Tan.B. I, 163 and 178–179; Tan. Wa-Yishlah 3 and Mishpatim (end); Aggadat Bereshit 53, 109.

²³¹. BR 74. 17 and 76. 10; Shir 7.1.

²³². Yerushalmi Targumim Gen. 32. 3; Tan. Wa-Yishlah 3.

JACOB AND ESAU PREPARE TO MEET

The message of Laban awakened Esau's old hatred toward Jacob with increased fury, and he assembled his household, consisting of sixty men. With them and three hundred and forty inhabitants of Seir, he went forth to do battle with Jacob and kill him. He divided his warriors into seven cohorts, giving to his son Eliphaz his own division of sixty, and putting the other six divisions under as many of the Horites.

While Esau was hastening onward to meet Jacob, the messengers which Laban had sent to Esau came to Rebekah and told her that Esau and his four hundred men were about to make war upon Jacob, with the purpose of slaying him and taking possession of all he had. Anxious lest Esau should execute his plan while yet Jacob was on the journey, she hastily dispatched seventy-two of the retainers of Isaac's household, to give him help. Jacob, tarrying on the banks of the brook Jabbok, rejoiced at the sight of these men, and he greeted them with the words, "This is God's helping host," wherefore he called the place of their meeting Mahanaim, Host.

After the warriors sent by Rebekah had satisfied his questions regarding the welfare of his parents, they delivered his {378} mother's message unto him, thus: "I have heard, my son, that thy brother Esau hath gone forth against thee on the road, with men of the children of Seir the Horite, and therefore, my son, hearken to my voice, and take counsel with thyself what thou wilt do, and when he cometh up to thee, supplicate him, and do not speak roughly to him, and give him a present from what thou possessest, and from what God has favored thee with. And when

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he asketh thee concerning thy affairs, conceal nothing from him, perhaps he may turn from his anger against thee, and thou wilt thereby save thy soul, thou and all belonging to thee, for it is thy duty to honor him, since he is thy elder brother.”

And when Jacob heard the words of his mother which the messengers had spoken to him, he lifted up his voice and wept bitterly, and did as his mother commanded him.

He sent messengers to Esau to placate him, and they said unto him: “Thus speaketh thy servant Jacob: My lord, think not that the blessing which my father bestowed upon me profited me. Twenty years I served Laban, and he deceived me, and changed my hire ten times, as thou well knowest. Yet did I labor sorely in his house, and God saw my affliction, my labor, and the work of my hands, and afterward He caused me to find grace and favor in the sight of Laban. And through God's great mercy and kindness, I acquired oxen and asses and cattle and men-servants and maid servants. And now I am coming to my country and to my home, to my father and mother, who are in the land of Canaan. And I have sent to let my lord know all this in order to find favor in the eyes of my lord, so that he may not imagine that I have become a man of substance, or that {379} the blessing with which my father blessed me has benefited me.”²³³

Furthermore spake the messengers: “Why dost thou envy me

²³³ Yashar Wa-Yeze (end) and Wa-Yishlah (beginning), 59b–60b. On the honor which Jacob owed Esau as the elder brother, comp. the midrashic quotation in Yalkut Reubeni, Gen. 32. 4, and Ketubot 103a.

in respect to the blessing wherewith my father blessed me? Is it that the sun shineth in my land, and not in thine? Or doth the dew and the rain fall only upon my land, and not upon thine? If my father blessed me with the dew of heaven, he blessed thee with the fatness of the earth, and if he spoke to me, Peoples will serve thee, he hath said unto thee, By thy sword shalt thou live. How long, then, wilt thou continue to envy me? Come, now, let us set up a covenant between us, that we will share equally all the vexations that may occur.”

Esau would not agree to this proposal, his friends dissuaded him therefrom, saying, “Accept not these conditions, for God hath said to Abraham, Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve the people thereof, and the aliens shall afflict them four hundred years. Wait, therefore, until Jacob and his family go down into Egypt to pay off this debt.”

Jacob also sent word to Esau, saying: “Though I dwelt with that heathen of the heathen, Laban, yet have I not forgotten my God, but I fulfil the six hundred and thirteen commandments of the Torah.²³⁴ If thy mind be set upon peace, thou wilt find me ready for peace. But if thy desire be war, thou wilt find me ready for war. I have with me men of valor and strength, they have but to utter a word, and God fulfils it. I tarried with Laban until Joseph should

²³⁴ MHG I, 501–502. On the view that Abraham’s descendants are to pay off the debt, comp. vol. I, p. 356; vol. III, pp. 55 and 315. The statement about Jacob’s strict conformity with the Torah during the stay with Laban is found also in Lekah, Gen. 32. 5, but in a version somewhat different from the one in MHG and Rashi, *ad loc.*

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be born, he who is destined to subdue thee.²³⁵ And though my descendants be held in bondage in this world, yet a day will come when they will rule over their rulers.”²³⁶ {380}

In reply to all these gentle words, Esau spoke with arrogance: “Surely I have heard, and truly it has been told unto me what Jacob has been to Laban, who brought him up in his house, and gave him his daughters for wives, and he begot sons and daughters, and abundantly increased in wealth and riches in Laban’s house and with his help. And when he saw that his wealth was abundant and his riches were great, he fled with all belonging to him from Laban’s house, and he carried away Laban’s daughters from their father as captives of the sword, without telling him of it. And not only to Laban hath Jacob done thus, but also unto me hath he done so, and he hath twice supplanted me, and shall I be silent? Now, I have this day come with my camp to meet him, and I will do unto him according to the desire of my heart.”

The messengers dispatched by Jacob now returned to him, and reported these words of Esau unto him.²³⁷ They also told him that his brother was advancing against him with an army consisting of four hundred crowned heads, each leading a host of four hundred men.²³⁸ “It is true, thou art his brother, and thou treatest him as a

²³⁵ BR 75. 5 and 11; Tan. B. I 161.

²³⁶ MHG I, 503. Jacob’s message to Esau, as given by Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 20. 1, also differs from the biblical account.

²³⁷ Yashar Wa-Yishlah, 60b.

brother should,” they said to Jacob, “but he is an Esau, thou must be made aware of his villainy.”²³⁹

Jacob bore in mind the promise of God, that He would bring him back to his father’s house in peace, yet the report about his brother’s purpose alarmed him greatly. A pious man may never depend upon promises of earthly good. God does not keep the promise if he is guilty of the smallest conceivable trespass, and Jacob feared that he might have forfeited happiness by reason of a sin committed by him. {381} Moreover, he was anxious lest Esau be the one favored by God, inasmuch as he had these twenty years been fulfilling two Divine commands that Jacob had had to disregard. Esau had been living in the Holy Land, Jacob outside of it; the former had been in attendance upon his parents, the latter dwelling at a distance from them. And much as he feared defeat, Jacob also feared the reverse, that he might be victorious over Esau, or might even slay his brother, which would be as bad as to be slain by him. And he was depressed by another apprehension, that his father had died, for he reasoned that Esau would not take such warlike steps against his own brother, were his father still alive.²⁴⁰

²³⁸. BR 75. 12 (and, with slight variations, 7); MHG I, 503 (where is a faulty reading of the abbreviation 'n=400 and hence the discrepancy in the number); Tan. B. I, 161.

²³⁹. BR 75. 7; Tan. B. I, 161; Zohar I, 167b.

²⁴⁰. BR 76. 1-2. On the fear of the pious to forfeit, through sin, the blessings promised to them, comp. the parallel passages cited on margin, and vol. I, pp. 352-353. Maimonides, *Shemonah Perakim*, 7,

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When his wives saw the anxiety that possessed Jacob, they began to quarrel with him, and reproach him for having taken them away from their father's house, though he knew that such danger threatened from Esau.²⁴¹ Then Jacob determined to apply the three means that might save him from the fate impending: he would cry to God for help, appease Esau's wrath with presents, and hold himself in readiness for war if the worst came to the worst.²⁴²

He prayed to God: "O Thou God of my father Abraham, and God of my father Isaac, God of all who walk in the ways of the pious and do like unto them! I am not worthy of the least of all the mercies, and of all the truth, which Thou hast showed unto Thy servant. O Lord of the world, as Thou didst not suffer Laban to execute his evil designs against me, so also bring to naught the purpose of Esau, who desireth to slay me. O Lord of the world, in Thy Torah which Thou wilt give us on Mount Sinai it is written,

remarks: Even the patriarchs and prophets were not entirely free from human failings, as the fear of Jacob shows. Shu'aib, Wa-Yishlah, 16c, quotes a midrashic statement to the effect that Jacob contrasted his own conduct toward his father with that of Esau, and was compelled to admit his shortcomings. He caused his father to fear and tremble (comp. Gen. 27. 33, and note 101), whereas Esau never failed, in the slightest degree, in the honor and consideration due to Isaac. Jacob therefore thought that God might prefer Esau to himself. Comp. also Zohar I, 166a; MHG I, 503.

²⁴¹. MHG I, 504.

²⁴². Tan. B. I, 162; Koheleth 9. 18.

And whether it be cow or ewe, ye shall not kill it and her young {382} both in one day. If this wretch should come and murder my children and their mothers at the same time, who would then desire to read Thy Torah which Thou wilt give us on Mount Sinai? And yet Thou didst speak, For the sake of thy merits and for the merits of thy fathers I will do good unto thee, and in the future world thy children shall be as numerous as the sand of the sea.”

As Jacob prayed for his own deliverance, so also he prayed for the salvation of his descendants, that they might not be annihilated by the descendants of Esau.

Such was the prayer of Jacob when he saw Esau approaching from afar, and God heard his petition and looked upon his tears, and He gave him the assurance that for his sake his descendants, too, would be redeemed from all distress.²⁴³

Then the Lord sent three angels, and they went before Esau, and they appeared unto Esau and his people as hundreds and thousands of men riding upon horses. They were furnished with all sorts of weapons, and divided into four columns. And one division went on, and they found Esau coming with four hundred men, and the division ran toward them, and terrified them. Esau fell off his horse in alarm, and all his men separated from him in great fear, while the approaching column shouted after them, “Verily, we are the servants of Jacob, the servant of God, and who can stand against us?” Esau then said unto them, “O, then my

²⁴³ BR 75. 9 and 13, as well as 76. 4-6; Yashar Wa-Yishlah, 60b-61a (gives a different version of Jacob's prayer, but at the same time makes use of BR). See also Tan. B. I, 162; Makiri, Ps. 20, 140, 141, and note 35.

lord and brother Jacob is your lord, whom I have not seen these twenty years, and now that I have this day come to see him, do you treat me in this manner?" The angels answered, "As the Lord liveth, were not Jacob thy brother, we had {383} not left one remaining of thee and thy people, but on account of Jacob we will do nothing to thee." This division passed from Esau, and when he had gone from there about a league, the second division came toward him, and they also did unto Esau and his men as the first had done to them, and when they permitted him to go on, the third came and did like the first, and when the third had passed also, and Esau still continued with his men on the road to Jacob, the fourth division came and did to them as the others had done. And Esau was greatly afraid of his brother, because he thought that the four columns of the army which he had encountered were the servants of Jacob.

After Jacob had made an end of praying, he divided all that journeyed with him into two companies, and he set over them Damesek and Alinus, the two sons of Eliezer, the bondman of Abraham, and their sons.²⁴⁴ Jacob's example teaches us not to conceal the whole of our fortune in one hiding-place, else we run

²⁴⁴ Yashar Wa-Yishlah, 61a-61b, which amplifies the legend concerning the angels who attacked Esau at night, found in BR 78. 11; Tan. B. I, 162; and in abridged form, BR 75. 10. See note 265. Damesek, the son of Eliezer, owes his existence to the phrase דמשק אליעזר (Gen. 15. 2). On Alinus comp. note 290 with reference to Eblaen of which Alinus seems to be a variant.

the danger of losing everything at one stroke.

Of his cattle he sent a part to Esau as a present, first dividing it into three droves in order to impress his brother more. When Esau received the first drove, he would think he had the whole gift that had been sent to him, and suddenly he would be astonished by the appearance of the second portion, and again by the third. Jacob knew his brother's avarice only too well.²⁴⁵

The men who were the bearers of Jacob's present to Esau were charged with the following message, "This is an offering to my lord Esau from his slave Jacob." But God took these words of Jacob in ill part, saying, "Thou profanest {384} what is holy when thou callest Esau lord." Jacob excused himself; he was but flattering the wicked in order to escape death at his hands.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁵. BR 76. 3 and 8; Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 20. 1. The numerical relation of the male to the female animals varies with the different species, because the more active an animal is, the less its sexual desire, and the same applies to man. See Yerushalmi Ketubot 5, 30b; BR 76. 7; Justin Martyr, *Dialogue*, 112. Comp. note 274. Jacob first separated the tithes from the animals before sending them to Esau; see Rashi and Lekah, Gen. 33. 14. Comp. note 251.

²⁴⁶. PRE 37; Tan. B. I, 161; Tan. Wa-Yishlah 3; BR 75.5. A different view is given in BR 76. 2-3 and 11, where Jacob is severely censured for calling Esau "my lord", and it is added that as a punishment for that, Jacob's descendants established their kingdom eight generations later than Esau's descendants (comp. Gen.36.31). Moreover, the latter were granted dominion over the world, whereas the former have to wait for the dominion in the world to come. See BR 75. 11; PRE, *loc. cit.*; 1 Alphabet of Ben Sira 6b.

JACOB WRESTLES WITH THE ANGEL

The servants of Jacob went before him with the present for Esau, and he followed with his wives and his children. As he was about to pass over the ford of Jabbok, he observed a shepherd, who likewise had sheep and camels. The stranger approached Jacob and proposed that they should ford the stream together, and help each other move their cattle over, and Jacob assented, on the condition that his possessions should be put across first. In the twinkling of an eye Jacob's sheep were transferred to the other side of the stream by the shepherd. Then the flocks of the shepherd were to be moved by Jacob, but no matter how many he took over to the opposite bank, always there remained some on the hither shore. There was no end to the cattle, though Jacob labored all the night through. At last he lost patience, and he fell upon the shepherd and caught him by the throat, crying out, "O thou wizard, thou wizard, at night no enchantment succeeds!" The angel thought, "Very well, let him know once for all with whom he has had dealings," and with his finger he touched the earth, whence fire burst forth. But Jacob said, "What! thou thinkest thus to affright me, who am made wholly of fire?"²⁴⁷

²⁴⁷. BR 77. 2-3; Shir 3. 5. These sources add that it was Esau's guardian angel (comp. the following note and note 273) who, at the command of God, undertook to wrestle with Jacob. God said to the angel: "Jacob has five charms to protect him: his own merits and those of his parents and grandparents; now measure thy strength against his." The angel tried,

The shepherd was no less a personage than the archangel Michael, and in his combat with Jacob he was assisted by the whole host of angels under his command. He was on the {385} point of inflicting a dangerous wound upon Jacob, when God appeared, and all the angels, even Michael himself, felt their strength ooze away. Seeing that he could not prevail against Jacob, the archangel touched the hollow of his thigh, and injured him, and God rebuked him, saying, "Dost thou act as is seemly, when thou causest a blemish in My priest Jacob?" Michael said in astonishment, "Why, it is I who am Thy priest!" But God said, "Thou art My priest in heaven, and he is My priest on earth." Thereupon Michael summoned the archangel Raphael, saying, "My comrade, I pray thee, help me out of my distress, for thou art charged with the healing of all disease," and Raphael cured Jacob of the injury Michael had inflicted.

The Lord continued to reproach Michael, saying, "Why didst thou do harm unto My first-born son?" and the archangel answered, "I did it only to glorify Thee," and then God appointed Michael as the guardian angel of Jacob and his seed unto the end

and soon discovered that Jacob was no match for him. The words put into Jacob's mouth ("this night no enchantment prevails") wish to convey that, although ordinarily the darkness of the night is very propitious for such and similar operations (comp. Index, s. v. "Night", and Fraser, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, II, 411), Jacob was not afraid of the angel's machinations. — Hullin 91a points out that the pious take great care not to lose or squander their possessions; hence Jacob, after having forded the river with all his belongings, returned to fetch a small pot which he had forgotten on the other side of the Jabbok.

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of all generations, with these words: "Thou art a fire, and so is Jacob a fire; thou art the head of the angels, and he is the head of the nations; thou art supreme over all the angels, and he is supreme over all the peoples. Therefore he who is supreme over all the angels shall be appointed unto him who is supreme over all the peoples, that he may entreat mercy for him from the Supreme One over all."

Then Michael said unto Jacob, "How is it possible that thou who couldst prevail against me, the most distinguished of the angels, art afraid of Esau?"

When the day broke, Michael said to Jacob, "Let me go, for the day breaketh," but Jacob held him back, saying, "Art {386} thou a thief, or a gambler with dice, that thou fearest the daylight?" At that moment appeared many different hosts of angels, and they called unto Michael: "Ascend, O Michael, the time of song hath come, and if thou art not in heaven to lead the choir, none will sing." And Michael entreated Jacob with supplications to let him go, for he feared the angels of 'Arabot would consume him with fire, if he were not there to start the songs of praise at the proper time. Jacob said, "I will not let thee go, except thou bless me," whereto Michael made reply: "Who is greater, the servant or the son? I am the servant, and thou art the son. Why, then, cravest thou my blessing?"²⁴⁸ Jacob urged as an argument, "The angels

²⁴⁸. Abkir in Yalkut I, 132; according to this source, the angel appeared to make Jacob bold for his meeting with Esau. See also Zerubbabel (Jellinek's edition, 5. 5), which reads: "I am Metatron, the angel who

that visited Abraham did not leave without blessing him," but

wrestled with Jacob at the ford of Jabbok," while in Wertheimer's edition שְׁנִדְבַקְתִּי בְּעֶבֶר הַנָּהָר is corrupted to נִאֲבַקְתִּי בַּמַּעְבֵּר יְבוֹק. Since in many sources Metatron is identical with Michael (comp. Index, 8. v. "Metatron"), it follows that, according to this passage, the angel who wrestled with Jacob was sent to his assistance. In Wertheimer's edition (versions 1 and 2) this angel described himself as Metatron=Michael, i. e., as the guardian angel of Israel. The antiquity of this view which identifies this angel with Michael, or rather Metatron, may be inferred from the statement of the Church Fathers, according to whom this angel was the Holy Ghost, or Jesus; comp. e. g., Clemens Alexandrinus, *Instructor*, I. 7. It has already been observed that Christian authors often transferred to Jesus, or rather the Holy Ghost, those functions which in Jewish legends are ascribed to Michael. It should be noted here that Abkir in its present form consists of three different parts, which are introduced by: 1) ר' טַרְפוֹן; 2) יֵשׁ אֹמְרִים; 3) אֲרָ = אֵלֶּעָזָר, in Gabai. Comp. further below.—Michael was appointed the guardian angel of Israel on the day of his visit to Abraham to announce to him the birth of Isaac; see Ziyroni, *Mishpatim* (end), quoting Galya Raza, and comp. note 91 on vol. I, p. 181, as well as the following note. The angel was in a hurry, as he had to be present at the morning song of the celestial beings; comp. BR 78. 1–2; Hullin 91b–92a; Shir 3. 5; comp. vol. I, pp. 17–18. A fragment of a legend, according to which several angels fought against Jacob, is found in Yelammedenu quoted in Yalkut II, 758 on Ps. 39; comp. also vol. II, p. 8; note 199. On the view that the powers of the angels vanished in the presence of God, comp. Philo, *De Somniis*, I. 13. For a correct text of Abkir comp. Yalkut Reubeni, Gen. 32. 25, and Gabai, *'Abodat ha-Kodesh*, 3. 7, who quotes a considerable portion of this Abkir passage from Sode Raze. It is to be observed that towards the end אֵתָה אֵשׁ וְהוּא אֵשׁ is to be read. The identity of this angel with Michael is also found in Tan. B. I, 165; comp. the following note.

Michael held, "They were sent by God for that very purpose, and I was not." Yet Jacob insisted upon his demand, and Michael pleaded with him, saying, "The angels that betrayed a heavenly secret were banished from their place for one hundred and thirty eight years. Dost thou desire that I should acquaint thee with what would cause my banishment likewise?" In the end the angel nevertheless had to yield; Jacob could not be moved, and Michael took counsel with himself thus: "I will reveal a secret to him, and if God demands to know why I revealed it, I will make answer, Thy children stand upon their wishes with Thee, and Thou dost yield to them. How, then, could I have left Jacob's wish unfulfilled?"

Then Michael spoke to Jacob, saying: "A day will come when God will reveal Himself unto thee, and He will change thy name, and I shall be present when He changeth it."²⁴⁹ Thy name shall be

²⁴⁹. BR 78. 2. The name of the angel is not given here, and the question is left open whether it was Michael or Gabriel. But inasmuch as Gabriel is one of the two angels who were punished for divulging a heavenly secret (comp. vol. I, pp. 241 and 350–351), which punishment is given as an excuse by the angel for his reluctance to fulfil Jacob's wish, it follows that only Michael is meant here. According to BR, *loc. cit.*, as well as the sources cited in the preceding note, the angel finally fulfilled Jacob's wish, for otherwise he would not have been in heaven in time to chant the praise of God. Opposed to this view is the one in PRE 37, according to which the angel had to chant his hymn on earth, and when the angels heard him sing, they knew that Jacob prevented him from returning to heaven. Comp. also ps.-Philo, 18A, who likewise maintains that it was the heavenly band-master who wrestled with Jacob. — Jacob had adjured

called no more Jacob, but Israel, for {387} happy thou, of woman born, who didst enter the heavenly palace, and didst escape thence with thy life." And Michael blessed Jacob with the words, "May it be the will of God that thy descendants be as pious as thou art."²⁵⁰

At the same time the archangel reminded Jacob that he had promised to give a tithe of his possessions unto God, and at once Jacob separated five hundred and fifty head of cattle from his herds, which counted fifty-five hundred. Then Michael went on, "But thou hast sons, and of them thou hast not set apart the tenth." Jacob proceeded to pass his sons in review: Reuben, Joseph, Dan, and Gad being the first-born, each of his mother, were exempt, and there remained but eight sons, and when he had named them, down to Benjamin, he had to go back and begin over again with Simon, the ninth, and finish with Levi as the tenth.

Michael took Levi with him into heaven, and presented him before God, saying, "O Lord of the world, this one is Thy lot, and the tenth belonging unto Thee," and God stretched forth His hand and blessed Levi with the blessing that his children should be the servants of God on earth as the angels were His servants on high. Michael spoke again, "Doth not a king provide for the sustenance

the angel not to move without his permission; but he doubted whether his adjuring was effective as he did not know the name of the angel; hence he was anxious to learn his name; comp. Ziyoni, Gen. 32. 27.

²⁵⁰. Abkir in Yalkut I, 132. This legend assumes that the wrestling between Jacob and the angel took place in heaven; comp. also vol. I, pp. 388–389.

of his servants?” whereupon God appointed for the Levites all that was holy unto the Lord.²⁵¹

Then Jacob spoke to the angel: “My father conferred the blessing upon me that was intended for Esau, and now I desire to know whether thou wilt acknowledge the blessing as mine, or wilt bring charges against me on account of it.” And the angel said: “I acknowledge the blessing to be thine by right. Thou didst not gain it by craft and cunning, {388} and I and all the heavenly powers recognize it to be valid, for thou hast shown thyself master over the mighty powers of the heavens as over Esau and his legions.”²⁵²

²⁵¹. PRE 27; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 32. 25. There can be no doubt that according to this View it was Michael who wrestled with Jacob, in order to remind him of his promise concerning the tithes. This view is also shared by Ephraim, I, 181B, who also knows the other explanation given in note 248 for the appearance of the angel. According to one view, Jacob, in separating the tithes of his sons, started with the youngest of them (in the eyes of the Lord the small are more precious than the great; Yelammedenu 16=BHM VI, 80), and therefore Levi was the tenth. See Jub. 32. 3; Sifre D., 355 (for the explanation of this passage see Brüll, *Jahrbücher*, IV, 130, and Epstein, *Mikkadmoniyyot*, 97–98); Midrash Tannaim 220; PRE, *loc. cit.* (the reason given here for starting from the youngest is not clear); *Da’at* and *Hadar* on Gen. 28. 22. Tan. is given as a source in *Hadar*, whereas *Da’at* refers to BR as its authority. But neither of these two Midrashim has this Haggadah. See Epstein, *Mosheh ha-Darshan*, 16; vol. II, p. 134, note 364. On Levi being taken into heaven, see vol. I, 363 and II, 194. On Jacob as the first to set aside the tithes, comp. notes 144 and 245.

²⁵². Zohar III, 45a (based on Tan. B. I, 127, or a source related to Tan.).

And even then Jacob would not let the angel depart, he had to reveal his name to him first, and the angel made known to him that it was Israel, the same name that Jacob would once bear.²⁵³

²⁵³ PRE 47. The mystics of the geonic period speak of a heavenly being (חיה), named Israel, on whose forehead this name is engraved. The function of this angel is to call the hosts of angels to chant God's praise. He addresses them with these words: "Bless ye the Lord who is to be blessed." Whereupon they praise God, saying: "Blessed is the Lord who is to be blessed for ever and ever." See *Hekalot* 4, 29; *Zohar* II, 4b; Baer's *Siddur*, 126. Raziel, 6b, makes the assumption probable that this heavenly being was identified with the "[Jacob's countenance]" in the throne of glory; comp. notes 35 and 134.—The Haggadah knows of a number of explanations of the name Israel: It stands for איש ראה אל "the man who saw God" (angel?); comp. ER 27, 138-139; Philo, *Conf. Ling.*, 16 and 20; *Migrat. Abr.*, 18, 36, 39 (end); *Quis Rer. Div. Haeres Sit*, 15; *De Cong. Quaer. Erud. Causa*, 10; *De Profugis*, 25 and 38; *Mut. nominum*, 12; *De Somniis*, 2. 4, 6, 26; *De Sacrificiis Abelis*, 36; *De Abrahamo*, 12; *De praemiis et poenis*, 8. From Philo, in whose writings this etymology occurs very frequently, besides in the passages just cited, it was taken over by the Church Fathers; comp. Siegfried, *Philo*, Index, s. v. "Israel". In Philo's opinion "the man who saw God" is identical with the Logos, hence Israel = Christ in the writings of the Church Fathers. See Justin Martyr, *Dialogue*, 75; Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, 2. 5; Cyril, *De Trinit.*, 19. Comp. note 428. The name Israel is also explained as "trying to sing instead of the angels" (= ישראל), or "joyful like the angels at the time of their singing"; see Tan. B. I, 127, and Haserot in Batte Midrashot, III, 4. As to Jacob's singing instead of the angels, comp. BR 78. 2. Other etymologies are: "the remnant of God" (שאר אל = ישראל), or "he who walks straight with the Lord" (ישר אל = ישראל); Yalkut Reubeni, Gen. 232. 29, and comp. note 273. Similar to the last etymology is the one given by Nahmanides, Deut. 2. 10 of Jeshurun, which signifies "one who walks

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At last the angel departed, after Jacob had blessed him, and Jacob called the place of wrestling Penueel, the same place to which before he had given the name Mahanaim, for both words have but one meaning, the place of encounter with angels.²⁵⁴

THE MEETING BETWEEN ESAU AND JACOB

At the break of day the angel left off from wrestling with Jacob. The dawn on that day was of particularly short duration. The sun rose two hours before his time, by way of compensation for having set early, on the day on which Jacob passed Mount Moriah on his journey to Haran, to induce him to turn aside and lodge for a night on the future Temple place.²⁵⁵ Indeed, the power of the sun on this same day was altogether remarkable. He shone with the brilliance and ardor with which he was invested during the six days of the creation, and as he will shine at the end of days, to make whole the halt and the blind among the Jews and to consume the heathen. This same healing and devastating property he had on that day, too, for Jacob was cured, while Esau and his princes were all but burnt up by his terrible heat.²⁵⁶

straight", in contrast to Jacob, "he who walks crookedly". Comp. Nestle, *Zeitschrift f. Alt. Wiss.*, XXXII, 17-20.

²⁵⁴. MHG I, 513.

²⁵⁵. BR 68. 10; Tan. B. I, 168; Hullin 91b; Targum Yerushalmi, Gen. 32. 32. Comp. vol. I, pp. 349-350.

²⁵⁶. Zohar I, 203b, which, in the main, is based on Abkir in Yalkut I, 132.

Jacob was in dire need of healing lotions for the injury {389} he had sustained in the encounter with the angel. The combat between them had been grim, the dust whirled up by the scuffle rose to the very throne of God.²⁵⁷ Though Jacob prevailed against his huge opponent, as big as one-third of the whole world, throwing him to the ground and keeping him pinned down, yet the angel had injured him by clutching at the sinew of the hip which is upon the hollow of the thigh, so that it was dislocated, and Jacob halted upon his thigh.²⁵⁸ The healing power of the sun restored him, nevertheless his children took it upon themselves not to eat the sinew of the hip which is upon the hollow of the thigh, for they reproached themselves with having been the cause of his mishap, they should not have left him alone in that night.²⁵⁹

Comp. also BR 78. 5.

²⁵⁷. Hullin 90a. Comp. vol. I, p. 354.

²⁵⁸. Tan. Wa-Yishlah 4; Tehillim 102, 468-469. The angels have no joints; they are formed of one piece. Hence when the angel noticed Jacob's gigantic strength he touched him on the hip to convince himself whether he is a human being or an angel, and this touch caused injury to Jacob. See PRE 36; Hullin 91a; BR 88. 6; comp. also vol I, p. 5, note 9.

²⁵⁹. Zohar I 203b; MHG I, 513-514; *Hadar, Da'at*, and *Pa'aneah* on Gen. 32. 33, which are dependent on Hasidim, 91. In the old sources two views are mentioned with regard to the meaning of "the sons of Israel" (Gen., *loc. cit.*). According to one, it refers to the Jewish people; but the other view maintains that it alludes to Jacob's twelve sons. See Hullin 7. 6. "A scholar must not go out at night by himself", and had not Jacob disregarded this rule, nothing would have happened to him at the ford of Jabbok; see Hullin 91a and Zohar III, 55a. The evil spirits are envious of

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Now, although Jacob had prepared for the worst, for open hostilities even, yet when he saw Esau and his men, he thought it discreet to make separate divisions of the households of Leah, Rachel, and the handmaids, and divide the children unto each of them. And he put the handmaids and their children foremost, and Leah and her children after, and Rachel and Joseph hindermost. It was the stratagem which the fox used with the lion. Once upon a time the king of beasts was wroth with his subjects, and they looked hither and thither for a spokesman who mastered the art of appeasing their ruler. The fox offered himself for the undertaking, saying, "I know three hundred fables which will allay his fury." His offer was accepted with joy. On the way to the lion, the fox suddenly stood still, and in reply to the questions put to him, he said, "I have forgotten one hundred of the three hundred fables." "Never mind," said {390} those accompanying him, "two hundred will serve the purpose." A little way further on the fox again stopped suddenly, and, questioned again, he confessed that he had forgotten half of the two hundred remaining fables. The animals with him still consoled him that the hundred he knew would suffice. But the fox halted a third time, and then he admitted that his memory had failed him entirely, and he had forgotten all the fables he knew, and he advised that every animal approach the king on his own account and endeavor to appease his anger. At first Jacob had had courage enough to enter the lists with Esau in behalf of all with him. Now he came to the conclusion to let each

scholars, and try to attack them at night; comp. Berakot 54b.

one try to do what he could for himself.

However, Jacob was too fond a father to expose his family to the first brunt of the danger. He himself passed over before all the rest, saying, "It is better that they attack me than my children."²⁶⁰ After him came the handmaids and their children. His reason for placing them there was that, if Esau should be overcome by passion for the women, and try to violate them, he would thus meet the handmaids first, and in the meantime Jacob would have the chance of preparing for more determined resistance in the defense of the honor of his wives.²⁶¹ Joseph and Rachel came last, and Joseph walked in front of his mother, though Jacob had ordered the reverse. But the son knew both the beauty of his mother and the lustfulness of his uncle, and therefore he tried to hide Rachel from the sight of Esau.²⁶²

^{260.} BR 78. 7–8; PK 19, 139a, which reads: He made his people put on white garments which concealed weapons beneath. He tried three means: 1) prayer; 2) appeasing Esau with gifts; 3)preparing for war. Comp. vol. I, p. 381.

^{261.} Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 33. 2.

^{262.} BR 78. 10; PK 12, 49b; MHG I, 517, which reads: At this time Rachel was pregnant with Benjamin, and Joseph, fearing lest Esau should look at her and she become frightened, placed himself in front of his mother to conceal her. "Haughtiness is more frequently found among low people than among nobles", as may be seen from the varied attitudes of Jacob's children towards Esau. Rachel and Leah bowed themselves before Esau, and their children followed their example. The two handmaids did the same; but their children said: "We are the sons of Jacob, and hence nobler than our mothers, and it is not seemly for us to bow down before

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In the vehemence of his rage against Jacob, Esau vowed that he would not slay him with bow and arrow, but would bite him dead with his mouth, and suck his blood. But he {391} was doomed to bitter disappointment, for Jacob's neck turned as hard as ivory, and in his helpless fury Esau could but gnash his teeth.²⁶³ The two brothers were like the ram and the wolf. A wolf wanted to tear a ram in pieces, and the ram defended himself with his horns, striking them deep into the flesh of the wolf. Both began to howl, the wolf because he could not secure his prey, and the ram from fear that the wolf renew his attacks. Esau bawled because his teeth were hurt by the ivory-like flesh of Jacob's neck, and Jacob feared that his brother would make a second attempt to bite him.²⁶⁴

Esau addressed a question to his brother. "Tell me," he said, "what was the army I met?" for on his march against Jacob he had had a most peculiar experience with a great host of forty thousand

Esau"; Shu'aib, Wa-Yishlah, 16a. Comp., however, note 926 on vol. III, p. 458.

²⁶³. BR 78. 9, and parallel passages cited by Theodor; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 33. 4; Zohar I, 171b (the legend about Esau's long teeth is an adaptation of the Og legend, Berakot 54b). Abkir according to a MS. published by Epstein in *Ha-Eshkol*, VI, 206. Zohar I, 172a, quotes also the opposite view, according to which, Esau, on meeting Jacob, after many years of separation, was overcome by a true feeling of love for his brother; Yashar Wa-Yishlah, 62b, is very likely the source of Zohar. Comp. also MHG I, 517 and PRE 37.

²⁶⁴. Tan. Wa-Yishlah 4; MHG I, 516-517; Zohar I, 17b. Comp. the preceding note.

warriors. It consisted of various kinds of troops, armor-clad soldiers walking on foot, mounted on horses, and seated in chariots, and they all threw themselves upon Esau when they met. He demanded to know whence they came, and the strange soldiers hardly interrupted their savage onslaught to reply that they belonged to Jacob. Only when Esau told them that Jacob was his brother did they leave off, saying, "Woe to us if our master hears that we did thee harm." This was the army and the encounter Esau inquired about as soon as he met his brother. But the army was a host of angels, who had the appearance of warriors to Esau and his men.²⁶⁵ Also the messengers sent by Jacob to Esau had been angels, for no mere human being could be induced to go forth and face the recreant.²⁶⁶

Jacob now gave Esau the presents intended for him, a tenth of all his cattle,²⁶⁷ and also pearls and precious stones,²⁶⁸ {392} and, besides, a falcon for the chase.²⁶⁹ But even the animals refused to give up their gentle master Jacob and become the property of the villain Esau. They all ran away when Jacob wanted to hand them

²⁶⁵. BR 75. 10 (the exact number of angels is given here) and 78. 11; Tan. B. I, 165; Tan. Wa-Yishlah 3. Comp. note 244.

²⁶⁶. Yelammedenu 22=BHM VI, 81; BR 75. 4; Tan. B. I, 163; Tan. Wa-Yishlah 3. These messengers consisted of the angels who came with Jacob from Haran, and of those who arrived from the Holy Land to meet him. Comp. note 230.

²⁶⁷. PRE 37. This was a punishment for delaying to set aside the tithes of his possessions for God. Comp. vol. I, p. 387.

²⁶⁸. Tan. B. I, 169.

²⁶⁹. *Hadar*, Gen. 32. 14.

over to his brother, and the result was that the only ones that reached Esau were the feeble and the lame, all that could not make good their escape.²⁷⁰

At first Esau declined the presents offered to him. Naturally, that was a mere pretense. While refusing the gifts with words, he held his hand outstretched ready to receive them.²⁷¹ Jacob took the hint, and insisted that he accept them, saying: "Nay, I pray thee, if now I have found grace in thy sight, then receive my present at my hand, forasmuch as I have seen thy face, as I have seen the face of angels, and thou art pleased with me." The closing words were chosen with well-calculated purpose. Jacob wanted Esau to derive the meaning that he had intercourse with angels, and to be inspired with awe. Jacob was like the man invited to a banquet by his mortal enemy who has been seeking an opportunity to slay him. When the guest divines the purpose for which he has been brought thither, he says to the host: "What a magnificent and delicious meal this is! But once before in my life did I partake of one like it, and that was when I was bidden by the king to his

²⁷⁰. Lekah, Gen. 32. 16; MHG I, 507. A dissenting view is found in *Ba'al ha-Turim*, Gen., *loc. cit.*, according to which Jacob sent to Esau only such animals as were, on account of their bodily injuries and imperfections, unfit for sacrificial purposes; comp. 'Abodah Zarah i. 6, and Ginzberg, *Unbekannte Sekte*, 108–109. On animals refusing to serve impious masters, comp. vol. IV, p. 198.

²⁷¹. BR 78. 12. Esau stands for the Roman officials (comp. note 19) of whom Pesahim 118b says: They stretch forth their hands for gifts; yet do not keep their promises.

table” — enough to drive terror to the heart of the would-be slayer. He takes good care not to harm a man on such intimate terms with the king as to be invited to his table!²⁷²

Jacob had valid reason for recalling his encounter with the angel, for it was the angel of Esau who had measured his strength with Jacob’s, and had been overcome.²⁷³

²⁷². Sotah 41b; MHG I, 518.

²⁷³. BR 78. 3. As to the identity of this angel, comp. notes 247, 248, 259. On the basis of BR the mystics — but found already in Tan. Wa-Yishlah 8 — call this angel Sammael, since he is the guardian angel of Rome, i. e., Esau. See Zohar I, 146a, and the numerous references to Zohar in Yalkut Reubeni, Gen. 32. 25–33; *Imre No’am*, Gen. 32. 25 (here the reading is סלמאל instead of סמאל). The passage in Zohar II, 41b, where the angel is identified with Gabriel (comp. note 284) is taken from Ra’ya Mehemena, and does not belong to Zohar. The angel, disguised as Esau, appeared to Jacob, and said to him: Thou art an impostor; thou didst say to our father: “I am Esau thy first-born.” Jacob excused himself by pointing out that when he acquired the birthright he became Esau’s rightful successor. Thereupon the angel said: “Thy name shall not be called any more Jacob, the impostor, but Israel, the remnant of God (comp. note 253), of whom it is said: The remnant of Israel shall not do iniquity, nor speak lies” (Zephaniah 3. 13). See Yalkut Reubeni Gen. 32. 29, who gives, as his source, PRE: but it is not found in our texts of this Midrash, nor is it likely that this passage ever formed a genuine part of PRE, since according to this source, the angel with whom Jacob wrestled was Michael (comp. note 251), while an angel disguised as Esau may be assumed to have been Sammael, Esau’s guardian angel; comp. note 247. A description of Jacob’s encounter with the angel, entirely different from that of the rabbinic sources, is quoted by Origen, *In Joanem*, 2. 31, from the Jewish pseudepigraphic work the Prayer of Joseph. It reads: I am

As Esau accepted the presents of Jacob willingly on this {393} first occasion, so he continued to accept them for a whole year; daily Jacob gave him presents as on the day of their meeting, for, he said, “A gift doth blind the eyes of the wise,’ and how much more doth it blind the wicked! Therefore will I give him presents

Jacob and Israel, an angel of God, a ruling spirit...called Jacob by men and Israel by God; a man seeing God (comp. note 253), because I am the first-born of every creature whom He caused to live. When I was coming from Mesopotamia of Syria (= אַרם נַהֲרַיִם), Uriel, the angel of God, came forth and said: I have come down to the earth, and made my dwelling among men, and I am called Jacob by name. He was wroth with me, and wrestled with me saying that his name and the name of Him who is before every angel (the name אֵל is attached to every name of every angel; comp. PK 12, 108b, and parallel passages; hence we ought to read “after” instead of “before”) should be before my name. I told him his name, and how great he was among the sons of God (= בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים): Art thou not Uriel, the eighth from me, and I am Israel and archangel of the power of the Lord and a chief captain among the sons of God? Am I not Israel, the first minister in the sight of God? Do I not invoke my God by the inextinguishable name? For the expression “inextinguishable name”, comp. the Hebrew phrase שְׁמוֹת שְׂאִיִּן נִמְחָקִין which is frequently used in the Talmud (comp., e. g., Shebu’ot 35a) to describe the divine names like אֱלֹהִים, אֵל, אֱלֹהִים, in contrast to His attributes as חַנוּנוּת, אֶרֶךְ אֲפִים, etc. Comp. notes 35, 134, 253, and see further note 146 on vol. II, p. 328, on the encounter of Uriel (originally the angel of Hades; comp. however, note 13 in vol. I, p. 54, and Ginzberg, *Unbekannte Sekte*, 35–37 and 245) with Moses.—Jacob in that memorable night at the ford of Jabbok intended to flee from Esau, and as a punishment for this lack of trust in God (comp. note 240) he was injured by the angel; *Hadar*, Gen. 32. 19.

upon presents, perhaps he will let me alone.” Besides, he did not attach much value to the possessions he had acquired outside of the Holy Land. Such possessions are not a blessing, and he did not hesitate to part with them.

Beside the presents which Jacob gave Esau, he also paid out a large sum of money to him for the Cave of Machpelah. Immediately upon his arrival in the Holy Land he sold all he had brought with him from Haran, and a pile of gold was the proceeds of the sale. He spoke to Esau, saying: “Like me thou hast a share in the Cave of Machpelah, wilt thou take this pile of gold for thy portion therein?” “What care I for the Cave?” returned Esau. “Gold is what I want,” and for his share in Machpelah he took the gold realized from the sale of the possessions Jacob had accumulated outside of the Holy Land. But God “filled the vacuum without delay,” and Jacob was as rich as before.²⁷⁴

²⁷⁴ Tan. B. I, 168. On the possessions acquired outside the Holy Land, comp. note 215. On the acquisition of the Machpelah comp. vol. I, pp. 321 and 417. 1 Alphabet of Ben Sira ('v) reads: God took it ill of Jacob, who, in his fear, gave gifts to Esau (comp. note 240), and was ready to follow his brother. He commanded him to separate himself from Esau, and as a punishment for his lack of faith in God, as evidenced by the gifts to Esau, all his cattle perished, with the exception of one little lamb, which was so precious to Jacob that he made a hut for it (comp. Gen. 33. 17), wherein to spend the night. Among the animals given by Jacob to Esau the male camel is not mentioned (comp. Gen. 32. 16, which reads: Thirty milch-camels and their colts), because it does not copulate with the female in the presence of others, and therefore Scripture omits to mention that a male camel was sent with the females. See Yerushalmi

Wealth was not an object of desire to Jacob. He would have been well content, in his own behalf and in behalf of his family, to resign all earthly treasures in favor of Esau and his family. He said to Esau: "I foresee that in future days suffering will be inflicted by thy children upon mine. But I do not demur, thou mayest exercise thy dominion and wear thy crown until the time when the Messiah springs from my loins, and receives the rule from thee." These words spoken by Jacob will be realized in days {394} to come, when all the nations will rise up against the kingdom of Edom, and take away one city after another from him, one realm after another, until they reach Bet-Gubrin, and then the Messiah will appear and assume his kingship. The angel of Edom will flee for refuge to Bozrah, but God will appear there, and slay him, for though Bozrah is one of the cities of refuge, yet will the Lord exercise the right of the avenger therein. He will seize the angel by his hair, and Elijah will slaughter him, letting the blood spatter the garments of God.²⁷⁵ All this Jacob had in mind when he said to

Ketubot 5, 30b; BR 76. 7. The same remark is made by Justin Martyr, *Dialogue*, 112, but was misunderstood by his commentators. Comp. note 245.

²⁷⁵ Abkir in Yalkut I, 133. For ומניין (so in first edition; in recent editions it is ומנהן) read משם or ולאין. Bet Gubrin is already identified with Seir in old sources; comp. BR 67. 6. According to a talmudic legend, God will slay the Yezer ha-Ra', "the evil inclination", on the day of judgment (Sukkah 52a and ER 4, 20). Since the Yezer ha-Ra' is identical with Sammael, the angel of Edom (Sotah 10a; Makkot 12a; comp. Rashi, *ad loc.*, and Lampronti, *Pahad Yizhak*, s. v. טעיות 84c), the purport of this Abkir legend is that evil and sin will be abolished in the world to come.

Esau, "Let my lord, I pray thee, pass over before his servant, until

In Enoch 55. 4 it is the Messiah who judges Azazel and his companions, and this view is shared by 12 Testaments, Levi 18. 2, where it is said that the Messiah will bind Belior. Matthew 12. 29 and Luke 10. 19 agree with this view, while in Revelation 20. 2–3 this role is assigned to an angel. In Abkir it is Elijah, an old competitor of the Messiah (comp. Ginzberg, *Unbekannte Sekte*, 342, seq.), who with the assistance of God, will destroy the prince of Edom, i. e., Satan. The account of the struggle between leviathan and the angels, ending in the slaughtering of the monster by God Himself, so often alluded to in haggadic writings (comp. vol. I, p. 28, and the note 127 appertaining thereto), is another form of the legend about God's final victory over evil, which is here represented by the leviathan in accordance with the old mythological terminology; comp. Jeremias, *Babylonisches im Neuen Testamente*, 44. The seizure by the hair is perhaps an allusion to Seir, "the hairy one" (comp. Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 20. 3, and MHG I, 395–396). See, however, vol. III, p. 29. In kabbalistic literature Sammael, the angel of Esau, has the form of a goat, and therefore he chose Seir (= Sair) as his people; comp. Nahmanides, Lev. 16. 8. Accordingly, the hair of Edom's angel is perhaps the same thing as

the wool of the goat, and in this connection mention may be made of the Mohammedan legend (Buhari, III, 379; comp. Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 117), which has it that the angel of death (= Sammael; comp. Index, s. v.) assumes the form of a ram. The account of the flight to Bozrah as given in Abkir is based on Makkot 12a. Abkir quotes R. Aha as authority, because in the Talmud a remark bearing upon this subject is attributed to this Amora; the text reads: The angel of Edom in fleeing to Bozrah will commit three errors: he will think that Bozrah is a city of refuge, confusing it with Bezer (Deut. 4. 43); he will think that the cities of refuge grant protection to murderers (whereas only those who killed someone unwittingly may find refuge there); he will erroneously assume

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I come unto my lord unto Seir.” Jacob himself never went to Seir. What he meant was the Messianic time when Israel shall go to Seir, and take possession thereof.²⁷⁶

Jacob tarried in Succoth a whole year, and he opened a house of learning there.²⁷⁷ Then he journeyed on to Shechem, while Esau betook himself to Seir, saying to himself, “How long shall I be a burden to my brother?” for it was during Jacob’s sojourn at

that an angel may seek refuge in these cities, but this law applies only to men; R. Aha adds: he will commit one other error: he will think that a city of refuge grants protection to a Gentile, whereas a Jew only may seek refuge there. Comp. Rabbinowicz *ad loc.* See also PRK 30a, which reads: Three things will be removed from the world before the advent of the Messiah: Seir, the Yezer ha-Ra’, and the wicked kingdom (*i. e.* Rome). Comp. further the following note.

²⁷⁶. BR 78. 14 (the truthful Jacob could not have possibly lied to Esau; comp. note 91); DR 1. 20; Tan. B. II, 92; Tan. Terumah 9; MHG I, 518. In all these sources the subject of the conversation between the two brothers is taken to have been the division of the two worlds: the older brother took this world and the younger the future. Comp. note 14. There is also another view to the effect that Jacob told his brother a diplomatic lie, which, under certain circumstances, is not only permitted but even commanded; comp. ‘Abodah Zarah 25a; Yerushalmi 2, 40c; MHG I, 519. Yerushalmi is perhaps the source of MHG; comp. Yalkut II, 124, which quotes the statement of R. Nathan occurring in MHG from ירש' פ' שני שעירי. Comp. also Targum Yer. and Sekel on Gen. 33. 16.

²⁷⁷. Targum Yerushalmi, Gen. 33. 17 (where perhaps “eighteen months” should be read instead of a “twelve”, in accordance with Seder ‘Olam 2; BR 78. 16; Megillah 17a).

Succoth that Esau received daily presents from Jacob.²⁷⁸

And Jacob, after abiding these many years in a strange land, came to Shechem in peace, unimpaired in mind and body. He had forgotten none of the knowledge he had acquired before; the gifts he gave to Esau did not encroach upon his wealth; the injury inflicted by the angel that wrestled with him had been healed, and likewise his children were sound and healthy.²⁷⁹

Jacob entered Shechem on a Friday, late in the afternoon, and his first concern was to lay out the boundaries of the {395} city, that the laws of the Sabbath might not be transgressed. As soon as he was settled in the place, he sent presents to the notables. A man must be grateful to a city from which he derives benefits. No less did the common people enjoy his bounty. For them he opened a market where he sold all wares at low prices.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁸. Tan. B. I, 169. Comp. also BR 78. 16 and note 274. The four hundred men gradually slipped away from Esau, as they feared to remain in the proximity of Jacob, and as a reward for their respect to Jacob an equal number of their descendants were saved when David massacred the Amalekites (1 Sam. 30. 17; the Amalekites and the inhabitants of Seir are regarded as the same people); BR 78. 15.

²⁷⁹. BR 79. 5; Shabbat 33b; Tan. B. I 168; Targum Yerushalmi and Jerome on Gen. 33. 16. The latter, however, combines this haggadic interpretation of שלם as "in perfect condition" with that found in the Septuagint and Jub. 30. 1, according to which שלם is the name of a place near Shechem. Comp. note 102 on vol. I, p. 233.

²⁸⁰. BR 80. 6–7. A similar statement occurs in Shabbat 33b that Jacob established bath-houses, market-places, and a mint for the inhabitants of Shechem. In Shabbat 118b, BR 11. 7, and PR 23, 120b, attention is called

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Also he lost no time in buying a parcel of ground, for it is the duty of every man of substance who comes to the Holy Land from outside to make himself the possessor of land there.²⁸¹ He gave a hundred lambs for his estate, a hundred yearling sheep, and a hundred pieces of money, and received in return a bill of sale, to which he attached his signature, using the letters Yod-He for it. And then he erected an altar to God upon his land, and he said, "Thou art the Lord of all celestial things, and I am the lord of all earthly things." But God said, "Not even the overseer of the synagogue arrogates privileges in the synagogue, and thou assumest lordship with a high hand? Forsooth, on the morrow thy daughter will go abroad, and she shall be humbled."²⁸²

THE OUTRAGE AT SHECHEM

While Jacob and his sons were sitting in the house of learning, occupied with the study of the Torah,²⁸³ Dinah went abroad to see

to the fact that the Bible speaks of the observance of the Sabbath by Jacob, but not by Abraham; comp. note 139.

^{281.} MHG I, 522. It is very likely that this is the parcel of ground spoken of in John 4. 5 and 12. Comp. BR 80. 7.

^{282.} BR 80. 7-8; MHG I, 522-523. As to Jacob being called God, See Sifre D., 355; Midrash Tannaim 221; BR 77. 1. Comp. also Ginzberg's remarks in Geiger, *Kebuzzat Maamarim*, 393, as well as the quotation from the Prayer of Joseph in notes 35 and 273, against which the statement in BR and MHG is perhaps directed. Zohar I, 138a, maintains that God Himself appointed Jacob to be the lord of all earthly things.

the dancing and singing women, whom Shechem had hired to dance and play in the streets in order to entice her forth.²⁸⁴ Had she remained at home, nothing would have happened to her. But she was a woman, and all women like to show themselves in the street.²⁸⁵ When Shechem caught sight of her, he seized her by main force, young though she was,²⁸⁶ and violated her in beastly fashion.²⁸⁷ {396}

This misfortune befell Jacob as a punishment for his excessive self-confidence. In his negotiations with Laban, he had used the expression, “My righteousness shall answer for me hereafter.” Besides, on his return to Palestine, when he was preparing to

²⁸³. 2 ARN 3, 14; Koheleth 10. 8.

²⁸⁴. PRE 28, and, with some embellishments, Yashar Wa-Yishlah, 63a–63b, where it is pointed Out that Dinah went in company of the other female members of Jacob’s household, and not by herself. Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 21. 1, says that Dinah went to the feast of the Shechemites.

²⁸⁵. Tan. B. I, 171–172; Tan. Wa-Yishlah 5–7; BR 80.1 (numerous parallel passages are cited by Theodor) and 80. 1. In all these passages the biblical saying “as the mother so the daughter”(Ezek. 16. 4.4) is applied to Dinah and Leah, both of whom liked to go out to be “looked upon”; comp. note 193. The interpretation of לראות as לראות is old, though not in reference to Gen. 34. 1. Comp. Sanhedrin 4b.

²⁸⁶. Lekah Gen. 34. 4, and comp. Buber, *ad loc.* According to the chronology of Seder ‘Olam 2, Dinah was very young at the time when Jacob arrived in Shechem.

²⁸⁷. BR 80. 5; Koheleth 10. 8; Yoma 77b. Comp. also MHG I, 524, where ך, occurring four times in Gen. 34.2, is explained as ך “woe”; comp. the similar Haggadah in reference to Gen. 9. 20, *seq.*, in Sanhedrin 70a.

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meet his brother, he concealed his daughter Dinah in a chest, lest Esau desire to have her for wife, and he be obliged to give her to him. God spoke to him, saying: "Herein hast thou acted unkindly toward thy brother, and therefore Dinah will have to marry Job, one that is neither circumcised nor a proselyte. Thou didst refuse to give her to one that is circumcised, and one that is uncircumcised will take her. Thou didst refuse to give her to Esau in lawful wedlock, and now she will fall a victim to the ravisher's illicit passion."²⁸⁸

When Jacob heard that Shechem had defiled his daughter, he sent twelve servants to fetch Dinah from Shechem's house, but Shechem went out to them with his men, and drove them from his house, and he would not suffer them to come unto Dinah, and he kissed and embraced her before their eyes. Jacob then sent two maidens of his servants' daughters to remain with Dinah in the house of Shechem. Shechem bade three of his friends go to his father Hamor, the son of Haddakum, the son of Pered, and say, "Get me this damsel to wife." Hamor tried at first to persuade his son not to take a Hebrew woman to wife, but when Shechem persisted in his request, he did according to the word of his son, and went forth to communicate with Jacob concerning the matter. In the meanwhile the sons of Jacob returned from the field, and,

²⁸⁸. BR 80. 4 and 73. 9. On Dinah, the wife of Job, comp. note 3 on vol. II, p. 225. According to some (comp. note 25), Esau was not better than Job, for the former, too, was not circumcised. See also vol. I, pp. 411-412, where another sin of Jacob is given as the cause for his misfortune with Dinah.

kindled with wrath, they spoke unto their father, saying, “Surely death is due to this man and {397} his household, because the Lord God of the whole earth commanded Noah and his children that man shall never rob nor commit adultery. Now, behold, Shechem has ravaged and committed fornication with our sister, and not one of all the people of the city spake a word to him.” And whilst they were speaking, Hamor came to speak to Jacob the words of his son concerning Dinah, and after he ceased to speak, Shechem himself came to Jacob and repeated the request made by his father. Simon and Levi answered Hamor and Shechem deceitfully, saying: “All you have spoken unto us we will do. And, behold, our sister is in your house, but keep away from her until we send to our father Isaac concerning this matter, for we can do nothing without his counsel. He knows the ways of our father Abraham, and whatever he saith unto us we will tell you, we will conceal nothing from you.”

Shechem and his father went home thereafter, satisfied with the result achieved, and when they had gone, the sons of Jacob asked him to seek counsel and pretext in order to kill all the inhabitants of the city, who had deserved this punishment on account of their wickedness. Then Simon said to them: “I have good counsel to give you. Bid them be circumcised. If they consent not, we shall take our daughter from them, and go away. And if they consent to do this, then, when they are in pain, we shall attack them and slay them.” The next morning Shechem and his father came again to Jacob, to speak concerning Dinah, and the sons of Jacob spoke deceitfully to them, saying: “We told our father Isaac all your words, and your words pleased him, but he said, that thus did Abraham his father command {398} him from

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God, that any man that is not of his descendants, who desireth to take one of his daughters to wife, shall cause every male belonging to him to be circumcised.”

Shechem and his father hastened to do the wishes of the sons of Jacob, and they persuaded also the men of the city to do likewise, for they were greatly esteemed by them, being the princes of the land.

On the next day, Shechem and his father rose up early in the morning, and they assembled all the men of the city, and they called for the sons of Jacob, and they circumcised Shechem, his father, his five brothers, and all the males in the city, six hundred and forty-five men and two hundred and seventy-six lads. Haddakum, the grandfather of Shechem, and his six brothers would not be circumcised, and they were greatly incensed against the people of the city for submitting to the wishes of the sons of Jacob. In the evening of the second day, Shechem and his father sent to have eight little children whom their mothers had concealed brought to them to be circumcised. Haddakum and his six brothers sprang at the messengers, and sought to slay them, and sought to slay also Shechem, Hamor, and Dinah. They chided Shechem and his father for doing a thing that their fathers had never done, which would raise the ire of the inhabitants of the land of Canaan against them, as well as the ire of all the children of Ham, and that on account of a Hebrew woman. Haddakum and his brothers finished by saying: “Behold, to-morrow we will go and assemble our Canaanitish brethren, and we will come and smite you and all in whom you trust, that there shall not be a

remnant left of you or them.” {399}

When Hamor and his son Shechem and all the people of the city heard this, they were sore afraid, and they repented what they had done, and Shechem and his father answered Haddakum and his brothers: “Because we saw that the Hebrews would not accede to our wishes concerning their daughter, we did this thing, but when we shall have obtained our request from them, we will then do unto them that which is in your hearts and in ours, as soon as we shall become strong.”

Dinah, who heard their words, hastened and dispatched one of her maidens whom her father had sent to take care of her in Shechem’s house, and informed Jacob and his sons of the conspiracy plotted against them. When the sons of Jacob heard this, they were filled with wrath, and Simon and Levi swore, and said, “As the Lord liveth, by to-morrow there shall not be a remnant left in the whole city.”

They began the extermination by killing eighteen of the twenty young men who had concealed themselves and were not circumcised, and two of them fled and escaped to some lime pits that were in the city. Then Simon and Levi slew all the city, not leaving a male over, and while they were looking for spoils outside of the city, three hundred women rose against them and threw stones and dust upon them, but Simon single-handed slew them all, and returned to the city, where he joined Levi. Then they took away from the people outside of the city their sheep, their oxen, their cattle, and also the women and the little children, and they led all these away, and took them to the city to their father Jacob. The number of women whom they did not slay, but only took

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captive, was eighty-five virgins, among them a young damsel of {400} great beauty by the name of Bunah, whom Simon took to wife. The number of the males which they took captive and did not slay was forty-seven, and all these men and women were servants to the sons of Jacob, and to their children after them, until the day they left Egypt.

A WAR FRUSTRATED

When Simon and Levi had gone from the city, the two young men who had concealed themselves in the lime pits, and were not slain amongst the people of the city, rose up, and they found the city desolate, without a man, only weeping women, and they cried out, saying, "Behold, this is the evil which the sons of Jacob did who destroyed one of the Canaanite cities, and were not afraid of all the land of Canaan."

They left the city and went to Tappuah, and told the inhabitants all that the sons of Jacob had done to the city of Shechem. Jashub, the king of Tappuah, sent to Shechem to see whether these young men told the truth, for he did not believe them, saying, "How could two men destroy a large city like Shechem?" The messengers of Jashub returned, and they reported, "The city is destroyed, not a man is left there, only weeping women, neither are there flocks and cattle there, for all that was in the city was taken away by the sons of Jacob."

Jashub wondered thereat, for the like had not been heard from the days of Nimrod, and not even from the remotest times, that two men should be able to destroy so large a city, and he decided

to go to war against the Hebrews, and avenge the cause of the people of Shechem. His counsellors {401} said to him: "If two of them laid waste a whole city, surely if thou goest against them, they all will rise up against us, and destroy us. Therefore, send to the kings round about, that we all together fight against the sons of Jacob, and prevail against them."

The seven kings of the Amorites, when they heard the evil that the sons of Jacob had done to the city of Shechem, assembled together, with all their armies, ten thousand men, with drawn swords, and they came to fight against the sons of Jacob. And Jacob was greatly afraid, and he said to Simon and Levi, "Why have you brought such evil upon me? I was at rest, and you provoked the inhabitants of the land against me by your acts."

Then Judah spoke to his father: "Was it for naught that Simon and Levi killed the inhabitants of Shechem? Verily, it was because Shechem dishonored our sister, and transgressed the command of our God to Noah and his children, and not one of the inhabitants of the city interfered in the matter. Now, why art thou afraid, and why art thou displeased at my brethren? Surely, our God, who delivered the city of Shechem and its people into their hand, He will also deliver into our hands all the Canaanitish kings who are coming against us. Now cast away thy fears, and pray to God to assist us and deliver us."

Judah then addressed his brethren, saying: "The Lord our God is with us! Fear naught, then! Stand ye forth, each man girt with his weapons of war, his bow and his sword, and we will go and fight against the uncircumcised. The Lord is our God, He will save us."

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Jacob, his eleven sons, and one hundred servants belonging {402} to Isaac, who had come to their assistance, marched forward to meet the Amorites, a people exceedingly numerous, like unto the sand upon the sea-shore. The sons of Jacob sent unto their grandfather Isaac, at Hebron, requesting him to pray unto the Lord to protect them from the hand of the Canaanites, and he prayed as follows: "O Lord God, Thou didst promise my father, saying, I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and also me Thou didst promise that Thou wouldst establish Thy word to my father. Now, O Lord, God of the whole world, pervert, I pray Thee, the counsel of these kings, that they may not fight against my sons, and impress the hearts of their kings and their people with the terror of my sons, and bring down their pride that they turn away from my sons. Deliver my sons and their servants from them with Thy strong hand and outstretched arm, for power and might are in Thy hands to do all this."

Jacob also prayed unto God, and said: "O Lord God, powerful and exalted God, who hast reigned from days of old, from then until now and forever! Thou art He who stirreth up wars and causeth them to cease. In Thy hand are power and might to exalt and to bring low. O may my prayer be acceptable unto Thee, that Thou mayest turn to me with Thy mercies, to impress the hearts of these kings and their people with the terror of my sons, and terrify them and their camps, and with Thy great kindness deliver all those that trust in Thee, for Thou art He who subdues the peoples under us, and the nations under our feet."

God heard the prayers of Isaac and Jacob, and He filled the hearts of all the advisers of the Canaanite kings with great fear

and terror, and when the kings, who were undecided {403} whether to undertake a campaign against the sons of Jacob, consulted them, they said: “Are you silly, or is there no understanding in you, that you propose to fight with the Hebrews? Why do you take delight in your own destruction this day? Behold, two of them came to the city of Shechem without fear or terror, and they put all the inhabitants of the city to the sword, no man stood up against them, and how will you be able to fight with them all?”

The royal counsellors then proceeded to enumerate all the mighty things God had done for Abraham, Jacob, and the sons of Jacob, such as had not been done from days of old and by any of the gods of the nations. When the kings heard all the words of their advisers, they were afraid of the sons of Jacob, and they would not fight against them. They turned back with their armies on that day, each to his own city. But the sons of Jacob kept their station that day till evening, and seeing that the kings did not advance to do battle with them in order to avenge the inhabitants of Shechem whom they had killed, they returned home.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁹. Yashar Wa-Yishlah, 63b–69a. The old rabbinic sources give no particulars about the war against Shechem; they merely narrate that Jacob’s sons, “relying on the strength of the old man”, undertook to war against the heathens. Jacob, though opposed to offensive wars, could not but come to the assistance of his sons, and girded with his sword, he stood at the gates of Shechem to repel the attacks of the enemy. See BR 80. 10 and 97. 6; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 48. 22. According to another view, the piety and prayers of Jacob warded off the threatening danger of an attack by the Amorites; comp. Baba Batra 123a; BR 97. 6; Aggadat

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The wrath of the Lord descended upon the inhabitants of Shechem to the uttermost on account of their wickedness. For they had sought to do unto Sarah and Rebekah as they did unto Dinah, but the Lord had prevented them. Also they had persecuted Abraham when he was a stranger, and they had vexed his flocks when they were big with young, and Eblaen, one born in his house, they had handled most shamefully. And thus they did to all strangers, taking away their wives by force.²⁹⁰ {404}

THE WAR WITH THE NINEVITES

The destruction of Shechem by Simon and Levi terrified the heathen all around. If two sons of Jacob had succeeded in ruining a great city like Shechem, they argued, what would Jacob and all his sons accomplish acting together? Jacob meanwhile left Shechem, hindered by none, and with all his possessions he set out, to betake himself to his father Isaac. But after an eight days'

Shir 3. 8, 33; 2 Targum Yerushalmi Gen., *loc. cit.* Yashar combined these two views: at first the threatening danger was warded off by Jacob's prayer; later, however, a fierce war broke out between the sons of Jacob and the Amorites. Comp. vol. I, pp. 408–411, and note 292.

^{290.} 12 Testaments, Levi 6. 9. Eblaen is perhaps to be explained as being due to a misreading of the Hebrew original, where the text read עבדו "his slave" (= Eliezer) or עבדיו "his slaves". On the slaves brought up in Abraham's house, comp. note 93 on vol. I, p. 231. For another justification of the killing of the Shechemites, see note 9 on vol. II, p. 198.

march he encountered a powerful army, which had been dispatched from Nineveh to levy tribute upon the whole world and subjugate it. On coming in the vicinity of Shechem, this army heard to what the city had been exposed at the hands of the sons of Jacob, and fury seized the men, and they resolved to make war upon Jacob.

But Jacob said to his sons: "Fear not, God will be your helper, and He will fight for you against your enemies. Only you must put away from you the strange gods in your possession, and you must purify yourselves, and wash your garments clean."

Girt with his sword, Jacob advanced against the enemy, and in the first onslaught he slew twelve thousand of the weak in the army. Then Judah spake to him, and said, "Father, thou art tired and exhausted, let me fight the enemy alone." And Jacob replied, saying, "Judah, my son, I know thy strength and thy bravery, that they are exceeding great, so that none in the world is like unto thee therein." His countenance like a lion's and inflamed with wrath, Judah attacked the army, and slew twelve myriads of tried and famous warriors. The battle raged hot in front and in the rear, and Levi his brother hastened to his aid, and together {405} they won a victory over the Ninevites. Judah alone slew five thousand more soldiers, and Levi dealt blows right and left with such vigor that the men of the enemy's army fell like grain under the scythe of the reaper.

Alarmed about their fate, the people of Nineveh said: "How long shall we fight with these devils? Let us return to our land, lest they exterminate us root and branch, without leaving a remnant." But their king desired to restrain them, and he said: "O ye heroes,

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ye men of might and valor, have you lost your senses that you ask to return to your land? Is this your bravery? After you have subdued many kingdoms and countries, ye are not able to hold out against twelve men? If the nations and the kings whom we have made tributary to ourselves hear of this, they will rise up against us as a man, and make a laughing-stock of us, and do with us according to their desire. Take courage, ye men of the great city of Nineveh, that your honor and your name be exalted, and you become not a mockery in the mouth of your enemies.”

These words of their king inspired the warriors to continue the campaign. They sent messengers to all the lands to ask for help, and, reinforced by their allies, the Ninevites assaulted Jacob a second time. He spoke to his sons, saying, “Take courage and be men, fight against your enemies.” His twelve sons then took up their stand in twelve different places, leaving considerable intervals between one and another, and Jacob, a sword in his right hand and a bow in his left, advanced to the combat. It was a desperate encounter for him. He had to ward off the enemy to the right and the left. Nevertheless he inflicted a severe blow, and when a {406} band of two thousand men beset him, he leapt up in the air and over them and vanished from their sight. Twenty-two myriads he slew on this day, and when evening came he planned to flee under cover of darkness. But suddenly ninety thousand men appeared, and he was compelled to continue the fight. He rushed at them with his sword, but it broke, and he had to defend himself by grinding huge rocks into lime powder, and this he threw at the enemy and blinded them so that they could see nothing. Luckily, darkness was about to fall, and he could permit

himself to take rest for the night.

In the morning, Judah said to Jacob, “Father, thou didst fight the whole of yesterday, and thou art weary and exhausted. Let me fight this day.” When the warriors caught sight of Judah’s lion face and his lion teeth, and heard his lion voice, they were greatly afraid. Judah hopped and jumped over the army like a flea, from one warrior to the next, raining blows down upon them incessantly, and by evening he had slain eighty thousand and ninety-six men, armed with swords and bows. But fatigue overcame him, and Zebulon took up his station at his brother’s left hand, and mowed down eighty thousand of the enemy. Meantime Judah regained some of his strength, and, rising up in wrath and fury, and gnashing his teeth with a noise like unto thunder claps in midsummer, he put the army to flight. It ran a distance of eighteen miles, and Judah could enjoy a respite that night.

But the army reappeared on the morrow, ready for battle again, to take revenge on Jacob and his children. They blew their trumpets, whereupon Jacob spake to his sons, {407} “Go forth and fight with your enemies.” Issachar and Gad said that this day they would take the combat upon themselves, and their father bade them do it while their brothers kept guard and held themselves in readiness to aid and relieve the two combatants when they showed signs of weariness and exhaustion.

The leaders of the day slew forty-eight thousand warriors, and put to flight twelve myriads more, who concealed themselves in a cave. Issachar and Gad fetched trees from the woods, piled the trunks up in front of the opening of the cave, and set fire to them.

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When the fire blazed with a fierce flame, the warriors spoke, saying: "Why should we stay in this cave and perish with the smoke and the heat? Rather will we go forth and fight with our enemies, then we may have a chance of saving ourselves." They left the cave, going through openings at the side, and they attacked Issachar and Gad in front and behind. Dan and Naphtali saw the plight of their brothers and ran to their assistance. They laid about with their swords, hewing a way for themselves to Issachar and Gad, and, united with them, they, too, opposed the foe.

It was the third day of the conflict, and the Ninevites were reinforced by an army as numerous as the sand on the sea-shore. All the sons of Jacob united to oppose it, and they routed the host. But when they pursued after the enemy, the fugitives faced about and resumed the battle, saying: "Why should we run away? Let us rather fight them, perhaps we may be victorious, now they are weary." A stubborn combat ensued, and when Jacob saw the vehement attack upon his children, he himself sprang into the thick of {408} the battle and dealt blows right and left.

Nevertheless the heathen were victorious, and succeeded in separating Judah from his brethren. As soon as Jacob was aware of the peril of his son, he whistled, and Judah responded, and his brethren hastened to his aid. Judah was fatigued and parched with thirst, and there was no water for him to drink, but he dug his finger into the ground with such force that water gushed out in the sight of the whole army. Then said one warrior to another, "I will flee before these devils, for God fights on their side," and he and all the army fled precipitately, pursued by the sons of Jacob.

Soldiers without number they slew, and then they went back to their tents. On their return they noticed that Joseph was missing, and they feared he had been killed or taken captive. Naphtali ran after the retreating enemy, to make search for Joseph, and he found him still fighting against the Ninevite army. He joined Joseph, and killed countless soldiers, and of the fugitives many drowned, and the men that were besetting Joseph ran off and left him in safety.

At the end of the war Jacob continued his journey, unhindered, to his father Isaac.²⁹¹

THE WAR WITH THE AMORITES

At first the people that lived round about Shechem made no attempt to molest Jacob, who had returned thither after a while, together with his household, to take up his abode there and establish himself. But at the end of seven years the heathen began to harass him. The kings of the Amorites assembled together against the sons of Jacob to slay them in the Valley of Shechem. "Is it not enough," they said, {409} "that they have slain all the men of Shechem? Should they be permitted now to take

²⁹¹. Midrash published by Schechter from a MS. in *Semitic Studies* (in memory of Kohut), 489–492. The text is not free from errors, and a few emendations may be given here. 490, line 19: read התחזק; *ibid.*, below: וילחם יהודה תשע שעות; 491, line 2; וכאשר ישב; *ibid.*, below: שאר המלכים or שאר המלכות. On Judah's gnashing his teeth with a frightful noise, see vol. II, p. 106, and on the fleet-footed Naphtali vol. I, pp. 371 and 410, as well as vol. II, p. 25. Comp. the following note.

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possession of their land, too?" and they advanced to render battle.

Judah leapt into the midst of the ranks of the foot soldiers of the allied kings, and slew first of all Jashub, the king of Tappuah, who was clad in iron and brass from top to toe. The king was mounted, and from his horse he cast his spears downward with both hands, in front of him and in back, without ever missing his aim, for he was a mighty warrior, and he could throw javelins with one hand or the other. Nevertheless Judah feared neither him nor his prowess. He ran toward him, snatching a stone of sixty sela'im from the ground and hurling it at him. Jashub was at a distance of one hundred and seventy-seven ells and one-third of an ell, and, protected with iron armor and throwing spears, he moved forward upon Judah. But Judah struck him on his shield with the stone, and unhorsed him. When the king attempted to rise, Judah hastened to his side to slay him before he could get on his feet. But Jashub was nimble, he stood ready to attack Judah, shield to shield, and he drew his sword to cut off Judah's head. Quickly Judah raised his shield to catch the blow upon it, but it broke in pieces. What did Judah now? He wrested the shield of his opponent away from him, and swung his sword against Jashub's feet, cutting them off above the ankles. The king fell prostrate, his sword slipped from his grasp, and Judah hastened to him and severed his head from his body.

While Judah was removing the armor of his slain adversary, nine of Jashub's followers appeared. Judah slung a stone against the head of the first of them that approached {410} him, with such force that he dropped his shield, which Judah snatched from the ground and used to defend himself against his eight assailants.

His brother Levi came and stood next to him, and shot off an arrow that killed Elon, king of Gaash, and then Judah killed the eight men. And his father Jacob came and killed Zerori king of Shiloh. None of the heathen could prevail against these sons of Jacob, they had not the courage to stand up before them, but took to flight, and the sons of Jacob pursued after them, and each slew a thousand men of the Amorites on that day, before the going down of the sun. And the other sons of Jacob set forth from the Hill of Shechem, where they had taken up their stand, and they also pursued after them as far as Hazor. Before this city they had another severe encounter with the enemy, more severe than that in the Valley of Shechem. Jacob let his arrows fly, and slew Pirathon king of Hazor, and then Pasusi king of Sartan, Laban king of Aram, and Shebir king of Mahanaim.

Judah was the first to mount the walls of Hazor. As he approached the top, four warriors attacked him, but he slew them without stopping in his ascent, and before his brother Naphtali could bring him succor. Naphtali followed him, and the two stood upon the wall, Judah to the right and Naphtali to the left, and thence they dealt out death to the warriors. The other sons of Jacob followed their two brothers in turn, and made an end of exterminating the heathen host on that day. They subjugated Hazor, slew the warriors thereof, let no man escape with his life, and despoiled the city of all therein.

On the day following they went to Sartan, and again a {411} bloody battle took place. Sartan was situated upon high land, and the hill before the city was likewise very high, so that none could come near unto it, and also none could come near unto the

citadel, because the wall thereof was high. Nevertheless they made themselves masters of the city. They scaled the walls of the citadel, Judah on the east side being the first to ascend, then Gad on the west side, Simon and Levi on the north, and Reuben and Dan on the south, and Naphtali and Issachar set fire to the hinges upon which the gates of the city were hung.

In the same way the sons of Jacob subdued five other cities, Tappuah, Arbel, Shiloh, Mahanaim, and Gaash, making an end of all of them in five days. On the sixth day all the Amorites assembled, and they came to Jacob and his sons unarmed, bowed down before them, and sued for peace. And the sons of Jacob made peace with the heathen, who ceded Timna to them, and all the land of Harariah. In that day also Jacob concluded peace with them, and they made restitution to the sons of Jacob for all the cattle they had taken, two head for one, and they restored all the spoil they had carried off. And Jacob turned to go to Timna, and Judah went to Arbel, and thenceforth the Amorites troubled them no more.²⁹²

²⁹². Midrash Wa-Yissa'u, in Yalkut I, 132 (from there it is reprinted by Jellinek in BHM II, 1-5, who, it is to be regretted, did not make use of the first edition of the Yalkut, and hence his text contains numerous errors). Yashar Wa-Yishlah, 70b-79b, embellished and amplified the narrative of Wa-Yissa'u, but had no other source for his verbose account of the war. Yerahmeel 36 agrees almost literally with Wa-Yissa'u, whereas Jub. 24. 4-9 and 12 Testament, Judah, contain only fragments of this legend. It is generally assumed that this legend has preserved many a reminiscence of the events of the Maccabean wars. This is quite likely;

but one must not forget that the fabulist is only slightly interested in history. On the relation of Wa-Yissa'u to Jub. and Testaments the following may be stated. Instead of חצור in Yashar and Testaments, Wa-Yissa'u has חסר. This arouses the suspicion that the latter in its present form is a translation of a Greek or Latin text, which had no adequate transliteration of Hebrew צ. Sartan, "the great and strong fortress", is undoubtedly identical with the "tower of Straton", the old name of Caesarea, the conquest of which by the Maccabees is almost the only historical event of the Maccabean period known to the old rabbinic sources. Comp. Megillat Ta'anit 3 (beginning), and Megillah 6a. The orthography סרטן instead of אסטרטא is not at all unusual; comp., e. g., אסרטא for אסטרטא "Strata", and see further Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, s. v. שרשן. A play on words (סרטן is the Aramaic word for "cancer") may have been intended. Instead of Gaash, Wa-Yissa'u has גועש, which is rather strange, as the use of ו to indicate a *Kamez gadol* is uncommon, and besides this the current vocalization of this word is גַעש and not גֶעש. It is very doubtful whether Maani Sakir in Jub. is to be emended to Shakir Maani, since Wa-Yissa'u has מחנה שכיר (ed. Jellinek 2; in the first edition of Yalkut כ and ב are hardly distinguishable), which can scarcely be rendered by Camp Shakir. Isidao of Jub. is very likely identical with זירורי in Wa-Yissa'u, which is to be emended to זירורי, i. e., זיד ארור "the curse villain". פוססה is, of course, the same as talmudic פסיסא or פוסיסא, and the name of the place פרעתון (fortified by Jonathan the Maccabee; 1 Maccabees 9. 50) is given by the legend to a person. On the text of Wa-Yissa'u the following details may be noted: 1. 11 (in Jellinek) read חניתות (he could throw two spears at once); *ibid.* the first edition has וא' לירות perhaps = ויכול לירות; 1. 21 read כידונו מל, and comp. 2 Sam. 23. 21; 1. 24 read והכהו על, and comp. Yashar, 72a, line 3; 2. 6 מֶהָר is better than בָהָר; 2. 14 ושבירו וכו' is an adaptation from Esther 9. 9, and this mosaic style is strong evidence of the lateness of this compilation; 2. 10; the first edition

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ISAAC BLESSES LEVI AND JUDAH

reads סרך ועלה, and comp. Baba Kamma 20a סריך סליק; 2. 17 וכתשה is hardly possible; *ibid.* Yashar misread חלה as תלה. — The medieval authors had, besides Wa-Yissa'u, other sources dealing with the wars of the sons of Jacob. Nahmanides, Gen. 34. 13, and R. Bahya, Gen. 36. 6, quote, from the "Book of the Wars of the Sons of Jacob" (R. Bahya's text is to be emended in accordance with Nahmanides, whom he very likely copies: (בספר מלחמות בני יעקב), the legend that the Shechemites engaged in three great wars with the sons of Jacob, and if it were not for Jacob's valor, his sons would have perished. Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*, 145, identifies "the Book of the Wars, etc." with Wa-Yissa'u; but the quotation by Nahmanides and R. Bahya from the Sefer Milhamot is not found in Wa-Yissa'u, and therefore these two books are not identical. *Hadar*, Gen. 48. 22, quotes, from Sefer Milhamot Bene Ya'akov (the same as referred to by Nahmanides and R. Bahya?), the following account: The Shechemites (not Amorites as in Wa-Yissa'u) assembled to war against Jacob and his sons, but were vanquished. And on this occasion Naphtali the swift runner (comp. note 216 and Index, s. v. "Naphtali") carried Judah on his shoulders to the battle array (that is how this obscure passage is to be understood), who, assisted by his father and brothers, annihilated the enemy. When later the sons of Jacob belittled the assistance rendered them by their father, maintaining that he was too old to be of any value as a warrior, he convinced them of their error by his great feats of valor. The Sefer Milhamot referred to by Sabba, Wa-Yishlah, 46b, is very likely identical with Wa-Yissa'u, as his quotation from the former book agrees with the beginning of the latter. On the other hand, it is safe to assume that Tan. B. Introduction 127, does not go back to Wa-Yissa'u. Comp. notes 297 and 317.

If a man voweth a vow, and he does not fulfil it in good time, he will stumble through three grave sins, idolatry, unchastity, and bloodshed. Jacob had been guilty of not accomplishing promptly the vow he had taken upon himself at Beth-el, and therefore punishment overtook him — his {412} daughter was dishonored, his sons slew men, and they kept the idols found among the spoils of Shechem.²⁹³ Therefore, when Jacob prostrated himself before God after the bloody outrage at Shechem, He bade him arise, and go to Beth-el and accomplish the vow he had vowed there.²⁹⁴ Before Jacob set out for the holy place to do the bidding of God, he took the idols which were in the possession of his sons, and the teraphim which Rachel had stolen from her father, and he shivered them in pieces, and buried²⁹⁵ the bits under an oak upon Mount Gerizim,²⁹⁶ uprooting the tree with one hand, concealing the remains of the idols in the hollow left in the earth, and

²⁹³ WR 37. 1; Tan. Wa-Yishlah 8; Tan. B. I, 173, 174; BR 81. 2. Rachel's death which occurred about this time is also attributed (in the above mentioned sources) to this sin of Jacob. On the encounter with the angel as a consequence of Jacob's delay in fulfilling his vow, comp. vol. I, 387. See also vol. III, p. 90 (top).

²⁹⁴ Tan. B. I, 174; WR 37. 1; Tan. Wa-Yishlah 8; BR 81. 2.

²⁹⁵ Jub. 31. 2. The ear-rings, which were worn by the Shechemites, and which, after the defeat of the latter, came into the possession of Jacob's sons, were adorned with pictures of idols; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 35. 4, which is very likely based on BR 81. 3. Comp. also Zohar I, 173a.

²⁹⁶ Yerushalmi 'Abodah Zarah 5, 44d; BR 81. 3. Comp. also Julius Africanus in Syncellus, *Chron.* 107, at. 86. Comp. note 298, and note 5 on vol. IV, p. 22.

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planting the oak again with one hand.²⁹⁷

Among the destroyed idols was one in the form of a dove, and this the Samaritans dug up later and worshipped.

On reaching Beth-el he erected an altar to the Lord, and on a pillar he set up the stone whereon he had rested his head during the night which he had passed there on his journey to Haran.²⁹⁸ Then he bade his parents come to Beth-el and take part in his sacrifice. But Isaac sent him a message, saying, "O my son Jacob, that I might see thee before I die," whereupon Jacob hastened to his parents, taking Levi and Judah with him. When his grandchildren stepped before Isaac, the darkness that shrouded his eyes dropped away, and he said, "My son, are these thy

²⁹⁷. MHG I, 531. This passage also has the additional remark that this display of gigantic strength struck terror in the hearts of the Amorites, so that they gave up their intentions of undertaking a war against Jacob and his sons. On the war planned by the Amorites against Jacob, comp. note 289 and BR 82. 4. In the last-named passage it is said that the Amorites assembled for war at Hazor, and that is the reason why this city was later destroyed by Joshua (comp. Josh. 11. 13), who carried out the order given to him by Moses in accordance with the divine command. Midrash Aggada, Gen. 25. 2, reads: God caused the ground under the feet of the army assembled against Jacob to open as deep as the abyss, and a fire divided the heathen from Jacob and his sons, so that they were forced to abandon their plans. On Hazor comp. note 293.

²⁹⁸. Hullin 6a, and comp. Midrash quoted by Tosafot, *ad loc.*, (beginning בראש), which is not identical with any of the Midrashim cited in note 296. See also *Hadar*, Gen. 31. 4. On the pillar comp. Lekah, Gen. 35. 14.

children, for they resemble thee?” And the spirit of prophecy entered his mouth, and he grasped Levi with his right hand and Judah with his left in order to bless them, and he spoke these words to Levi: “May the Lord bring thee and thy seed nigh unto Him before all flesh, that ye serve in His sanctuary like the Angel of the Face and the Holy Angels. {413} Princes, judges, and rulers shall they be unto all the seed of the children of Jacob. The word of God they will proclaim in righteousness, and all His judgments they will execute in justice, and they will make manifest His ways unto the children of Jacob, and unto Israel His paths.” And unto Judah he spake, saying: “Be ye princes, thou and one of thy sons, over the sons of Jacob. In thee shall be the help of Jacob, and the salvation of Israel shall be found in thee. And when thou sittest upon the throne of the glory of thy justice, perfect peace shall reign over all the seed of the children of my beloved Abraham.”

On the morrow, Isaac told his son that he would not accompany him to Beth-el on account of his great age, but he bade him not delay longer to fulfil his vow, and gave him permission to take his mother Rebekah with him to the holy place. And Rebekah and her nurse Deborah went to Beth-el with Jacob.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁹. Jub. 31. 3–32, and 32. 4–29. It is said there that Jacob erected this altar on the first of the seventh month (*i. e.*, on Rosh ha-Shanah), and offered sacrifices during eight successive days, from the fifteenth to the twenty-second (*i. e.*, eight days of Tabernacles). Also in rabbinic sources it is said that Jacob celebrated this festival and, according to some authorities, he was the originator thereof. See Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 35. 14, and Abudrahim, *Musaf Rosh ha-Shanah* (end). The last-named authority refers to Gen. 33. 17, where it is said that Jacob erected

JOY AND SORROW IN THE HOUSE OF JACOB

Deborah, the nurse of Rebekah, and some of the servants of Isaac had been sent to Jacob by his mother, while he still abode with Laban, to summon him home at the end of his fourteen years' term of service. As Jacob did not at once obey his mother's behest, the two servants of Isaac returned to their master, but Deborah remained with Jacob then and always. Therefore, when Deborah died in Beth-el, Jacob mourned for her, and he buried her below Beth-el under the palm-tree,³⁰⁰ the same under which the prophetess Deborah sat later, when the children of Israel came to her for judgment.³⁰¹ {414}

But a short time elapsed after the death of the nurse Deborah, and Rebekah died, too. Her passing away was not made the

"booths".

³⁰⁰. Yashar Wa-Yeze, 57b–58a, and Wa-Yishlah, 69a. The similar Haggadah quoted in Rashi and Lekah on Gen. 35. 8 goes back to R. Moses ha-Darshan. Comp. Epstein, *R. Mosheh ha-Darshan*, 16. See also MHG I, 532, and note 204.

³⁰¹. *Da'at*, *Hadar*, and *Pa'aneah* on Gen. 35. 8 from a Midrash on Jud. 4. 5. Jub. 32. 30, reads: Jacob called Deborah's burial-place "the river of Deborah", and the oak, under which the grave was, "the oak of the mourners of Deborah." The text is hardly correct; one cannot understand why a burial-place should be called a river. It is very likely that we have here a mistranslation of the Hebrew original, which read נַחַל דְּבוֹרָה "the valley of Deborah". But owing to the different meanings of the word נַחַל the translator rendered it by "river". Comp. note 12 on vol. I, p. 188.

occasion for public mourning. The reason was that, as Abraham was dead, Isaac blind, and Jacob away from home, there remained Esau as the only mourner to appear in public and represent her family, and beholding that villain, it was feared, might tempt a looker-on to cry out, “Accursed be the breasts that gave thee suck.” To avoid this, the burial of Rebekah took place at night.

God appeared unto Jacob to comfort him in his grief,³⁰² and with Him appeared the heavenly family. It was a sign of grace, for all the while the sons of Jacob had been carrying idols with them the Lord had not revealed Himself to Jacob.³⁰³ At this time God

³⁰². PK 3, 23b-24a; PR 12, 48b; Tan. B. I, 176, and V, 36; Tan. Ki-Teze 4; BR 81. 5 and 82. 1; Koheleth 7. 2; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 35. 8; Yashar, Wa-Yishlah, 69a–69b. Contrary to this view of the old rabbinic sources, Yashar, in agreement with Jub. 35. 27, maintains that Rebekah died before Deborah. Comp. also Josephus, *Antiqui.*, I, 22. 1, which reads: Rebekah died before Jacob returned home. Rebekah’s age at the time of her death was 158, according to Jub., but 133, according to Yashar. See also the unknown midrashic source in MHG I, 770. In the Tanhumas and Pesiktas, *loc. cit.*, Deborah is described as Jacob’s nurse, which is not to be emended to the nurse of Rebekah (to make it agree with Gen. 35. 8). These Midrashim understand the expression מִיִּנְקַת רִבְקָה Gen *loc. cit.* to mean “the nurse whom Rebekah employed for her children.”

³⁰³. MHG I, 533; comp. Schechter, *ad loc.*, and note 215. Contrary to the view of MHG, Tan. B. IV, 19, and Tan. Bemidbar 19 which state that God and His “family” (=court) appeared to Jacob at Beth-el, BR 82. 4 explicitly states that it was only an angel who appeared to Jacob at Beth-el on his return from Mesopotamia. On the parallels between the history of Abraham and that of Jacob, see MHG I, 534–536, and parallel passages cited by Schechter, as well as Makiri, Ps. 61. 311, whose source is not

announced to Jacob the birth of Benjamin soon to occur, and the birth of Manasseh and Ephraim, who also were to be founders of tribes, and furthermore He told him that these three would count kings among their descendants, Saul and Ish-bosheth, of the seed of Benjamin, Jeroboam the Ephraimite, and Jehu of the tribe of Manasseh. In this vision, God confirmed the change of his name from Jacob to Israel, promised him by the angel with whom he had wrestled on entering the Holy Land, and finally God revealed to him that he would be the last of the three with whose names the Name of God would appear united, for God is called only the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, and never the God of any one else.³⁰⁴

In token of this revelation from God, Jacob set up a pillar of stone, and he poured out a drink offering thereon, as in a later day the priests were to offer libations in the Temple on {415} the Feast of Tabernacles,³⁰⁵ and the libation brought by Jacob at Beth-el was as much as all the waters in the Sea of Tiberias.³⁰⁶

Yelammedenu, as Buber maintains, but Tan. B. I, 176.

³⁰⁴ BR 82. 2-4; Tan. B. I, 176. On the joining of the name of God to those of the three patriarchs, comp. vol. II, pp. 225, 305, and 320; vol. IV, p. 424. See also the lengthy discussion on this point in Ginzberg, *Unbekannte Sekte*, 295, note 2. See also Philo, *Mut. Nomin.*, 2, which reads: The Lord God of three natures (of instruction, of holiness, and of the practice of justice) of which Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are recorded as the symbols. The same thought is expressed more elaborately in *De Somniis*, I. 27. Comp. note 227.

³⁰⁵ Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 35. 14. Comp. 299.

At the time when Deborah and Rebekah died, occurred also the death of Rachel, at the age of thirty-six,³⁰⁷ but not before her prayer was heard, that she bear Jacob a second son, for she died in giving birth to Benjamin. Twelve years she had borne no child, then she fasted twelve days, and her petition was granted her. She brought forth the youngest son of Jacob, whom he called Benjamin, the son of days, because he was born in his father's old age,³⁰⁸ and with him a twin sister was born.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁶. BR 78. 16.

³⁰⁷. Seder 'Olam 2. This passage also states that Leah, the twin-sister of Rachel, died at the age of forty-four. Comp. Ratner, *ad loc.*, and MHG I, 538–539. According to Yashar, Wa-Yishlah, 69b, Rachel died at the age of forty-five at the same time when her father Laban died, as a punishment for breaking the covenant he had made with Jacob.

³⁰⁸. 12 Testaments, Benjamin 1; Lekah, Gen. 35. 18. Yashar Wa-Yishlah, 69b, and Rashi, Gen. *loc. cit.*, explain the name Benjamin as “son of the south”. Jacob's youngest son was so called because he was the only one of his children who was born in the south, Palestine, whereas all the others were born in the north (Mesopotamia). Jub. 32. 33 states that Benjamin was born at night. This is very likely a midrashic explanation of Benjamin as “son of days” (=בן ימים), which is taken to stand antiphrastically. Comp. Philo, Mut. Nomin, 15, who likewise connects this name with ימים “days”. The etymology of this name in BR 80. 11 is obscure. See also vol. III, p. 222 (top).

³⁰⁹. BR 82. 8, which states that each of the other sons of Jacob was born with one twin-sister, Benjamin with two. Comp. note 170. Baba Batra 123a objects to the idea of “twin-sisters”, and admits it only in the case of Dinah. See, however, Jub. 33. 22, which reads: Dinah the only daughter of Jacob.

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Rachel was buried in the way to Ephrath, because Jacob, gifted with prophetic spirit, foresaw that the exiles would pass this place on their march to Babylon, and as they passed, Rachel would entreat God's mercy for the poor outcasts.³¹⁰

Jacob journeyed on to Jerusalem.³¹¹ During Rachel's lifetime, her couch had always stood in the tent of Jacob. After her death, he ordered the couch of her handmaid Bilhah to be carried thither. Reuben was sorely vexed thereat, and he said, "Not enough that Rachel alive curtailed the rights of my mother, she must needs give her annoyance also after death!" He went and took the couch of his mother Leah and placed it in Jacob's tent instead of Bilhah's couch.³¹² Reuben's brothers learned of his disrespectful act from

^{310.} BR 82. 10. Comp. vol. II, p. 135, and vol. IV, p. 310. Jacob buried Rachel immediately after she died, and did not take her body to the family burial-place, because it is not proper to transport the corpses of women, especially those who died during childbirth. See Yerushalmi Mo'ed Katan 3, end and Babli 27b-28a; Responsum by R. Hai Gaon in *Sha'are Simhah* II, 73. Comp. also R. Bahya, Gen. 35. 19, and Lekah, 35. 8. Each of Jacob's sons took a stone and put it on the grave and these twelve stones make up Rachel's tomb; Lekah 35, 20.

^{311.} Targum Yerushalmi, Lekah, and Jerome on Gen. 35. 21. Comp. also Targum Yerushalmi, Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and Kimhi on Micah 4. 8.

^{312.} BR 98. 4; Tan. B. I, 218; Shabbat 55b (the "confusion caused to the Shekinah" spoken of in this passage is to be explained in accordance with the haggadah about the Shekinah dwelling with husband and wife, if their union is holy; comp. vol. I, pp. 68-69). See also Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 35. 22; Yashar Wa-Yishlah, 69b; *Shitah Hadashah*, 2 (after Leah's death Jacob placed Bilhah upon the couch of his deceased

Asher. He had found it out in one way or another, and had told it to his brethren, who ruptured their relations with him, for they would have nothing to do with an informer, and they did not become reconciled {416} with Asher until Reuben himself confessed his transgression.³¹³ For it was not long before Reuben recognized that he had acted reprehensibly toward his father, and he fasted and put on sackcloth, and repented of his misdeed. He was the first among men to do penance, and therefore God said to him: "Since the beginning of the world it hath not happened that a man hath sinned and then repented thereof. Thou art the first to do penance, and as thou livest, a prophet of thy seed, Hosea, shall be the first to proclaim, 'O Israel, return.'"³¹⁴

ESAU'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST JACOB

When Isaac felt his end approaching, he called his two sons to him, and charged them with his last wish and will, and gave them

wife, *i. e.*, made her his principal wife); *Hadar*, Gen. 35. 22. Reuben sought, by some manipulation, (the same as mentioned in Gittin 57a; comp. also note 130 and 340 on vol. II, 56 and 127 respectively), to throw suspicion on Bilhah's purity, in order to separate her from his father. Jacob, however, found out that he had no cause to suspect her. See also Zohar I, 175b and 176a. The pseudepigraphic writers make no attempt to exculpate Reuben; comp. vol. II, pp. 190-191, and note 382 on vol. II, p. 141.

³¹³ Sifre D., 355; Midrash Tannaim 220.

³¹⁴ BR 84. 19: PK 25, 159b; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 37. 29. Comp. note 60 on vol. II, p. 24, and note 40 on vol. II, p. 13.

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his blessing. He said: "I adjure you by the exalted Name, the praised, honored, glorious, immutable, and mighty One, who hath made heaven and earth and all things together, that ye fear Him, and serve Him, and each shall love his brother in mercy and justice, and none wish evil unto the other, now and henceforth unto all eternity, all the days of your life, that ye may enjoy good fortune in all your undertakings, and that ye perish not."

Furthermore he commanded them to bury him in the Cave of Machpelah, by the side of his father Abraham, in the grave which he had dug for himself with his own hands. Then he divided his possessions between his two sons, giving Esau the larger portion, and Jacob the smaller. But Esau said, "I sold my birthright to Jacob, and I ceded it to him, and it belongs unto him." Isaac rejoiced greatly that Esau acknowledged the rights of Jacob of his own accord, and he closed his eyes in peace.³¹⁵ {417}

The funeral of Isaac was not disturbed by any unseemly act, for Esau was sure of his heritage in accordance with the last wishes expressed by his father. But when the time came to divide Isaac's possessions between the two brothers, Esau said to Jacob, "Divide the property of our father into two portions, but I as the elder claim the right of choosing the portion I desire." What did Jacob do? He knew well that "the eye of the wicked never beholds treasures enough to satisfy it," so he divided their common heritage in the following way: all the material possessions of his father formed one portion, and the other consisted of Isaac's claim

³¹⁵ Jub. 36. 1-8. Comp. the following note.

upon the Holy Land, together with the Cave of Machpelah, the tomb of Abraham and Isaac. Esau chose the money and the other things belonging to Isaac for his inheritance, and to Jacob were left the Cave and the title to the Holy Land. An agreement to this effect was drawn up in writing in due form, and on the strength of the document Jacob insisted upon Esau's leaving Palestine. Esau acquiesced, and he and his wives and his sons and daughters journeyed to Mount Seir, where they took up their abode.³¹⁶

³¹⁶. PRE 38; MHG I, 541; Yashar Wa-Yishlah, 92a–93a (it seems to have made use of Jub. 36. 1–8, which legend was blended with that of the rabbinic sources); Makiri, Prov. 28, 78a–79a. Esau made his choice at the advice of Ishmael (PRE), or Nebajoth (Yashar). God rewarded Esau for departing from Jacob, and gave him one hundred cities in Seir; PRE, *loc. cit.*, and ER 13, 65. This is very likely midrashic Haggadah on עירם (Gen. 36. 43), which is explained as ערים “city”, and מאה = מ’ “hundred”. Comp. Menahot 43b, below and Sanhedrin 7a: מדין מאה דיני. One feels inclined to assume that PRE is dependent upon ER, as the latter is extremely fond of the number one hundred; comp. 10, 54; 18, 106 and 107; 19, 113; 22, 121; 23, 124; EZ 9, 189. According to this Midrash, Esau withdrew to Seir only for a time, until Jacob and his descendants have paid the “debt of Abraham” by serving the Egyptians; comp. MHG I, 542 and 551, as well as notes 156, 234, and notes 138 on, vol. III, p. 55. Zohar I, 177a, and Lekah, Gen. 25. 29, maintain (on the basis of Baba Batra 16b) that at the burial of Isaac, Esau did not recognize Jacob's superiority, but claimed his birthright, and thus broke his oath with which he confirmed the sale of his rights to Jacob. There are three legends which attempt to explain Israel's exclusive right to the Holy Land and the cave of Machpelah. One dwells upon the fact that Esau, in selling his birthright to Jacob, renounced his claim to these two possessions (comp. vol. I, pp. 320–321); the second maintains that Jacob, on his return from Mesopotamia,

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Though Esau gave way before Jacob for the nonce, he returned to the land to make war upon his brother. Leah had just died, and Jacob and the sons borne by Leah were mourning for her, and the rest of his sons, borne unto him by his other wives, were trying to comfort them, when Esau came upon them with a powerful host of four thousand men, well equipped for war, clad in armor of iron and brass, all furnished with bucklers, bows, and swords. They surrounded the citadel wherein Jacob and his sons dwelt at that time with their servants and children and households, for {418} they had all assembled to console Jacob for the death of Leah, and they sat there unconcerned, none entertained a suspicion that an assault upon them was meditated by any man. And the great army had already encircled their castle, and still none within suspected any harm, neither Jacob and his children nor the two hundred servants. Now when Jacob saw that Esau presumed to make war upon them, and sought to slay them in the citadel, and was shooting darts at them, he ascended the wall of the citadel

acquired all claims from his brother; comp. vol. I, pp. 392–393, and the notes appertaining thereto, as well as Yelammedenu in Sikli (published by Poznanski, from a MS., in *Ha-Zofeh*, III, 20), where it is stated that on this occasion the brothers drew up an agreement to abide by the wish of Isaac as expressed in his blessings, to wit, that Jacob should inherit the world to come and Esau this world. The third legend justifies Israel's claim to Palestine on the ground that Esau, in emigrating to Seir, gave up his right to the land of his fathers; comp. the sources cited at the beginning of this note, as well as BR 82. 13 and 84. 1; Koheleth 9, 18; Yelammedenu in Sikli, *loc. cit.*; Wa-Yissa'u (end). Comp. the following note.

and spake words of peace and friendship and brotherly love to Esau. He said: "Is this the consolation which thou hast come to bring me, to comfort me for my wife, who hath been taken by death? Is this in accordance with the oath thou didst swear twice unto thy father and thy mother before they died? Thou hast violated thy oath, and in the hour when thou didst swear unto thy father, thou wast judged." But Esau made reply: "Neither the children of men nor the beasts of the field swear an oath to keep it unto all eternity, but on every day they devise evil against one another, when it is directed against an enemy, or when they seek to slay an adversary. If the boar will change his skin and make his bristles as soft as wool, or if he can cause horns to sprout forth on his head like the horns of a stag or a ram, then shall I observe the tie of brotherhood with thee."

Then spoke Judah to his father Jacob, saying: "How long wilt thou stand yet wasting words of peace and friendship upon him? And he attacks us unawares, like an enemy, with his mail-clad warriors, seeking to slay us." Hearing these words, Jacob grasped his bow and killed Adoram the Edomite, and a second time he bent his bow, and the arrow struck {419} Esau upon the right thigh. The wound was mortal, and his sons lifted Esau up and put him upon his ass, and he came to Adora, and there he died.

Judah made a sally to the south of the citadel, and with him were Naphtali and Gad, aided by fifty of Jacob's servants; to the east Levi and Dan went forth with fifty servants; Reuben, Issachar, and Zebulon with fifty servants, to the north; and Simon, Benjamin, and Enoch, the last the son of Reuben, with fifty servants, to the west. Judah was exceedingly brave in battle.

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Together with Naphtali and Gad he pressed forward into the ranks of the enemy, and captured one of their iron towers. On their bucklers they caught the sharp missiles hurled against them in such numbers that the light of the sun was darkened by reason of the rocks and darts and stones. Judah was the first to break the ranks of the enemy, of whom he killed six valiant men, and he was accompanied on the right by Naphtali and by Gad on the left. They also hewed down two soldiers each, while their troop of servants killed one man each. Nevertheless they did not succeed in forcing the army away from the south of the citadel, not even when all together, Judah and his brethren, made an united attack upon the enemy, each of them picking out a victim and slaying him. And they were still unsuccessful in a third combined attack, though this time each killed two men.

When Judah saw now that the enemy remained in possession of the field, and it was impossible to dislodge them, he girded himself with strength, and an heroic spirit animated him. Judah, Naphtali, and Gad united, and together they pierced the ranks of the enemy, Judah slaying ten of them, {420} and his brothers each eight. Seeing this, the servants took courage, and they joined their leaders and fought at their side. Judah laid about him to right and to left, always aided by Naphtali and Gad, and so they succeeded in forcing the enemy one ris further to the south, away from the citadel. But the hostile army recovered itself, and maintained a brave stand against all the sons of Jacob, who were faint from the hardships of the combat, and could not continue to fight. Thereupon Judah turned to God in prayer, and God hearkened unto his petition, and He helped them. He set loose a storm from

one of His treasure chambers, and it blew into the faces of the enemy, and filled their eyes with darkness, and they could not see how to fight. But Judah and his brothers could see clearly, for the wind blew upon their backs. Now Judah and his two brothers wrought havoc among them, they hewed the enemy down as the reaper mows down the stalks of grain and heaps them up for sheaves.

After they had routed the division of the army assigned to them on the south, they hastened to the aid of their brothers, who were defending the east, north, and west of the citadel with three companies. On each side the wind blew into the faces of the enemy, and so the sons of Jacob succeeded in annihilating their army. Four hundred were slain in battle, and six hundred fled, among the latter Esau's four sons, Reuel, Jeush, Lotan, and Korah. The oldest of his sons, Eliphaz, took no part in the war, because he was a disciple of Jacob, and therefore would not bear arms against him.

The sons of Jacob pursued after the fleeing remnant of {⁴²¹} the army as far as Adora. There the sons of Esau abandoned the body of their father, and continued their flight to Mount Seir. But the sons of Jacob remained in Adora over night, and out of respect for their father they buried the remains of his brother Esau. In the morning they went on in pursuit of the enemy, and besieged them on Mount Seir. Now the sons of Esau and all the other fugitives came and fell down before them, bowed down, and entreated them without cease, until they concluded peace with them. But

the sons of Jacob exacted tribute from them.³¹⁷

³¹⁷ Wa-Yissa'u in Yalkut I, 132 = Jellinek in BHM III, 1, *seq.* Comp. note 292. Later additions to the original contents of Wa-Yissa'u, dealing exclusively with the war, are the introductory parts which were taken over verbatim from BR 82. 13, and the passages introduced by ויש אומרים (taken from Sotah 13a), as well as the sentence explaining Joseph's absence from the war. The text is far from faultless, and the following emendations may be recorded here. 4, 9 (in Jellinek's reprint) read בכסל; 5, 15 ושעמה as in 18 (where the first edition has correctly וכל) and as demanded by the context; 5, 20 read לראובן ולוי עומדים נגדם למלחמה ונפלו; Yerahmeel, 37, literally agrees with the text of Wa-Yissa'u in Yalkut, whereas Jub. 37 and 38 has a different version of the account of the war against Esau, only a fragment of which has been preserved in 12 Testaments, Judah 9. In contrast to Jub. 37. 9 and 38, where Adoram is described as an Aramean, he is correctly called the Edomite in Wa-Yissa'u, since this legendary figure owes his existence to the Edomite city Adorah (in Wa-Yissa'u corrupted to אדורין), where Esau was buried. The faulty text of Jub. is due to misreading אדמי as ארמי. In accordance with Testament of Judah, where the assault on the enemy's citadel by Judah is the most important event in this war (it is very likely modelled upon the war against the Amorites; comp. vol. I, pp. 409–411), the passage in Wa-Yissa'u 4, 16, is to be translated: Judah entered the rampart (= חיל; see note 292), and took the iron tower by storm.—The conversation between Jacob and Esau is given in the text in accordance with Jub., *loc. cit.*, which, it seems, is in need of emendation. Read: "Neither the children of men, nor the beasts of the field keep, etc.", instead of "swear an oath". The Hebrew original probably had לא יקימו האנשים, which the author employed in the sense of "keep an oath", as in classical Hebrew; but the translator took this phrase in the sense used in Aramaic and later Hebrew, and hence rendered it by "swear". The statement of Sabba, Wa-

THE DESCENDANTS OF ESAU

The worthiest among the sons of Esau was his first-born Eliphaz. He had been raised under the eyes of his grandfather Isaac, from whom he had learnt the pious way of life.³¹⁸ The Lord had even found him worthy of being endowed with the spirit of prophecy, for Eliphaz the son of Esau is none other than the prophet Eliphaz, the friend of Job. It was from the life of the Patriarchs that he drew the admonitions which he gave unto Job in his disputes with him. Eliphaz spake: "Thou didst ween thyself the equal of Abraham, and thou didst marvel, therefore, that God

Yishlah, 45a, that the Midrash describing the wars between Jacob and Esau (the ב of במלחמות shows that מלחמות is not the title of the book; comp. note 292), speaks of a sudden attack by the latter on the former, very likely refers to Wa-Yissa'u. In view of the fact that Sabba himself admits that he quotes from memory, the difference between his text and that of Wa-Yissa'u (as, e. g., מגדל in Sabba instead of בירה in Wa-Yissa'u) may be disregarded. Brüll, *Jahrbücher*, IX, 8, note 3, is to be corrected accordingly. For another legend about Esau's death, see Sotah 13a, and vol. II, 154. A later hand added this account to the original composition of Wa-Yissa'u. That this section did not form part of the original may be seen from the introductory words ויש אומרים.

³¹⁸. Tan. B. I, 108; DR 2. 20; MHG I, 524. Wa-Yissa'u (end) is accordingly to be emended to יצחק instead of יעקב. On Eliphaz comp. further vol. I, pp. 346 and 356, as well as vol. III, p. 63. Hasidim 19 reads: Jacob had a Bet ha-Midrash which was attended even by the sons of Esau. This is perhaps based on Wa-Yissa'u (end), where, according to our text, Eliphaz is considered a pupil of Jacob. Comp. the following note.

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should deal with thee as with the generation of the confusion of tongues. But Abraham stood the test of ten temptations, and thou faintest when but one toucheth thee. When any that was not whole came to thee, thou wouldst console him. To the blind thou wouldst say, If thou didst build thyself a house, thou wouldst surely put windows in it, and if God hath denied thee light, it is but that He may be glorified through thee in the day when 'the eyes of the blind shall be {422} opened.' To the deaf thou wouldst say, If thou didst fashion a water pitcher, thou wouldst surely not forget to make ears for it, and if God created thee without hearing, it is but that He may be glorified through thee in the day when 'the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped.' In such wise thou didst endeavor to console the feeble and the maimed. But now it is come unto thee, and thou art troubled. Thou sayest, I am an upright man, why doth He chastise me? But who, I pray thee, ever perished, being innocent? Noah was saved from the flood, Abraham from the fiery furnace, Isaac from the slaughtering knife, Jacob from angels, Moses from the sword of Pharaoh, and Israel from the Egyptians that were drowned in the Sea. Thus shall all the wicked fare."

Job answered Eliphaz, and said, "Look at thy father Esau!"

But Eliphaz returned: "I have nothing to do with him, the son should not bear the iniquity of the father. Esau will be destroyed, because he executed no good deeds, and likewise his dukes will perish. But as for me, I am a prophet, and my message is not unto Esau, but unto thee, to make thee render account of thyself." But God rebuked Eliphaz, and said: "Thou didst speak harsh words unto My servant Job. Therefore shall Obadiah, one of thy

descendants, utter a prophecy of denunciation against thy father's house, the Edomites."³¹⁹

The concubine of Eliphaz was Timna, a princess of royal blood, who had asked to be received into the faith of Abraham and his family, but they all, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, had rejected her, and she said, "Rather will I be a maid servant unto the dregs of this nation, than mistress of another {423} nation," and so she was willing to be concubine to Eliphaz. To punish the Patriarchs for the affront they had offered her, she was made the mother of Amalek, who inflicted great injury upon Israel.³²⁰

Another one of Esau's descendants, Anah, had a most unusual experience. Once when he was pasturing his father's asses in the wilderness, he led them to one of the deserts on the shores of the

³¹⁹ Tan. B. I, 104 and 166; Aggadat Bereshit 55, 110-114; Tan. B. I, 108. See also Makiri, Obadiah (end), and *Ma'yan Gannim* 4. 1, both of whom very likely made use of Aggadat Bereshit, and not of an unknown Midrash on Job, as maintained by Wertheimer, *Leket Midrashim*, 5. The identity of Job's friend Eliphaz with Esau's son bearing the same name is maintained also by Jerome, Gen. 36. 10. Comp. notes 31-32 on vol. II, p. 236. BR 82. 12 (see also MHG I, 54), on the contrary, asserts that Eliphaz was very wicked and had unchaste relations with his father's wife, who bore him children.

³²⁰ Sanhedrin 99b; MHG I, 542; Yashar, Wa-Yishlah, 70a. BR 80. 14, on the contrary, says: As a reward for the honor which Esau paid to his father, he was so highly esteemed by his contemporaries that princesses considered it a great honor to become related to his house by marriage. From this one may infer the great respect enjoyed by Jacob who was by far his brother's superior. Comp. BaR 14. 10; note 138 on vol. III, p. 55.

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Red Sea, opposite the wilderness of the nations, and while he was feeding the beasts, a very heavy storm came from the other side of the sea, and the asses could not move. Then about one hundred and twenty great and terrible animals came out from the wilderness at the other side of the sea, and they all came to the place where the asses were, and they placed themselves there. From the middle down, these animals were in the shape of a man, and from the middle up some had the likeness of bears, some of apes, and they all had tails behind them like the tail of the dukipat, from between their shoulders reaching down to the earth. The animals mounted the asses, and they rode away with them, and unto this day no eye hath seen them. One of them approached Anah, and smote him with its tail, and then ran off.

When Anah saw all this, he was exceedingly afraid on account of his life, and he fled to the city, where he related all that had happened to him. Many sallied forth to seek the asses, but none could find them. Anah and his brothers went no more to the same place from that day forth, for they were greatly afraid on account of their lives.³²¹

This Anah was the offspring of an incestuous marriage; his mother was at the same time the mother of his father {424} Zibeen. And as he was born of an unnatural union, so he tried to bring about unnatural unions among animals. He was the first to mix the breed of the horse and the ass and produce the mule. As a

^{321.} Yashar Wa-Yishlah, 70a. Similarly Zohar I, 188a–188b, reads: Anah met demons in the desert, the place where evil spirits dwell.

punishment, God crossed the snake and the lizard, and they brought forth the habarbar, whose bite is certain death, like the bite of the white she-mule.³²²

The descendants of Esau had eight kings before there reigned any king over the descendants of Jacob. But a time came when the Jews had eight kings during whose reign the Edomites had none and were subject to the Jewish kings. This was the time that intervened between Saul, the first Israelitish king, who ruled over Edom, and Jehoshaphat, for Edom did not make itself independent of Jewish rule until the time of Joram, the son of

^{322.} Yerushalmi Berakot 8, 12b; BR 80. 15; Pesahim 54a. Zohar I, 188b, combines this View on הימים (Gen. 36. 24) with the one given in the preceding note. Jerome, Gen. 1. 6., offers three explanations of הימים communicated to him by his Jewish masters. According to one, it refers to the mules which Eliphaz produced by crossing the horse with the ass, or rather by observing these animals mating with one another. The other explanation considers הימים to be identical with המים “wells of water”. The third view refers it to the hot springs (חמים) which he found. Onkelos and Lekah on Gen. *loc. cit.*, take הימים in the sense of האמים “the awful beings” (comp. Hullin 6a), and Ephraim, I, 105 E, shares this view, whereas Targum Yerushalmi, *ad loc.*, agrees with Pesahim, *loc. cit.* This talmudic reference records also another opinion, according to which Adam crossed the horse with the ass.—The Haggadah finds in the names of Esau and his descendants and in those of their dwelling-places hints at their wicked and impious mode of life. See BR 82. 4; PRE 38 (this is the source of Rashi, Gen. 36. 43), and in amplified form, Sekel 1, 207–212 (based on an unknown midrashic source). Comp. also Tan. Wa-Yesheb 1; Shabbat 85a, and MHG I, 542, where it is stated that the inhabitants of Selr' were great experts in agriculture.

Jehoshaphat. There was a difference between the kings of Esau's seed and the kings of Jacob's seed. The Jewish people always produced their kings from their own midst, while the Edomites had to go to alien peoples to secure theirs.³²³ The first Edomite king was the Aramean Balaam,³²⁴ called Bela in his capacity as ruler of Edom. His successor Job, called Jobab also, came from Bozrah, and for furnishing Edom with a king this city will be chastised in time to come. When God sits in judgment on Edom, Bozrah will be the first to suffer punishment.³²⁵

The rule of Edom was of short duration, while the rule of Israel will be unto all times, for the standard of the Messiah shall wave forever and ever.³²⁶ {425}

³²³ BR 83. 1–2; MHG I, 546 and 547–548. On foreigners as kings of Edom (Rome), see also Hullin 56b; ShR 37. 1; BaR 14. 10 (Bela, Jobab, and Husham were the only Edomites, while the other kings were foreigners); vol. II, p. 156. Just as the Romans (Edomites) had no kings of their own, even so they had to borrow their language and script from other nations; comp. 'Abodah Zarah 10a; Yerushalmi Megillah 1. 71c; Esther 1. 22; Targum 1 Chron. 1. 43; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 36. 32; Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, s. v. בורגין.

³²⁴ Targum 1 Chron. 1. 43; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 36. 32. Comp. also *Monatsschrift*, XLIV, 35, as well as Ginzberg, *Haggadah bei den Kirchenv.*, 123. According to BaR 14. 10 Bela is a surname of Esau; comp. the preceding note.

³²⁵ BR 83. 3. On the view that Job = Jobab, comp. note 3 on vol. II, p. 225.

³²⁶ MHG I, 548.